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**An edition of the Gutnish manuscripts of *Guta lag***

with

introduction, translation, commentary and glossary

edited by

Christine Ingegerd Peel

**UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON**

Degree of PhD

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## Abstract

The following thesis is an edition incorporating the texts of two manuscripts of *Guta lag*, the law of the Gotlanders. The first is a fourteenth-century vellum manuscript held in Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm and designated *B 64*. The second is a sixteenth-century paper manuscript, based on a lost fifteenth-century manuscript, held in the Arnemagnaeian manuscript collection at the University library in Copenhagen, Denmark. It is designated *AM 54 4°*. These are the only two independent manuscripts of the law in Gutnish, the medieval language of Gotland, two later Gutnish manuscripts being copies of *AM 54 4°*.

The Introduction contains a discussion of the following: historical background, preservation, nature and content, origins, date, place and circumstances of composition, previous editions and translations of the text. The principles and structure of the current edition are described.

The text of the manuscript is normalized and contains a number of emendations, which are detailed in endnotes, together with variant readings between the two manuscripts.

Following the text is an English translation.

The Commentary discusses the language and background of individual elements of the text, referred to by page and line number. The notes place the text in historical, legal and social context.

The Glossary lists at least one page and line number for each word in the text (all instances where there are fewer than five for a particular form). The majority of these are in normalized form, but are in unnormalized form for instances occurring only in the sixteenth-century manuscript, all under a normalized headword.

Included are reproductions of one page of each of the manuscripts, and a number of tables as Appendices.

The Bibliography gives the source of all references in the Introduction and Commentary, together with abbreviations used. An Index lists the proper names occurring in the text.

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## INTRODUCTION

I *Historical background*

The first known literary reference to Gotland's belonging to Sweden is in the ninth-century description of Wulfstan's voyage (*Orosius*, 16, line 28), although Wessén (*SL* IV, 306) and others contradict this (see *GS*, xxxiii-xxxv). In particular, Rydberg (*STFM* I, 40) argues that Gotland was independent of Sweden in the tenth century. Later runic inscriptions, notably the Torsätra stone in Uppland (U 614) from the second half of the eleventh century, indicate that there was conflict between Gotland and mainland Sweden during that period, and tribute was collected from the islanders. By the twelfth century Gotland was certainly subject to Sweden in some respects. A document in Latin from the time of Pope Callixtus II, which lists bishoprics in a number of countries, including those of Scandinavia, is held in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence. This is dated to circa 1120 and forms part of the Ashburnham collection, where it is catalogued as *Codex (Laurenzianus) Ashburnham 1554*. The library acquired the collection in question in 1878 on the death of Lord Bertram, fourth Earl of Ashburnham. The text of the document, commonly called *Florensdokument* in Swedish, was published first by Delisle (1886, 70-75). As well as enumerating the Swedish bishoprics, it lists *Guthlandia* as one of the *insulae* of Sweden. Although the usual sense of *insula* is 'island', the list includes other, non-insular districts. Since, however, the document contains a number of obvious errors, its reliability on the matter of Gotland's relationship to Sweden must also be questionable (cf. Delisle 1886, 75; Fabre and Duchesne 1910, Introduction 41-43; Tunberg 1913, 28; *DS* Appendix 1, 3, no. 4; *GV*, 449-451).

A lost document from the reign of Emperor Lothar (1125-1137) apparently gave Gotlanders statutes of rights and freedom, but the oldest preserved such document is

the Declaration of Artlenburg (*Artlenburgprivilegiet* or *Artlenburgfördraget* in Swedish), drawn up in 1161 (or possibly 1163) by Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria. This document, in Latin, contains various reciprocal provisions relating to trade, inheritance, personal protection, and fines for violations against the person, but none of these is mentioned in *GL*. The oldest extant copy is dated 1225, the year in which Mariakyrkan in Visby was consecrated. It was originally kept in that church but is now preserved in the town archives of Lübeck. The document is edited in *STFM* I, 78-79, no. 42 (cf. Yrwing 1940, 109-137; 1978, 109-116; *SL* IV, lxxxix; *KL* s. v. *Handelsfred*; *GV*, 455-459).

Although Gotland does not figure in the corpus of West Norse literature to any great extent, it is mentioned a number of times in connection with St Olaf. Snorri in Chapter 77 of *Óláfs saga helga* links it with Öland under the bishopric of Östergötland (cf. *ÍF* XXVII, 109). Accounts of visits by St Olaf to Gotland are to some extent contradictory, but it seems certain that he visited the island on at least two occasions and possibly three (cf. *ÍF* XXVII, Chapters 7 and 192; *GS*, xxxvi-xxxviii). The purpose of Olaf's first visit in 1007 or 1008, when he was twelve, was to extract tribute, but later visits seem to have been incidental to his voyage to and/or from Russia in 1029 and 1030. One of these later visits may have resulted in the introduction of Christianity to Gotland, or at least to the baptism of individual Gotlanders, but it is questionable whether a general conversion of the whole of the population resulted. Gotland took St Olaf as its patron saint, but this may have been influenced more by colourful legend than by an historical event. Church building in Gotland seems to have been initially the result of private initiative (see 61/22-62/7). It cannot have started later than about the middle of the twelfth century, since by that time Gotland was evidently incorporated into the See of Linköping. The Cistercian

monastery of Beata Maria de Gutnalia was founded at Roma in 1164, a daughter house to that of Nydala in Småland, which implies that Christianity was firmly established in Gotland by that date and that there were already close links with Sweden (cf. Pernler 1977, 57, 61-62, 65).

In 1195, at the instigation of Bishop Meinhard of Livonia, Gotlanders apparently took part in a crusade in Livonia, which embraced what is now southern Estonia and northern Latvia (cf. Yrwing 1940, 59; 1978, 123; Christiansen 1997, 81, 114). It appears that shortly after this, or at the beginning of the thirteenth century, commitment to an annual levy (*laipingr*) for the Baltic crusades was established in Gotland, although Rydberg (*STFM* I, 71) dates this arrangement to circa 1150 (cf. Yrwing 1940, 58-59; 1978, 21-22). The Gotlanders agreed to supply seven manned warships for these crusades, or, alternatively, pay forty marks in coin for each ship not provided. One ship was to be funded by each sixth district and the seventh, it is assumed, by the inhabitants of Visby (both Gotlanders and Germans). The option of a payment in money rather than men was presumably offered in deference to the importance of trade between Gotland and her Baltic neighbours (see Yrwing 1978, 21). Details of these arrangements appear in *Guta saga*, although there is no record of when they were put in place (see *GS*, 12-14 and notes). There are further records of Gotlanders actually refusing to take part in crusades, such as those in 1199 to Livonia and in 1226 to the Baltic island of Ösel, presumably because they were unwilling to jeopardize their trading relationships with these countries (cf. Björkander 1898, 27-28; Yrwing 1963, 94; Pernler 1977, 62, 108; Yrwing 1978, 124; 1991, 164).

Although Gotland was attached to the See of Linköping in Östergötland, it was Archbishop Andreas Suneson of Lund, a Danish province at that time, who appears to have taken most interest in the island. He visited Gotland in 1207, a circumstance that

has led to the supposition that it was he who initiated the writing of the first manuscript of *GL*. A letter from Pope Innocent III dated 1213 (*DS* I, 178, no. 152) concerns the abbot of Gotland and rural deans of the northern and southern districts (*Northlanda* and *Sutherlanda*), linking them to the diocese of Lund. Pernler (1977, 153-154) argues that Lund is in this document most probably an error for Linköping, but as the Archbishop of Lund was primate of Sweden at that time, above the Archbishop of Uppsala, an error here might be understandable. Eight years later, in 1221, Archbishop Suneson, together with Bishops Karl and Bengt of Linköping, wrote a letter (*DS* I, 690, no. 832) setting out the arrangements relating to visitations by the bishop to Gotland. The contents of this letter may be compared with information given by *Guta saga* on the same topic (see *GS*, 10-12 and notes).

During the thirteenth century, there was considerable correspondence from the papacy concerning the level and distribution of tithes payable in Gotland. In 1217 Pope Honorius III confirmed tithe laws previously arranged for Gotland between Archbishop Suneson and Bishop Karl of Linköping (*DS* I, 190, no. 168). No document containing the original agreement survives, but the laws apparently differed from those in other Swedish provinces, where the bishop normally received a third of the remaining tithe, after a third had been paid to the parish priest. The parish church and the poor each received the same proportion as the bishop. It seems that allocation of a portion of the tithe to the bishop was a later innovation, perhaps replacing *ad hoc* payments for individual services rendered (e.g. church consecrations). In Gotland no payment was made to the bishop while in Italy and elsewhere on the continent the bishop received a full quarter of the tithe, rather than two ninths. A three-way division of the tithe was English in origin and did not take account of the exhortation by the pope in 1080 to pay a four-way tithe. The Swedish system followed that adopted by

Spain, England, the Netherlands, Denmark and parts of Germany. *GL*'s is the only tithe law with no modification in favour of the bishop. That arrangements for Gotland occasioned certain dissatisfaction in Linköping is suggested by a letter from Pope Gregory IX in 1230 (*DS I*, 257-258, no. 256) confirming them, against protests from Bishop Bengt. In 1253 Pope Innocent IV had to issue the same edict to Bishop Lars (*DS I*, 366, no. 411). At the same time he issued statements of protection relating to the people and clergy of Gotland (*DS I*, 365-366, no. 410). He also confirmed the right of the priests to elect their own rural deans and the people to select their pastors (*DS I*, 366-367, nos 412 and 413). Whether Gotland succeeded in resisting later encroachments into the various elements of the tithe is doubtful and in all probability some of the tithe collected for parish churches was diverted to building the cathedral at Linköping. Since, however, there are no parish accounts covering the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this must remain a matter for conjecture (cf. *SL IV*, 247-248 note 14; Pernler 1977, 133-144).

So far as the secular, as opposed to the ecclesiastical history of Gotland is concerned, it is evident that trade, in particular in and out of Visby, was of strategic importance in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. A dramatic rise in Baltic transit trade in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries is possibly related to the decline in the importance of Birka, activity by Gotlandic merchant farmers (*farmannabönder*) filling the resulting vacuum (cf. Yrwing 1978, 104-105, 138-140). The goods most traded were skins, but wax, iron and weapons were also significant. That Gotlanders had been trading in the Baltic and beyond during the Viking period is supported by finds of silver in almost every parish on the island and by finds in the Baltic countries of artefacts of Gotlandic design. The existence of a Gotlandic trading station in Novgorod and documentary evidence of trade with England in the form of customs



declarations and literary references also shows that trade flourished over a wide area before Visby emerged as a Hanseatic town (cf. *HansUB* I, 270, 283, 281, 322; Bugge 1899, 151-171; Bohman 1951, 35). In 1229 Pope Gregory IX wrote to the Bishop of Linköping, the Cistercian abbot of Gotland and the rural dean of Visby to ask them to prevent trade first with the Russians (*DS* I, 253-254, no. 250, 27/1/1229), who were harassing Finnish converts, and then with unconverted Finns (*DS* I, 255-256, no. 253, 16/2/1229). The first request in all probability referred to Gotlandic merchants and the latter did explicitly and was an attempt to enforce a previous interdict by Honorius III in 1221 (*DS* I, 220-221, no. 206, 13/1/1221). This is again evidence that the Gotlanders valued their Baltic trade and were reluctant to relinquish it in the cause of defending Christianity (see Pernler 1977, 196-197).

The building of Mariakyrkan in Visby started in the early thirteenth century and this ambitious project must reflect the success of the town itself. According to a letter dated 1225 from Bishop Bengt (*DS* I, 241, no. 231), which is the first written record of a German population in Visby, the church was to be consecrated as a parish church for both resident Germans and visiting merchants. Björkander (1898, 88-89 notes 2, 3, 4) considers that the church was built primarily for the new German visitors, but that it was not their only church. Yrwing (1940, 223-238; 1978, 114-115) argues that the reference is both to a permanent and a transient German population and that Germans had started to inhabit Visby from the twelfth century and had possibly had an earlier church on the same site.

From about the middle of the thirteenth century, tension began to rise between the merchant farmers of the countryside and the largely German inhabitants of Visby. This was initiated by the actions of Lübeck and Hamburg in 1252, when they declared themselves representatives of the merchants of the Holy Roman Empire and excluded

the Gotlandic merchants. Although the latter were granted safe conduct through Saxony in 1255, and their rights as expressed in the Declaration of Artlenburg (see p. 5) were reiterated, by 1280 the German inhabitants of Visby had made their own arrangements with Lübeck and later Riga to the exclusion of non-German merchants. Trade with England had also reduced considerably by 1255, with only one Gotlandic merchant mentioned in records of fur trading (cf. *HansUB* I, 475; Yrwing 1978, 28, 138). In 1282 the situation worsened and Frisians and Gotlanders were forbidden to trade in the North Sea. There was even an attempt to prevent the English trading in the Baltic.

By 1288, conflict between Visby and the rest of Gotland was inevitable and there was a bitter civil war. This resulted in a victory for the inhabitants of Visby, who then raised a wall around the town. Magnus Ladulås took advantage of the situation to punish the townspeople and force them to confess that they had broken their duty to the king in building the wall without permission. For this they paid a fine of 2,000 marks of silver with further sums at regular intervals, and agreed to allow the other Gotlanders to send messengers to the king. The viability of foreign trade by the merchant farmers of the countryside had, however, been destroyed. At the same time Magnus confirmed his sovereignty over Gotland, as well as new tax laws, which he had introduced in 1285, i.e. an annual levy tax to be paid whether the fleet was called out or not. The inhabitants of Visby retained their independence from the rest of Gotland, but at the expense of a humiliating surrender to the king of Sweden (cf. Yrwing 1978, 27-33). One advantage that they did gain was their own law in German, *Visby Stadslag* (*VStL*), which appears to have been set down in the early part of the fourteenth century. As a result, ordinary Gotlanders were slowly reduced to a

population of domestic freeholders and leaseholders, a situation that considerably worsened when King Valdemar Atterdag of Denmark invaded Gotland in July 1361.

The year previously Valdemar had retaken Skåne and Blekinge from Magnus Eriksson and, earlier in 1361, he had invaded Öland and captured the castle of Borgholm. On 27th July a well-equipped Danish force defeated an army of farmers, inflicting heavy losses. The citizens of Visby seem to have taken no part in the fighting and two days later Valdemar confirmed their ancient rights and privileges (*DD* III:6, 65-66, no. 69), simply replacing Sweden by Denmark in the agreements drawn up (cf. Yrwing 1978, 46-49). The situation in the remainder of Gotland is less clear, and on 26th July 1364 Albrekt of Mecklenburg, who had seized power from Magnus, appeared to be in a position to pledge Gotland to Count Henry of Holstein for 4,000 marks of silver, or at least to be able to promise to do so (*STFM* II, 337-343, no. 368). This promise was never fulfilled, however, and in 1389 Albrekt lost power in Sweden to Queen Margareta. In the period from 1395 to 1398, Albrekt had regained control of Visby, while the remainder of the island was in Danish hands under Sven Sture. The latter cooperated with the Vitalian Brotherhood, a band of pirates in the pay of members of the Mecklenburg family, who were at that time destabilizing the Baltic and in 1396 Albrekt's son Duke Erik took command of the Vitalians, and Sven Sture himself in Gotland. When Erik died of the plague in the following year, Sven Sture took over both the Vitalians and, effectively, Gotland (see Yrwing 1978, 51-52).

The damage to Baltic trade that this piracy caused and advances made by Margareta in creating a Scandinavian superpower, led in 1398 to intervention by the Teutonic Order. They seized power in Gotland and took responsibility for both Visby and rest of the island from Duke Johan of Mecklenburg on behalf of Albrekt, confirming that

open trade was permitted in Visby and that taxes would not be imposed by the Order, or by anyone to whom the island was pledged (*STFM* II, 585-587, no. 424 (5/4/1398)). In the following year, Albrekt pledged the island to the Order in return for 30,000 gold nobles. Of these, 20,000 were to be waived in respect of the costs incurred by the Order in the rescue operation. This arrangement was clearly intended to prevent Queen Margareta from claiming Gotland from either party. In this it failed and finally, in 1407, Margareta agreed to pay the newly-appointed Grand Master 9,000 nobles in respect of the castle of Visborg, which the Order had started to build in Visby. In November the following year, the Grand Master confirmed that he had received the sum named and was content to hand both Gotland and the castle to Erik of Pommern, joint monarch of the Union with Margareta, on the sole condition that Visby retained its ancient rights and privileges. All outstanding claims by the Teutonic Order for the cost of rescuing, maintaining and defending Gotland (i.e. the 20,000 nobles mentioned above) had been abandoned, as the task had become an economic liability, which they were perhaps only too relieved to surrender (see Schück 1945, 199-205; Yrwing 1978, 53-54).

The power struggle over Gotland continued through the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth centuries, but in 1526 it finally ceased to be a bone of contention in Scandinavia and became an unimportant Danish province for 119 years. More than two hundred years of conflict and uncertainty, during which Visby lost its place in the Hanseatic League as early as 1470, had completely obliterated Gotland's importance in Scandinavian and Baltic trade (cf. Schück 1945, 205-220).

## II *Preservation*

The text of *Guta lag*, the law of the Gotlanders, is preserved in eight manuscripts. Two of the medieval manuscripts, one vellum and one paper, are in Gutnish and it is these that are edited in the present thesis. The others consist of a vellum manuscript in a mixture of Middle High German and Middle Low German, two Danish paper manuscripts, a paper manuscript containing a number of later provisions in Danish and two eighteenth century paper manuscripts in Gutnish. All eight manuscript traditions are taken into consideration when attempting to construct a stemma.

There are four further manuscripts that contain only the historical appendix to the law, referred to as *Guta saga*. These are not considered in the present study, but are described in the introduction to *GS* (xii-xiv).

### *A. Holm B 64*

This octavo (17.2 cm x 13.4 cm) manuscript, held in Kungliga Biblioteket (the Royal Library) in Stockholm, is the only medieval vellum manuscript of *GL* in the original Gutnish. It is also bound in vellum, with a number of blank paper leaves at the beginning and end. The text of *Guta lag* covers forty-two leaves, followed by eight leaves containing the text of *Guta saga* (cf. *GS*, x). Schlyter (*CIG*, i, iv) dates this manuscript, which he calls 'A', to about the middle of the fourteenth century. Wessén (*LG*, xxvi) and others support this dating. The manuscript was discovered in Gotland in circa 1680 and taken to Stockholm, where it was passed to the archive of antiquities by Professor Andreas Spole (†1699) and subsequently used by Johan Hadorph for his edition (1687). A copy of a dedication of this edition, dated 1st February 1690, to Gustaf von Osten Sacken and others, including all the inhabitants of Gotland, is held in Palmskiöldska samlingen in University library in Uppsala (XIV, Tom. 50). In it Hadorph states that the manuscript (*B 64*) was 'några år sedan igen funnin uthi en

Kyrckia der på Landet ibland orenligheet, såsom en förkastat Ting'. Schlyter describes this dedication but has not seen any copy of Hadorph's edition containing it. The chapter numbers in the table of contents, which is written in two columns, have been inserted by a later hand and the table of contents itself differs slightly from the content. The nature of the differences (e.g. the inclusion of references to slaves, missing from the text) suggests that the table reflects an earlier edition of the text. The language of three chapters (62, 63 and 65) and of *Guta saga* is later than that of the other chapters. Chapter 64 has been omitted from its proper place (according to the table of contents) and inserted between Chapters 63 and 65 (cf. *GU*, vii-x; *GLGS*, vii-xii; *SL* IV, lxxv). The same scribe is responsible for the whole manuscript and it seems likely, as Wessén suggests, that most of these inconsistencies existed in his original. This manuscript is hereafter referred to as *B 64* and its content as the *A*-text.

#### B. *AM 54 4°*

This paper manuscript, bound in vellum, is in Den arnamagnæanske håndskriftsamling at the University library in Copenhagen and is designated '*B*' by Schlyter (*CIG*, xii). According to a statement on folio 55r, it was copied by David Bilefeld in 1587 from a manuscript (no longer extant) dated 1470. *AM 54 4°* consists of fifty-seven numbered leaves. On folios 55v to 57v is a table of contents. A further leaf at the front is inscribed *Anno Dei MDLXXXVII*, and a separate leaf attached to the manuscript has a note by Árni Magnússon repeating the information on folio 55r. David Hansson Bilefeld was born in Denmark and received a German education. In 1568 he was a teacher in Rostock and a year later he came to Gotland as tutor to the sons of the Danish governor Jens Bilde. In 1571 he was appointed headmaster in Visby and at the date of the production of *AM 54 4°* was parish priest in Barlingbo in Gotland and rural dean (*proastr*) of the northern riding (*bripiungr*) of Gotland.

Bilefeld was appointed suffragan Bishop of Gotland in 1592 and died in 1596 (cf. Pipping 1901a, 72; Lemke 1868, 22-23). The text of Bilefeld's manuscript differs from the *A*-text in that sections relating to the children of priests and to the sale of and theft by slaves missing from *B 64* appear in *AM 54 4°*. The provisions concerned seem to be older than those in sections where the texts agree, and were thus likely to have been deliberately omitted from *B 64* or its original (see *GLGS*, xviii; *SL* IV, lxvi). This circumstance supports an assumption that *AM 54 4°*, and hence the manuscript of 1470, although of a later date than *B 64*, represents an earlier state of the law. The text of *AM 54 4°* is hereafter referred to as the *B*-text.

#### *C. Holm B 65*

This is an octavo (17.2 cm x 13.4 cm) vellum manuscript from 1401, held in Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm, and containing a medieval German translation of *GL*. It has no covers and consists of thirty-two leaves, the first twenty-eight of which are numbered and contain the text of the law and the beginning of a German translation of *Guta saga*, written in two columns. The last four leaves contain the remainder of *Guta saga*. Two leaves have been excised from the start of the manuscript and six vellum leaves have been cut away from the end (see *LG*, xiv-xv). One can still discern, on the stumps of the latter, the same handwriting as that of the law text. Following these are attached thirteen paper leaves, the first nine and last two of which contain two sets of Danish statutes, written in a mid-sixteenth-century hand. One set is dated Christmas Eve (*helig afton*) 1492 and the other 1537. The first is complete, but only the first two and a half chapters of the latter are included. According to information in the manuscript itself (folio 28v), the German translation was prepared under instructions from Johann Techewicz, who was captain (*houptman*) of the Teutonic Order in Gotland and supervisor of the fisheries of Putzig in Prussia. The significance of the



Teutonic Order in the history of Gotland has been touched on earlier (see pp. 11-12). The translation itself was executed by Sunye (known only by his given name), recorded in June 1402 as superintendent at St George's Hospital, Visby (*SD* I, 143, no. 195). The scribe was Peter Warthenberg von Costanz, who completed work on Palm Sunday 1401. Sun(y)e is named in May 1412 as one of the envoys collecting taxes from the Gotlanders on behalf of Erik of Pommern in 1401 (*SD* II, 508-509, no. 1572). Pipping (*GLGS*, xx) draws attention to errors in both Schildener's and Schlyter's reading of the name Sunye. (Svuvē and Svurē respectively) and refers to Lindström's comments on this (cf. *G-L*, 88; *CIG*, 162; Lindström 1895, II 27, 425). Sunye has also been identified with Sune or Suno, later (c. 1412) rural dean of the northern riding of Gotland (see Pernler 1977, 167). Schlyter (*CIG*, xiv) considers that it is in a mixture of Middle High German and Middle Low German, such as was probably spoken by the German residents of Visby. This has been challenged by Ekelund (1906, 9), referring to Lindström (1895, II 460-479, 508-531). Ekelund maintains on linguistic grounds that the translator was not a Low German speaker but that he must have learned German as a foreign language. He further holds (1906, 32-34) that, because of errors that he makes in the translation, Sune could not have been a Gotlander and concludes, again on linguistic grounds, that he was a Swedish priest. The translation contains the chapters concerning the sale of and theft by slaves, but not the other extra provisions in *AM* 54 4°, nor the three additional (latest) chapters in *B* 64. The last thirteen chapters are in a different sequence with respect to both *B* 64 and *AM* 54 4°. The translation in *B* 65 is designated *tyGL* by Wessén (*SL* IV, lxvi). The manuscript *Holm B* 65 is hereafter referred to as *B* 65 and its content as *tyGL*.

D. *AM 55 4°*

This mid-sixteenth-century paper manuscript, containing a Danish translation of *GL*, is held in Den arnamagnæanske håndskriftsamling at the University library, Copenhagen. It consists of sixty-five numbered leaves and an unnumbered title leaf. It is bound in a paper cover, inscribed *Den gamle Gullands Low*. On the title page, as well as the words *Gullans Lovf*, is the name of the owner: Claudius Christophori F. Lyschander and ‘† 1623’. Lyschander was born in the rectory at Vrams in Skåne and became a parish priest and rural dean as well as royal histographer. The manuscript later belonged to Fredrik Rostgaard (†1745) as recorded in a printed catalogue of his collection of books, with the note: Claud. Lyschandri fuit. The first two leaves contain a table of contents, which does not wholly agree with the text itself and is written in a different hand. Folios 3-59 contain the text of the law. Folio 60v contains some notes on coinage in the same hand and folios 61-65 contain an outline, in a later hand, of an alphabetical index, which has not been completed. The eighty-three chapters were not numbered by the original scribe, but Chapters 1-3 and 5-21 have been numbered in the same hand as that of the table of contents. Wessén, who designates the text in the manuscript *daGL*, thinks that the translation might have been made in connection with a declaration by King Hans I in 1492, confirming the validity of ‘then gamble Gudlandtz lough’, supplemented by certain other provisions contained in manuscript *Holm C 81 4°* described below (see *SL* IV, lxvii, lxxxvii). According to Schlyter (*CIG*, xvii), however, the manuscript was probably written out by the translator himself, which would place it approximately fifty years later in date. Both Schlyter and Wessén consider it to be a poor translation, full of obvious inconsistencies and misunderstandings of the original Gutnish, although they give no specific examples (cf. *CIG*, xviii; *SL* IV, lxvii). Three chapters present in the medieval Gutnish

manuscripts are missing from this translation; it contains, however, seven chapters that do not appear in the other texts and three that differ in content from similar provisions elsewhere in the text. The last thirteen chapters are in a different sequence from the last fourteen of the three preceding manuscripts and the chapter on taxes is omitted. The provision concerning the sale of slaves is present, but not that concerning theft by slaves. *AM 55 4°* therefore evidently follows a tradition independent of the three manuscripts previously described, and is of value in respect of the provisions not found elsewhere, since it in all probability throws light on a lost Gotlandic original.

*E. Holm C 81 4°*

This paper manuscript from the late sixteenth century, consisting of twenty-one leaves, bound but without covers, is held in Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm. It contains in complete form the two sets of Danish statutes, which are to be found in truncated form in *B 65*. The statutes are divided into thirty-two and seventeen headed sections respectively. On one of two blank leaves at the beginning a later hand refers to the first set of statutes as that laid down by King Hans I in 1492. The second set of statutes was, according to its rubric, drawn up in 1537 by King Christian III Frederiksson.

*F. GKS 3363 4°*

This paper manuscript is held in Den gamle kongelige samling (GKS) of Det kongelige Bibliotek (the Royal Library) in Copenhagen. It is bound in vellum and consists of 123 pages with supplementary notes inserted at the end of the manuscript. It has two title pages, one inscribed *Lex Gothlandica 1470 scripta* and the other *Exaratum Anno MDLXXXVII*. The last six folios are blank. In the catalogue details, confirmed in private communication (23/1/2004) by Palle Ringsted of the manuscript

department of the library, it states: '*Lex Gothlandica, ad exemplar 1470 exerat, manu O. Sperlingii jun. 1687*'. This date is presumably the date assigned to the manuscript. It is an imperfect, although largely careful copy made by Otto Sperling (†1715), a professor in Copenhagen, and was intended to consist of the Gutnish text with a Latin translation on facing pages. Only the first two and a half chapters and the chapter headings have been translated, however. The copy is followed, as stated, by some leaves containing notes relating to page 30 of the text, in the same hand. These notes refer to Chapter XVI *Aff wereldi manna*. Since it names the years 1470 and 1587 on the title page, the Gutnish would appear to be a copy of Bilefeld's manuscript, *AM 54 4°*, as stated by Schlyter (*CIG*, xix), and thus does not represent an independent tradition. This manuscript is omitted from Gigas's catalogue (1903-1915) of Scandinavian manuscripts in Det kongelige Bibliotek.

#### *G Kall 650 4°*

This unbound paper manuscript is held in Kalls samling of Det kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen. The collection was the property of Professor Abraham Kall (†1821) and was inherited by Det kongelige Bibliotek in 1821. The manuscript consists of eighty-seven leaves and the Gutnish (on the verso pages) is an exact copy, apart from a number of misreadings, of *GKS 3363 4°* and hence ultimately of Bilefeld's manuscript. *Kall 650 4°* was executed at almost the same time as *GKS 3363 4°* (i.e. late seventeenth or early eighteenth century) and like the latter, is written on alternate pages, although only the titles of the chapters appear in Latin, on 2 recto to 80 recto. The last seven leaves, not referred to in the catalogue information supplied by Palle Ringsted (23/1/2004), are presumably also blank. This manuscript is not listed in Gigas's catalogue (1903-1915).

*H Holm B 68 4°*

This paper manuscript, also bound in paper, and held in Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm, is a Danish translation of *GL* from the beginning of the seventeenth century and is a copy of *AM 55 4°*. It consists of forty-two leaves with numbered pages (1-84), a separate leaf with a title page and two leaves with a table of contents in the same hand as the main text. Schlyter (*CIG*, xix) considers the scribe to be Swedish on the grounds of his handwriting and orthography. He describes the copy as relatively accurate, although it does exhibit certain errors (which he does not list). There are a number of spaces left in the manuscript, presumably for later insertions that were never completed.

From an analysis of the preserved manuscripts of *GL* described above a tentative stemma may be proposed. Following Wessén's suggestions (*SL* IV, lxiv-lxviii), it seems likely that the surviving complete manuscripts that are not obviously copies (A-D above) represent four different traditions, here designated *w*, *x*, *y* and *z*. Of these, *w* and *x* are assumed both to be derived from a common source *v*. Two arguments for this are: (1) the presence of some errors common to *B 64* and *AM 54 4°*, such as those noted in endnotes 600, 619 and 647, and (2) the identical sequence of the fourteen later chapters, which is not the case in the other two traditions. Pipping points out (*GLGS*, xviii note 1) that Bilefeld could have had *B 64* to hand when he made his copy and been influenced by it. He certainly had access to the latter, since he has made annotations in it, e.g. the number 27 in the margin on folio 22r, which is in his handwriting (see Pipping 1904, 16-18). Pipping observes, however, that Bilefeld appears to have had a third manuscript (which Pipping calls *X*) to hand when making his copy of the one dated 1470 (see *GLGS*, xvii-xviii). Pipping reaches this conclusion in his edition of *AM 54 4°*, where he considers various marginal notes that Bilefeld

made in his manuscript and points out their differences in orthography from the main text (and hence presumably from the manuscript of 1470) and from *B 64* (see Pipping 1901a, 73-81). In addition, the number '27' written by Bilefeld on folio 22r of *B 64*, alongside Chapter 20, does not refer to the equivalent chapter in *AM 54 4°*, which is 26, and so, argues Pipping, must refer to the equivalent chapter in *X*. Since Pipping's *X* has not survived, there is little that can be conjectured concerning its content or age, and it has been excluded from the stemma.

If it is assumed that the original manuscript of *GL* dated from circa 1220, there must have been a later manuscript, *u*, that contained the provision, designated *\*A<sub>1</sub>* on the stemma on p. 24, relating to inheritance by daughters of non-Gotlandic (i.e. Swedish) men and which is present in all the extant manuscripts (e.g. at the end of Chapter 24 in *B 64* and in Chapter 36 in *AM 54 4°*). Manuscript *u* can be dated to the second half of the thirteenth century at the earliest, since the inheritance law could not have been included prior to 1260, when Birger Jarl introduced it into Swedish law (cf. Pipping 1926, 247-250).

The miscellaneous provisions (designated *\*A<sub>2</sub>* on the following stemma) contained in Chapters 48-61 of *B 64*, which Wessén also considers to be later than the main corpus, must have been added after the writing of *u*, and independently in each of the traditions *v*, *y* and *z* (as indicated) since these fourteen chapters are in different sequences in three of the four complete manuscripts, but in the same sequence in *B 64* and *AM 54 4°*. The late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Danish statutes, which are present in *B 65* and *Holm C 81 4°* clearly represent a separate tradition, outside that of the main text. They are not included in the stemma on p. 24.

The *w* tradition represents an early version of the law, deriving from *v*, which retained the specific provisions relating to slaves and the children of priests. At some

point various additions to existing provisions concerning hair pulling, toasts at weddings, and inheritance by women were absorbed into the text (designated  $*A_3$  on the following stemma). A copy of this version, dated 1470, was used by Bilefeld in writing *AM 54 4°*, the *B*-text, and this in turn was copied by several later scribes (e.g. as *GKS 3363 4°* and *Kall 650 4°*).

The *x* tradition derives similarly from *v* but omits the provisions concerning the children of priests and the sale of and theft by slaves, presumably when clerical celibacy was enforced, and slavery became less common because of economic, rather than moral, circumstances. Lis Jacobsen (*GGD*, 6) infers from this that *x* represents a later stage of the law than *w*, *y* or *z*. The first manuscript with these omissions, shown by a broken line from *v*, Pipping assumes was made circa 1300, i.e. shortly before *B 64* was written. Since the table of contents in the latter refers to the provision relating to the sale of slaves not contained in the text, it seems that *B 64* was written at a time of transition in the law. At some point, represented by  $x_1$ , the heterogeneous additions ( $*A_3$ ) made to the *w* tradition were included, but not absorbed into the body of the text as they were in the *w* tradition, appearing instead in Chapters 62, 63 and 65. Whether this happened before or after the omissions in question were made is not possible to determine, since no change was made to the table of contents to incorporate them. *Guta saga* ( $*GS$ ), which was not part of the *w* tradition, was also appended at or around this stage. The *x* tradition is represented only by *B 64*, the *A*-text.

The *y* tradition, represented by *B 65* ( $\eta GL$ ), contains some of the older provisions, namely those concerning the sale of and theft by slaves, but not the additions ( $*A_3$ ) found in the *w* and *x* traditions. On this basis, Jacobsen considers that the German translation represents the oldest preserved content. At some point, however, say  $y_1$ , the text of *Guta saga* was translated and incorporated into *B 65*.



Finally, the  $z$  tradition, which is represented by  $AM\ 55\ 4^\circ$  and its copy  $B\ 68\ 4^\circ$  (*daGL*), omits some of the provisions that might be regarded as original, shown by a broken line from  $u$ . Some, but not all, of the provisions assumed to have been later additions are included (shown by the dotted line leading from  $*A_3$ ) as are others that have no equivalents elsewhere (designated  $*A_4$  and forming Chapters 13, 52, 54, 55 and 57-59 of the named manuscripts).

As a supplement to the following stemma, Appendix A contains a table showing the differences in content and sequence of chapters in the four principal manuscripts (1-4 above) and thus the four manuscript traditions.



### III *Nature and content*

#### A *The nature of Guta lag*

There are three differing opinions concerning the nature of manuscripts of *GL*. Richard Steffen (1943, 40) contends that *GL* is the work of a priest, partly theoretical in nature and reflecting an ideal rather than an achieved legal framework. In support of this view Bengt Söderberg (1956, 13) points out that a wergild of twenty-four marks of silver must have been equivalent to a large farm complete with its contents and movables. Since only wealthy landowning families could have considered paying such a fine, it might be assumed that for others the price must have been their life or liberty, a process that started when the killer fled to an area of asylum with his close family. Such an assumption, i.e. that the fines were unrealistic, changes the balance of the law as presented in the manuscripts. Instead of fines taking precedence over other forms of punishment, the old system of retaliation would seem still to hold good, in defiance of the new principle of reconciliation.

Karl Westman (1912b, 16-18) uses the terms *rättsbok* and *lagbok* in the context of Swedish provincial laws. He defines the former as a record of the law in force at a particular date, recorded from the words of law speakers as an *aide mémoire*. A suitable English translation of *rättsbok* might be 'justice book'. Westman cites *ÄVgL* and *ÖgL* as examples of this type and contrasts these with a number of other provincial laws, particularly those from Svealand (*UL*, *SdmL* and *HL*), which he designates *lagböcker*. Westman defines these as systematic, normalized codes prepared by lawmakers from existing written records. These were presumably designed to incorporate the complete legal process. *Lagbok* would be usefully translated as 'statute book'. Hafström (1970, 25, 27) holds that all the law texts from Götaland were justice books and by implication includes *GL* in this category.

Westman does not classify *GL*, or certain other provincial laws (e.g. *DL*, *VmL*, *YVgL*), but Wessén (*LG*, xix) places *GL* in the second of Westman's categories, rather than the first and refers to the concluding words of the law:

*Þa en nequarar atbyrþir kunnu þar verða sum ai hittas hier, þa skulu þar  
slitas mið domera tali ok þair þet sueria et þet sein ret guta lag ok siþan  
skrifað hier i.*

On the basis of this provision he holds that *GL* appears to be a formally accepted and applied text. He contrasts this with *AVgL* and *ÖgL*, which he agrees with Westman to be private records of the law at a particular date, written by men involved with legal matters as *aides mémoires*, i.e. justice books. On the other hand, Holmbäck (*SL* I, xv-xvi; *MELLNT*, xiv-xvi) considers that *GL* as preserved represents a private record of the law that applied in the province at a specific time (i.e. a justice book rather than a statute book). He includes *DL* in this category, but designates both *VmL* and *YVgL* as statute books, the result of 'omfattande bearbetning av den tidigare rätten'. Holmbäck (*MELLNT*, xv note 4) leaves open the question of how many changes took place when the justice books were prepared from the recited law.

A glance at the table of contents of *B 64* (taking into account the small differences between that and the text) reveals how unstructured *GL* is. Matters of civil law are interspersed with matters of criminal law, and provisions covering related topics appear at various points in the content. From the fact that, in the main, the chapters in the text agree with the table of contents at the start of the manuscript, and that the new provisions at the end of *B 64* are not included in that table, it seems likely that the sequence of provisions is original. The arrangement of the content in the manuscript gives the impression of a document that records, somewhat randomly, what someone remembered. Reading the body of the text gives a similar impression: there are

omissions, repetitions and slight inconsistencies such as one would expect if memory were the chief source of the information. These observations militate against Steffen's suggestion that the text was written as an unrealised ideal, and it certainly does not have the characteristics of a theoretical work.

If one assumes that *GL* is to some degree practical rather than theoretical the opposing conclusions of Wessén and Holmbäck (i.e. that *GL* is either a statute book or a justice book) are equally worthy of serious consideration. Although *GL* as it is preserved has clearly undergone certain revisions, it does not seem to be a systematized set of statutes as Wessén contends. It is not organized into sections and chapters (Swedish *balkar* and *flockar*) in any logical manner and certainly could not be said to cover the whole legal process (cf. Amira 1882, 711). Some chapters are relatively lengthy and unstructured, covering a number of different provisions (e.g. those on wounding and inheritance) whilst others (especially those towards the end of the text) are extremely short, frequently containing only one provision. The law relating to property is split across several chapters, scattered throughout the text (see *SL* IV, lxxiv-lxxv). *GL* could therefore be described as a private, more or less selective, record of the law in force in Gotland at various times prior to the dates of the preserved manuscripts: in other words it is more nearly a justice book than a statute book.

#### B *Legal system as reflected by Guta lag*

A discussion of the legal system contained in *GL* might usefully start with what is not included, since that is what distinguishes it most markedly from the mainland Swedish provincial laws. The most obvious omission is a section relating to the pledge of royal involvement in local law (Swedish *edsöreslag*, see p. 46), and indeed there is no mention of the king at all in *GL* or in *VSiL*. No fines are stated as payable

to the king, and although taxes are referred to in *Guta Saga* (GLGS, 64, 68), there is only an unspecific mention of them in *GL* (Chapter 53). There is no reference to Sweden, although it has been assumed by modern scholars that the non-Gotlandic people referred to were residents of Swedish origin. Reciprocal arrangements between Gotland and Sweden are mentioned in *Guta saga* (GLGS, 64) and the forty-mark wergild, which is payable for non-Gotlanders, appears to be an import from the mainland provincial laws. Wessén notes that this same level of fine appeared in the Declaration of Artlenburg (see pp. 4-5, 10 above) and considers that in this latter case it reflected the existing law in Gotland (see *SL* IV, lxxix-lxxxii).

Another omission from *GL* is any element of commercial or maritime law, despite the apparent importance of trade to Gotland; indeed Visby is named only once, and that in passing. Yrwing (1978, 105) suggests that this omission is explained by the existence, at the time of writing of *GL*, of special laws covering these matters, and cites the provision relating to the redemption by a foreigner of a captive Gotlander as an indication that this was the case (see 86/20-22). Provisions relating to ships are included (Chapter 36) but these cover only the responsibilities of their owners to take due care to protect them from theft.

Although there are a number of provisions relating to the church (tithes, observance of the Sabbath, the duties of priests, etc.) there is no specific church law section covering the dedication, care and ringing of bells, forbidden degrees of kinship in marriage, trial by ordeal or bishop's visitations and courts such as appear in other Swedish provincial laws and in *SkL*. The fact that arrangements for the bishop's visitation are described in detail in *Guta saga*, however, supports Wessén's contention (*LG*, xviii) that the latter is 'ett naturligt komplement till lagen' in that it includes relevant matter not present in *GL* itself.

A further example of *Guta saga* complementing *GL* may be noted. There is no reference in *GL* to the commission (*nämnd*), which forms an important element in mainland provincial laws. In *Guta saga*, however, an oath given by commissioners or nominees (*nemnda aiþr*) is described in reference to the failure of the islanders to send troops to the levy (*laipingr*). Significantly it is stated in this context that the only such oath permitted is this particular oath to the king (cf. *SL* IV, lxxix; *GLGS*, 69).

*GL* contains very few descriptions of the legal process itself, how assemblies were organized, their frequency and constitution. One institution that seems to have been absent from Gotland, however, is that of lawspeaker (*lagman*). This office was also lacking in the Danish legal system, whose law texts are similarly less structured than those of mainland Sweden. Wessén (*SL* IV, lxxxvi) suggests that there might have been a college of judges (*domerar*) in Gotland determining the legislative programme. One may infer that there were three or more (*þings*)*domerar* in each sixth (see 74/22) and that a number of these were designated as *siettungsdomerar*. There also seem to have been a number of provincial judges (*lanzdomerar*), who had some legislative power. Such an arrangement is certainly implied by the second half of Chapter 61, the original conclusion of the law text. On the other hand, Söderberg (1956, 12) thinks that there was a speaker at the general assembly, i.e. the *lanzdomeri*, who was the highest authority. He may have been the highest judicial voice, but one cannot infer that he was the sole lawmaker. The only instance of the word *lanzdomeri* in *GL* (Chapter 19, 71/24) suggests that there was at least one of these officials for each sixth (*siettungr*), possibly chosen from amongst the (*þings*)*domerar* or *siettungsdomerar*. A similar phrase later in the same chapter (74/22) uses *domeri* alone, however, and Steffen (1943, 39 note 2) maintains that *lanzdomeri* referred only to the judge who presided over *land alt*, i.e. the general assembly.



In another contribution Steffen (1945, 229) suggests that a particular *lanzdomeri* might have been simultaneously a judge in lower levels of the judiciary. If the first manuscript of *GL* were written as a private document, the author might have had in mind a specific situation in which the provincial judge was a local sixth judge when he wrote the provision. Yrwing (1978, 80-81) states that all the judges attended the general assembly and that until about the middle of the fifteenth century the three rural deans also attended. It appears at least possible that the author of *GL* was misled by this arrangement into thinking that all the judges attending the general assembly were designated *lanzdomerar*. It is also possible that the cited use of this word is simply an error, but if so it is an error common to all four manuscript traditions of *GL*. It is worth noting that there is no specific reference in *GL* or other contemporary sources to *priþiungsdomerar*.

*GL* was a law designed for a closed, self-governing, farming community with a need to maintain estates at a viable size, despite the necessity of providing younger sons with a living and daughters with a dowry. Other classes were the lease-holding farmers who rented land, the landless, who were obliged to provide unpaid labour at harvest time, servants and slaves. Elsa Sjöholm (1976, 170-173) in her discussion of the date of origin of *GL* makes much of the importance of the Gotlandic aristocracy, but other scholars (e.g. Wessén in *SL* IV, lxxxiii) argue that there was, in effect, no aristocratic class in Gotland, and it is difficult to find evidence of such a class. Even the priests were answerable to the assembly of the people, and the power of parishioners in general seems to have been quite extensive.

As well as the native people, there was evidently a considerable foreign population (*ogutniskr fulk*) who were permitted to own land and who had their own rules of inheritance and their own levels of wergild. This population is considered by most

scholars to have been Swedish people from other provinces, since the laws that relate to them coincide with the provincial laws of mainland Sweden, rather than those of Germany (cf. *GGD*, 45 note 1; *SL IV*, lxxx). A similar expression, *vtlænsker maþer*, is used in this sense in *ÄVgL Md 5 §§4, 5*. On the other hand, Sjöholm (1976, 167) seems to argue that the group referred to was the population of Visby, or at least the (mainly German) merchants who lived there while visiting Gotland. She admits, however, that the lower level of wergild applicable to this group contradicts earlier agreements relating to compensation for travelling merchants.

Although information is sparse, at least three levels of judicial assembly are recognized in *GL*. The highest level was the general assembly (*gutnalþing*). This was thought, by tradition, to have been held at Roma, in central Gotland, although this is not mentioned in the Gutnish manuscripts of *GL*, and has now been called into question. It is possible, for instance, that the word *Rume* used in the German translation of *Guta saga* (*CIG*, 164) referred simply to an open space, possibly near Visby (see Steffen 1945, 246, 250; Söderberg 1956, 12). Steffen (1943, 37, 45-46) suggests that there might not have been a fixed site for the assembly, but that it was held at the farm of the presiding provincial judge. Yrwing (1978, 81 note 3), however, dismisses this as extremely unlikely in the early Middle Ages, although circumstances might have changed later (cf. Wildte 1926, 212, 215-216, 219-221; 1931, 181; 1933-1934, 171-172). The number of general assemblies held in the course of a year is not specified in *GL* but would seem to be more than one, since the 'assembly next following the Feast of St Peter' is specified in *Guta saga* (*GLGS*, 69). According to later laws, the frequency of assemblies varied between weekly and twice yearly province by province. *ÄVgL*, however, like *GL* gives no details (cf. Sjöberg 1969, 60, 81-82). By the end of the fifteenth century Visby was represented by burgomasters

at the same time that *GL* remained in force effectively until 1645, despite King Christian IV's attempt to introduce *Skånelag* (*SkL*) to Gotland. This persistence, he infers, would hardly be likely if *GL* were a theoretical work by a cleric, with no practical application (see pp. 25-27 above). Ecclesiastical matters that were not resolved at the appropriate riding assembly were referred to the general assembly (see *GLGS*, 68). Although there are no contemporary records naming the sites at which the riding assemblies were held, Lindström (1895 II, 482-483) suggests that these were: at Tingstäde church for the northern riding, at Roma for the middle riding and at Suderting for the southern riding. Pernler (1977, 189) points out, however, that Suderting was actually in the middle riding. Suderting does not survive as a place-name, but it was situated in a property called Ajmunds (or Ejmunds), in the parish of Mästerby, southwest of Roma, and was an assembly site for the Hejde sixth (see Steffen 1945, 250-253).

Gotland was further divided into sixths (*siettungar*), which Lindström (1895 II, 480-483), Steffen (1943, 21, 22) and others consider to be pre-Christian in origin. The boundaries of these districts do not, however, exactly coincide with those of the ridings from which they were assumed to have been created (see Steffen 1945, 236). Sixths seem to have had some administrative significance in that a number of judges were allocated to each. These judges apparently had the authority to adjudicate in cases in which the fine did not exceed three marks, but there is no reference in *GL* to an assembly for a sixth, which weakens Steffen's argument that such assemblies were part of the judicial structure at the time that *GL* was written. Yrwing's suggestion (1940, 107) that by this time the function of the sixth assembly had been taken over by the lower, district assembly seems in part to be supported by provisions elsewhere in *GL* relating to three mark fines. He goes further, however, in a later article (1978,

83) to put forward the theory that sixths only became important as areas for taxation, and later the levy, under Swedish rule and did not have any judicial significance before Danish occupation. Pernler (1977, 188) supports Yrwing in this assessment, pointing out that the first mention of a sixth judge occurs in 1511. He interprets the phrase *ann lanzdomeri af sama siettungi* to mean that there were judges who represented each sixth at the general assembly, rather than assuming that there were assemblies for each sixth. The Danish sixth assemblies and their judges were abolished when Gotland was recovered by Sweden in 1645 (see Yrwing 1978, 86 note 6).

The third level of assembly that is mentioned specifically in *GL* relates to a further division of the sixths into local districts or hundreds. The word *hunderi* appears in five contexts, in Chapters 19, 28, 31, 32 and Addition 8, but is not recorded outside *GL*. The word *þing* alone is used elsewhere (see Yrwing 1978, 86-87). Tunberg has argued that the word *hunderi* may be an import from mainland Sweden (cf. Tunberg 1911, 138-139, 202-203; *SL* IV, lxxxiv-lxxxv). In *GL* it appears that each such district had a number of local officials, consistently called *raþmenn* (Chapters 19, 31, 32 and the *B*-text addition to 38). The origin of the use of this word is questioned by Steffen (1943, 41), who thinks that it reflects a failed attempt to introduce the *nämnd*, alongside a system of local judges. Since the latter are not mentioned in *GL*, this theory lacks sufficient support and it seems more probable that the term *raþmenn* was used deliberately to distinguish local officials from those appointed to the riding assemblies. At least three *raþmenn* were chosen for each *hunderi* and it seems likely that they acted as local magistrates (see Addition 8 and Chapter 31). The terminology is, however, ambiguous and *raþmenn* might have just assisted a single *domeri*, appointed for the *hunderisþing* (cf. Amira 1882, 21; *SL* IV, lxxxv-lxxxvi, 280-281

note 1). Although Hegel (1891, I 302), noting various three-mark fines payable by the parish, considers that the hundred was an administrative authority in Gotland, this interpretation is challenged by Yrwing (1940, 104). While other laws (e.g. *UL Rb 1*) mention *rætter þinxstæper* in relation to the hundreds, there is no indication of such fixed assembly sites in *GL*.

It might be inferred from *GL* that the lowest administrative and judicial body was at parish level. This body appears to have been of considerable practical importance, although Steffen (1943, 41) considers that it was, rather, the lowest level of ecclesiastical court, below the riding court and the consistory court. Certainly many of the cases referred to the parish were ecclesiastical in nature, or at least related to crimes committed in or near the church, but some of the duties of the parishioners were of a secular character. Examples are: (1) witnessing the freeing of a slave after his period of service (Chapter 16, 70/12-13), (2) witnessing the statement of a woman relating to a child born as a result of an illicit liaison (Chapter 20, 78/19-21) and (3) valuing a debt for which surety has been given (Chapter 30, 87/18). Yrwing (1940, 93, 95-98, 107) suggests that as the number of parishes increased and their importance developed, the power exercised by the sixth assemblies was passed to the parishes. These latter then became the local assemblies (called simply *þing*, see p. 34), the manifestation of the so-called hundred assemblies (cf. *SL IV*, lxxxii-lxxxviii, xc-xcviii).

Magnus Eriksson's national law for Sweden (*MELL*) was drawn up in the mid-fourteenth century to replace individual provincial laws prevailing in Sweden (outside the towns) with a single law. This replacement did not occur simultaneously in all parts of Sweden: *HL*, for example, was still in force in 1436. In Gotland circumstances were such that *GL* remained in force until 1645 when Sweden finally

recovered Gotland from Denmark. As noted above, in 1595 King Christian IV of Denmark ordered that all his subjects in Gotland should follow the provincial law of Skåne, but how far this was enforced is unclear and the attempt to replace *GL* seems to have been a failure (see Westman 1912b, 21).

#### *C System of fines and non-monetary punishments*

The system of fines in *GL* is a complex one and in some sections seems to be confusing and contradictory: Appendix C sets out the monetary system used and Appendix D, table (ii) offers an analysis of fines imposed for different offences, showing the variations depending on the perpetrator and the victim. Wennström (1940, 74-95, 259-263) analyses the fines on the basis of the amount extracted.

Theft and adultery seem, to some extent, to have been regarded as more despicable crimes than killing, presumably because they were crimes that broke down trust in the farming community. An isolated killing resulting from a fight between two adult males, if admitted to and compensated for, could be forgiven or at least accepted. The danger came when compensation was not paid and a blood feud could start. One noteworthy aspect of the law relating to what might be called sexual harassment is that the woman appears to have been assigned some responsibility for protecting herself against unwanted advances, since fines for these reduced with the intimacy of the advance. Such advances were clearly distinguished from straightforward indecent assaults, which were (as would only seem right to modern eyes) punishable in relation to the degree of exposure the woman suffered. This difference, so tersely described, gives us, perhaps, an insight into the prevailing relationships between men and women in thirteenth century Gotlandic society. There are no similar provisions in other Swedish provincial laws, but one cannot infer from this that attitudes to women were therefore different.

The levels of compensation extracted for various criminal acts can be used as an indicator of the relative value of the goods involved. Wennström (1931, 25-26) suggests that a cow was worth nine *örtugar* of silver ( $\frac{3}{8}$  mark) in thirteenth-century Halland. The definition of ‘full theft’, punishable by death or payment of wergild, in most other provincial laws is half a mark of silver (twelve *örtugar*), or alternatively a cow (see *ÖgL* Vb 32 pr, §1). In *GL* the limit for ‘full theft’ is one mark and if this were equivalent to two cows or more, the full wergild of twenty-four marks would most probably have been equal in value to the estate and movables of a considerable farm. Only the very rich would have been able to afford to pay it; the remainder of the population might in most circumstances have had to forfeit their lives or liberty (see p. 25). There is, however, an indication that this extreme was not always the case. In Chapter 14 we have the following:

*Hittir maþr sakar at giera lerþr eþa olerþr, þa byti engin frammar firi annan, þan hans kustr vindr at.*

If a man, whether ordained or not, commits a crime, no one shall be fined more for another than his resources can cover.

This provision appears to refer specifically to cases in which someone has inherited an obligation to pay a fine for another’s crime, in particular the children of priests. Later in the same section there is an implication that the maximum that a person could be liable for was his or her personal share (*hafuþlutr*) of their inheritance. If these provisions applied more generally (and the rather disorganized nature of the preserved texts does not preclude such a possibility) then this throws a completely different light on the structure of compensation.

In comparison to some other Swedish provincial laws, there is little detail in *GL* concerning non-monetary punishments meted out to wrongdoers. Such punishments:

excommunication, prolonging slavery, outlawry, loss of inheritance, branding, mutilation, hanging, and other capital punishments were, however, inflicted in certain cases, particularly for theft, adultery and misuse of property. The circumstances in which they were applied are tabulated in Appendix D, table (i).

Where slaves had offended, they could not be expected to pay compensation themselves, and hence an alternative had to be found if the master were not to carry all the burden of restitution, as was usually the case. To extend the slave's period of bondage, or to execute the slave were the most obvious options, although in the latter case his or her owner would again be the loser. Where a killing (other than infanticide) was involved, the slave himself was offered as part of the wergild. In cases of infanticide and Sabbath-breaking (considered to be ecclesiastical crimes), the period of slavery was extended, and for the rape of a Gotlandic woman the slave's life was forfeit, unless she preferred to receive compensation.

So far as residents of Gotland other than slaves were concerned, excommunication was imposed for damage to monastic property and as an interim punishment for violence during church festivals, until compensation had been paid. If compensation for a killing (including infanticide) was not paid within the specified time, the killer was outlawed, but this penalty is not mentioned in any other context. Selling one's farm illegally, led to loss of one's inheritance and reduction in status to a non-Gotlander. If one laid waste to land worth three marks in rent, the punishment was even more severe: execution for a man and loss of her pew in church for his wife. Working in another man's woodland led to confiscation of one's tools, material and draught animal, which would have been a severe penalty.

Branding was the punishment for theft of an amount between two *öre* and one mark of silver. Theft of greater amounts (including land), or a second theft of a smaller



amount resulted in a shameful death by hanging. The only other crimes leading to physical punishment were adultery, abduction and rape. The provisions were complicated, ranging from loss of a hand or foot for discovered adultery with an illegitimate daughter of mixed Gotlandic and non-Gotlandic parentage, to execution for the rape of a married woman. In most cases the woman could choose wergild or other payment as an alternative. No information is given in *GL* concerning the form of execution imposed, but as the neck is mentioned in at least one situation, it was probably either death by hanging or beheading (see Notes to 79/14-16).

The complex provisions relating to killings, and the killer's circle of safety, seem to be unique to Gotland. They are described in detail in the Commentary to Chapter 13.

#### D *Oaths*

In parallel with the punishments there was a system of oaths to be taken or arranged by the parties in a dispute. This system is summarized in the table in Appendix E, which shows that the person or group to whom the oath was given and the number of supporting witnesses or oath-takers varied considerably with the crime or misdemeanour involved. Oaths were in many cases sworn rather in the nature of character witnesses, as is touched upon in the Note to 60/16.

#### E *Laws of inheritance*

The inheritance provisions in *GL* have been justifiably described as extremely complex. Holmbäck (1919, 12-51, 219-241) has made a detailed analysis of them, particularly in relation to legitimacy and in comparison to other Swedish provincial laws. He sees, in the inconsistencies, evidence of an organic growth in the provisions and a gradual improvement in the position of women in relation to inheritance. *Guta lag* thus offers a valuable insight into the social history of the period not available in the mainland provincial laws (cf. Holmbäck 1919, 48-51).

IV *Origins*

A consideration of the origins of the content of a legal text differs from a consideration of the sources of material in a narrative or poetic work, whether historical or otherwise. Two questions that have to be asked are: (1) whether this law was influenced by any other law formulated earlier (which might assist with dating) and (2) whether this particular redaction was a record of the law as it was enforced in a particular place and at a particular time or was an idealized representation of how the author felt that the law should be. This latter issue has been touched on to some extent in the preceding section, but in the case of *GL*, the questions of origin and nature and those of date and authorship are so closely bound together that it is difficult to separate the arguments.

Although an oral recited law (the older sense of the word *lagsaga*) may be presupposed, according to Wessén (*SL* IV, lxxiii), the lack of the office of lawman or lawspeaker in Gotland might be a counter-argument to the suggestion that *GL* was a lawman's *aide mémoire* for his oral discourse (see pp. 25-27 above). It might still, however, have been a private record prepared by a judge or some other person involved in the legal process. Whatever their provenance, there must have been some earlier form of the law than the written manuscripts that have been preserved and, if Lis Jacobsen (*GGD*, 13) is correct in her assumptions concerning the age of the language in the *A*-text, there must have been a pre-Christian law containing at least some of the material in that manuscript. Despite the broadly prose language, there are many alliterative phrases and some residual rhythmic passages. If there were no single lawman reciting the law, then perhaps the duty rotated between the elders, and *GL* originated as a result of a group of them agreeing upon a text to be recited. This might

explain some slight inconsistencies and apparent repetitions, to be found within each of the manuscripts.

The opening words of *GL*, invoking Christianity rejecting heathendom (60/2-3) provide us with a clue to the origin of the text. There are remarkable similarities between these words and those of *Gull*, the oldest manuscript of which dates from about the middle of the thirteenth century. The latter states:

*Þat er upphaf laga varra at ver scolom luta austr oc biðia til hins helga  
Crist ars oc friðar. Oc þess at vér halldem lande varo bygðu. Oc lánar  
drotne varom heilum. Se hann vinr varr, en ver hans. En Guð se allra  
varra vinr. Þat er nu því nest . . . (NGL 1, 3)*

It has been suggested that this similarity can be explained by assuming that the Christian section of the Gotlandic law was composed during a visit to Gotland by St Olaf in 1030 or thereabouts and his conversion of the Gotlanders to Christianity. Schlyter, however, who considers *GL* to date from the last quarter of the thirteenth or first quarter of the fourteenth centuries, suggests a later influence from Norway and this view is supported by Pernler (cf. *CIG*, vi-vii; Beckman 1920, 12-13; Wessén 1945a, 160; Schück 1945, 182; *SL* IV, lxxiii-lxxiv; Pernler 1977, 16-19).

A later borrowing of certain selected passages seems to be a possible explanation for the similarities, since the church laws in *Gull* differ quite fundamentally from those (such as they are) in *GL*. Had St Olaf been involved in the initial development of the law in Gotland, the relevant provisions would surely have been more extensive. It is noticeable also that penalties for infringing church laws are much more severe in *Gull* than they are in equivalent passages in *GL*. In particular, total forfeiture of property and banishment are frequently imposed as punishments in the former, whereas *GL* only implies banishment (but not outlawry) for a woman who cannot pay

the fine for infanticide, i.e. as a punishment of last resort. Further, although sections relating to the exposure of children in a number of Norwegian law texts begin in a similar manner to that in *GL* (60/8):

*Þat er nu þvinest. At barn huert skal ala a lande varo er boret verðr* (*Gull* 21; *NGL* 1, 12)

*Ala skal barn huært, er boret uærðr en ængu spilla. Sina sæng for skal huær kona uita, oc lata barn til kirkiu bera* (*EidsL* I (*B*-text), 1; *NGL* 1, 375)

*Ala skal barn huart, er boret er ok ængo spilla. Sinæ sængfor skal huar kona vita, ok lata barn til kirkiu bera* (*EidsL* II (*C*-text), 1; *NGL* 1, 394)

the older text of *Gull* contains the proviso that severely deformed children might be exempt, and detailed laws concerning baptism, completely absent from *GL*. The *B*-text of *EidsL* is, however, particularly close to the text in *GL* (cf. Beckman 1920, 11-12).

One of the greatest differences between Norwegian and Gotlandic society was the hierarchy that seems to have existed in the former. The king and two levels of aristocracy were followed by three levels of free landowning farmers. There is no indication in *GL* of any inequality between people apart from that between the free, slaves and non-Gotlanders. Admittedly, tenant farmers had different obligations from landowning ones, but there are no provisions that appear to have affected their status in any other regard. The conclusion would seem to be that, while the authors of *GL* might have borrowed phrases from other laws with which they were familiar, including those of Norway, the content of the law and the punishments applied were very much their own. This content was affected by the society to which the law was applied, as well as the priorities of the lawmakers, as is discussed below.

V *Date, place and circumstances of composition*

There are four principal theories concerning the date of composition of *GL* in written form. The first is that it was composed between 1220 and 1250 at the instigation of Andreas Suneson, the second that it was composed towards the end of the thirteenth century, the third that it was composed in the first half of the fourteenth century, perhaps as a response to the production of *MELL*, and the fourth that it originated in the twelfth century or even earlier. This last is subscribed to by Hadorph (*Gothlandz-Laghen*, Introduction). Schildener (*G-L*, xxvi), Nordström (1839, vii) and Sæve (*GU*, x). (Cf. also *SL* IV, lxxiii note 1.) There is no concrete evidence to support such an early dating of a written law, although there is internal evidence to suggest that some of the individual provisions date from a period not long after the adoption of Christianity in the early eleventh century, and that others are pre-Christian in origin, as Jacobsen (*GGD*, 6-7) indicates.

Arguments for a dating in the second half of the thirteenth century or rather later were first put forward by Schlyter (*CIG*, v-xi) and have been supported by Maurer (1878, 168-170), Amira (1913, 98) and others. They are based principally on the existence of the provision relating to the inheritance rights of non-Gotlandic (i.e. Swedish) daughters in which two sisters received the same inheritance as one brother (82/9). This must indeed have been included in *GL* after Birger Jarl introduced it into Swedish law, namely in 1260, at the time of the wedding of Valdemar Birgersson to Sofia, daughter of the murdered Danish king Erik Plogpenning (cf. *SRS* I:1, 25, 86; *SRS* III:1, 5). The circumstances are referred to in *Erikskrönikan* (26, ll. 458-461). Schlyter takes this date as a *terminus post quem* for the first written version of *GL*, thus placing it in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, Wessén thinks that this particular provision, even though it appears in all four traditions, might

have been a later addition, *\*A<sub>1</sub>* on the stemma, first included in the manuscript represented by *u* in the stemma. Accordingly, the original manuscript of *GL* (*\*GL* on the stemma) could have been considerably older (cf. *SL* IV, lxix-lxx). Two further pieces of evidence in support of this theory are: (1) the fact that the provision in question is to be found in the chapter concerning weddings, rather than in the chapter concerning inheritance, in which there are other specific provisions relating to females and (2) that there appear to be slight differences (noted by Pipping; *GLGS*, xii-xiii) between the language of that particular provision and that in the majority of the *A*-text, suggesting that it originated from a different part of Gotland (see Löffler 1878, 288-289).

Recently an even later dating, namely the fourteenth century, has been forcefully argued by Elsa Sjöholm (1976, 170-173). She also argues on the basis of the provision relating to the inheritance rights of non-Gotlandic (Swedish) females, but an inconsistency in her argument is that she initially uses a different interpretation of the expression *ogutniskt ffolk*, namely that it refers to the inhabitants of Visby (cf. pp. 21, 28, 30-31 above). In that context she points to the lack of any reference to maritime law in *GL* in order to place it in time after the separation of the town of Visby from the rest of Gotland in 1288 (see pp. 10-11 above), by which date she considers that farmers were no longer seafaring merchants. The main thrust of Sjöholm's argument in the present context, however, is that the very fact that Gotlandic laws of inheritance differ from those of *MELL* indicates that *GL* was written in order to emphasize Gotland's independence at the time of the development of a common Swedish law. This, she contends, was because any change in inheritance provisions would have led to a collapse of the social order in Gotland, which required that landholdings should not become excessively fragmented. She consequently dates *GL*, in what she calls

‘seine endgültige Form’ (1976, 171-172), to as late as the second or third quarter of the fourteenth century, i.e. some one hundred years later than Schlyter’s dating. Sjöholm’s expression, which is similar to that used by Lis Jacobsen (‘sin endelige Redaktion’; see *GGD*, 80 note 1) in reference to the date of *GL*, leads one to ask what Sjöholm considers the earlier forms of *GL* were and when they came into being. She appears to ignore the fact that there were in all probability written redactions of *GL*, as opposed to an oral law, earlier than the manuscripts that have been preserved and it is the date of the first of these (\**GL* on the stemma) that is of principal interest in the present context. Furthermore, since the oldest surviving manuscript (*B 64*) has been dated to about the middle of the fourteenth century, Sjöholm’s argument would lead one to the conclusion that, in the manuscript *B 64*, *GL* was close to ‘seine endgültige Form’. Inconsistencies and errors in *B 64*, however, and the fact that the text of *AM 54 4°* seems to represent an earlier form of *GL*, militate against such an assumption. On internal evidence, *B 64* would appear to be a copy of an earlier manuscript, which was itself more consistent and did not contain as many errors. It seems that there are equally strong arguments for an earlier dating as suggested by Wessén (*SL IV*, lxxii) and several other scholars (cf. Skov 1946, 114-116; Mitchell 1984, 151). They suggest that *GL* was composed in the first half, if not the first quarter, of the thirteenth century. The most recent challenge to Sjöholm’s arguments comes from Dick Harrison of Lund University (2002, 164-169, 602). He summarizes her arguments and those of Lindkvist (1989, 415-417) concerning the dating and nature of the provincial laws, and he concludes that the core of these laws must have been in existence prior to the laws of Magnus Eriksson, and that they reflected local conditions independently of centralized influence.

The fact that there is no mention of the king's person or rights, nor of the royal commitment (*konungens edsöre*) to punish crimes that threatened the general peace and that were regarded as too grave to be subject to fines alone, might indicate a date prior to 1280 (see Notes to 63/4-5, 66/23, 80/2, 80/16-18, 90/16). The law concerning *edsöre* was first set in place during Birger Jarl's regency (1250-1266) and confirmed by Magnus Ladulås in the Statute of Alsnö (1280), which also freed from taxes those who undertook to bear arms for the king. The concept of crimes designated *edsöresbrott* finally disappeared from Swedish law with a major revision in sentencing enacted on 16th February 1864 (cf. Westman 1912b, 106; Hemmer 1928, 269-286; Yrwing 1940, 68; *KL* s. v. *Konungs edsöre*).

Part of the agreement relating to *edsöre* was that fines for breaking any of the relevant laws would be payable to the king in addition to or instead of to the victim and the relevant assembly. Sjöholm would no doubt cite the purpose she perceives in *GL* of upholding Gotlandic independence as a reason for the omission.

Another circumstance that suggests a date prior to 1300 for the first redaction of *GL* is the set of laws relating to slaves, particularly in the *B*-text. The laws of Västergötland and Östergötland contain provisions relating to the sale of slaves, but the later laws of Svealand (e.g. *UL*) forbid the purchase and sale of slaves. Magnus Eriksson abolished slavery in Västergötland in 1335 in the Statute of Skara (see Nevéus 1974, 158-159), and it therefore seems unlikely that *GL* would have originated after circa 1300. Sjöholm's argument that the exclusion from the *A*-text of provisions concerning the sale of and theft by slaves supports the idea that *GL* in 'seine endgültige Form' post-dated the prohibition seems to be a circular one; it surely only indicates that the manuscript itself, or the one of which it was a copy, post-dates it.



Provisions relating to the children of priests (63/2-4, 97/3-7) must be considered in the light of the Synod at Skänninge in 1248 (see *GGD*, 32 note 4; *SL* IV, lxix). The papal legate, Cardinal Vilhelm of Sabina, declared the marriage of priests forbidden, and that those currently married, with some exceptions, had to separate, thereby confirming the decision of the Lateran council of 1139. It is clear that this law did not come into force immediately, as is witnessed by provisions in *ÖgL* relating to children of bishops. Furthermore, Lars, Bishop of Linköping, had to remind Gotlandic priests and people of the rules in a letter dated 18/6/1255 (*DS* I, 375, no. 426), and it was not until about 1280 that celibacy finally became the norm in Sweden. The detailed nature of the provisions in *GL* makes it unlikely, however, that they were devised and written long after the synod (cf. Hegel 1891, I 300 note 5).

The case has been made by the present author for a date between 1220 and 1275 for the composition of *Guta saga* (see *GS*, xlix-liii). Since the language of the majority of the law text in *B 64* appears to pre-date the language of *Guta saga* in the same manuscript (Pipping. *GLGS*, vii-xii), a date of circa 1220 for the earliest manuscript of the law, as Wessén proposes, seems not unreasonable.

There is no direct statement of the place of composition of *GL*, but sufficient indirect evidence to suggest that it was actually written in Gotland. The principal indication is clearly the use of the Gutnish language. It is unlikely that this would have been employed had the text been composed in mainland Sweden. The opening sentence of *GL*, contains the expression *i lagum orum* ('in our law'). This makes it highly probable that the writer was himself a native of Gotland. There are, moreover, references to circumstances peculiar to Gotland, such as the three churches of asylum for killers, in Farþaim (Fardhem), Þingsteþi (Tingstäde) and Atlingabo, which might not have been familiar to a non-Gotlandic author. Frequent references to non-

Gotlanders (*ogutniskt fulk*) are evidence that the author was aware that different laws applied to such people, but as he does not define who they were, he must have assumed that his audience would know to whom he referred. This also might be taken as an indirect indication that *GL* was written in Gotland for Gotlanders.

There is no external evidence of the authorship of *GL* as it is preserved, but if it is assumed that it was written at the instance of Andreas Suneson, it seems likely that a priest would be responsible. It cannot be ignored, however, that lack of a coherent church law section argues to some extent against a clerical author and the whole law has an element of earthy practicality that seems less clerical than one might expect if Bishop Suneson were responsible. It is possible, of course, that the writer in question was one of the last married priests in Gotland and that he deliberately wrote in this manner to emphasize his closeness to and feeling for the community as a whole. Indeed, the most emotive passages are those that refer to the dilemma of a priest's offspring having to take up a compensation case on behalf of his father and the painful choice between Christian forgiveness and honour that this duty implied.

What is clear is that the author was a Gotlander. This is manifested initially in the language, but also in the manner in which non-Gotlanders are referred to throughout: not disparagingly, but as a separate group. The closing sentences of the original text also suggest that it was intended to be a living document to be updated as circumstances dictated, rather than a fixed record at a particular time (see pp. 25-27).

VI Editions and translations of *Guta lag*

## A Previous editions

The earliest printed edition of *GL*, covering only the *A*-text (including *Guta saga*), is that of Johan Hadorph in 1687, not long after the discovery of the manuscript *B 64* in around 1680. The edition, *Gothlandz-Laghen*, is described in detail by Schlyter (*CIG*, xx-xxii). It contains certain errors and includes an introduction coloured by a romantic view of his subject matter, but it is important in that it raised awareness of *GL* at a time when the manuscript was in danger of being lost and has an index of statutes and levels of fine, together with a number of glossary entries.

The second edition is that of Karl Schildener in 1818, *G-L*, the main purpose of which was to present the text of *tyGL*. Schildener takes this from a copy of *B 65* prepared by an unnamed German-raised and educated scribe ('[einer] in Deutschland erzogenen und gebildeten Litterator') and supplied to him by Lorenzo Hammarsköld (1785-1827), philosopher and copyist at Kungliga Biblioteket in Stockholm, who had supervised the work (cf. *G-L*, vi, 89; *CIG*, xxii). Schildener includes, in parallel, a copy of Hadorph's reading of the *A*-text. The medieval German text is incomplete in that, although it contains the Danish statutes (see above, p. 15), it is lacking *Guta saga*, which is found in full in *B 65* (see *CIG*, xxiii). Alongside these two texts Schildener gives a German translation. The derivative nature of the content, and the fact that the *A*-text has been presented in a sequence altered to match that of *tyGL*, makes this edition of less value than others.

In 1852 C. J. Schlyter published the first critical edition of all the major manuscripts of *GL*, *CIG*, as the seventh volume of *Corpus iuris Sueo-Gotorum antiqui (CIS)*. His edition contains a more or less diplomatic edition of the *A*-text, with the *B*-text



reading in footnotes. Schlyter also gives the full *tyGL* text from *B 65*, the *daGL* text from *AM 55 4°* and the Danish statutes from *B 65* with alternative readings and the completion of the second statute from *Holm C 81 4°*. Each of these has footnotes indicating where equivalent statutes can be found in the others, and in the *A*-text. The edition contains a detailed description of all these manuscripts and the above-mentioned editions, a glossary (into Swedish and Latin) and an index of proper names of firstly the *A*-text and secondly *tyGL*. The textual apparatus is in Latin and there is a parallel translation into Swedish of the *A*-text. Schlyter's edition is consequently the most thorough available and his readings and translations have been accepted by most subsequent editors and commentators, often in preference to later editions. This preference is probably motivated by the fact that Schlyter edited all the Swedish provincial laws, thus facilitating comparison of them with *GL* by direct reference to his editions. Schlyter's comprehensive glossary, *CISG*, is particularly valuable, covering as it does all the Swedish provincial laws; this enables comparison to be made between their equivalent provisions and vocabulary.

In 1859 Carl Säve published his academic thesis *Gutniska urkunder: Guta lag, Guta saga och Gotlands runinskrifter språkligt behandlade*, *GU*. The text of *B 64* is to a certain extent normalized without comment, but emendations are clearly noted. Major additions in *AM 54 4°* are given at the end of the text and differences between the two manuscripts appear in footnotes. Säve's introduction consists to a great extent of an analysis of the language of the manuscripts and inscriptions he has taken as his subject. He relies heavily on Schlyter's edition (*CIG*) but offers useful alternative readings in a number of instances, partly in footnotes and partly in a short commentary, and makes comparisons with the Gotlandic dialect (*Gutamål*).

Some extracts of *GL*, less radically normalized than Säv's text, appear in Noreen's *Altschwedisches Lesebuch* (*AL*, 36-37), first published in 1892-1894.

In 1901 Hugo Pipping published *Gotländska studier*, which contains a diplomatic edition of the *B*-text of *GL*, followed by a short commentary and a detailed examination of some linguistic features of the text. This is the only complete edition of the *B*-text, and is therefore a valuable contribution. In 1905-1907 Pipping published a diplomatic edition of the *A*-text of *GL* and *Guta saga*, which includes apparatus showing the *B*-text variants and additions, a detailed study of the language and a complete glossary of the text. These two editions offer useful alternative readings of the manuscripts to those of Schlyter, Säv and Noreen.

A facsimile edition (*LG*) of *B* 64 and *B* 65, edited by Elias Wessén was published in 1945 in the series *Corpus codicum Suecicorum medii aevi* (*CCS*). There is no facsimile edition of *AM* 54 4°.

The most recent edition of *GL* is that edited by Tore Gannholm in 1994. The text is presented in a form close to a diplomatic reading of *B* 64, using some of the emendations suggested by Schlyter (*CIG*), but with a number of peculiarities (e.g. *p* is rendered as *th* throughout). Gannholm also offers a parallel translation into Swedish, which clarifies some points left ambiguous in the translation by Wessén (*SL* IV), which he has used as a basis. The edition is useful in some respects, although the arguments in Gannholm's introduction do not always bear scholarly scrutiny.

### *B Translations*

The first modern translation of *GL* (as opposed to the medieval translations into German and Danish) is that which appears in Hadorph's 1687 edition (*Gothlandz-Laghen*, see above). While there are some inaccuracies and misunderstandings, the translation is serviceable.

Schildener's parallel translation into German (*G-L*) is described and evaluated by Schlyter (*CIG*, xxiii-xxiv) and he implies that it, too, contains some inaccuracies. Schlyter's own parallel translation into Swedish is a vigorous and illuminating. It was the last translation into Swedish before the appearance in 1943 of the edition by Åke Holmbäck and Elias Wessén, the fourth in the series *Svenska landskapslagar* (*SL IV*).

This latter translation, which covers the *A*-text, the additional provisions found in the *B*-text and the Danish statutes found in the other manuscripts, is clear and straightforward. It is supported by a full introduction and detailed notes and references, which have been useful for the present edition and translation. The editors analyse in detail the content and significance of the texts, with reference to the other provincial laws, and they also evaluate previous editions and translations (see *SL IV*, lxxxviii-lxxxix).

A further translation into Swedish of all the provincial, city and maritime laws, including some appendices not translated in *Svenska landskapslagar*, was published as an omnibus edition by Åke Ohlmarks in 1976: *De svenska landskapslagarna. I komplett översättning, med anmärkningar och förklaringar*. His translations are close to those of Schlyter, and Ohlmarks claims that, despite his use of more contemporary language, they follow the sense and vocabulary of the originals more closely than those of Holmbäck and Wessén. Ohlmarks's introduction discusses stylistic features of the laws and he includes a number of notes. Although his work is useful in many respects, his approach is not as scholarly as might be hoped and some of his translations are inaccurate.

The remaining translation is that of Lis Jacobsen into Danish. Her *Guterlov og Gutasaga* (*GGD*) appeared in 1910 and is largely based on Pipping's edition. In indicating Danish equivalents to Gutnish expressions, Jacobsen provides useful

insights into the meaning of the latter and her translation is valuable for the interpretation of a number of otherwise obscure words and expressions. Jacobsen draws particular attention to the alliteration, rhythm and other poetic features found in the text, as well as including an index, and footnotes clarifying her interpretations.

### *C The present edition*

This is the first edition giving an English translation of *GL*. It is a continuation of the work by the present author on *Guta saga* (*GS* 1999) and takes into account the two medieval manuscripts of the law in Gutnish. The presentation of the text is broadly based on Pipping's edition of the *A*-text (*GLGS*), but uses his edition of the *B*-text (Pipping 1901a) to record further variant readings as indicated below.

Where there are possible differences between Pipping's reading and the manuscript of the *A*-text, or the readings of other editors, this is indicated in an endnote and, as appropriate, discussed in the Commentary.

In an attempt to avoid lengthy or repetitive endnotes or a complex presentation of the text, three different fonts have been used to indicate the source of the variant readings. The principal fonts are Times New Roman for the *A*-text and Arial for the *B*-text. Since the aim is to produce a single, readable, normalized text the following criteria have been applied:

1. A difference only in orthography (e.g. final *j* for *i*, single final consonant for a double or vice versa) or word order between the *A*- and *B*- texts is not indicated, if it makes no semantic distinction (e. g. *en han* [*B*-text masculine form] *ey windir undan loyst* for *en hann vindr ai undan loyst*).
2. Commonly occurring differences between the two manuscripts are noted in the Glossary once for all.

3. The apparent interchangeability of *epa*, *en* and *ok*, *ella*, *ellar* and *epa*, *vara* and *vera*, *pan* ('than') and *en* have been accepted silently, as has the substitution of final *-a* for *-u* in the third person plural present indicative, together with final *-om* for *-um* in the dative masculine and plural, *a* for *e* in *huar*, etc.
4. Words missing from the *A*-text that can be inferred from the reading of the *B*-text are inserted in the *B*-text font in the text without further comment, if the sense is thereby extended or clarified. If they correct an error in the *A*-text, the insertions are enclosed in square brackets. If an alternative *B*-text reading is preferred to the *A*-text, this is presented in angled brackets in the *B*-text font. In both these latter cases an endnote is given.
5. Editorial additions to the *A*-text (e.g. letters or words accidentally omitted by the scribe) are inserted in square brackets in the *A*-text font with an endnote. Editorial corrections to the *A*-text reading not derived from the *B*-text are inserted in angled brackets in the *A*-text font, again with an endnote.
6. Any words or passages missing completely from the *B*-text are italicized in the *A*-text font. These are presented in the text, without further comment, unless the *B*-text omission is considered to be an error.
7. Differences in reading of words or short phrases between the *A*-text and the *B*-text that have a bearing on the sense or accuracy of the text are indicated by the use of endnotes (cf. (1) and (5) above). The preferred reading is shown in the text and the alternative *A*- or *B*-text reading in the endnote, together with the readings of previous editors, if relevant.
8. Longer passages missing from the *A*-text but present in the *B*-text are recorded in an endnote and are presented as Additions, pp. 97-98, 99-101.



9. Where there are extended differences between the *A*- and *B*-texts, the *A*-text reading is recorded in italics in the text, and the *B*-text reading is presented as an Addition, pp. 98-99.
10. A number of provisions in the *A*-text are generally considered by all editors to be later additions, because of their language and orthography. These are shown in the same font as the main body of the text, but in a smaller point-size.
11. Differences in the reading of the *B*-text that are considered by Schlyter and others to be scribal errors have not, in general, been noted, but certain other differences not affecting the sense of the text are recorded in endnotes (see (1) above).
12. Pipping's edition of the *B*-text differentiates between additions in the margin of *AM 54 4°* signalled by a dagger (†), and those by a caret mark (^). He refers only to the former in his edition of the *A*-text, presumably because he considers the latter to be corrected scribal omissions. He infers that the former, which are sometimes introduced with the words *nota defectum*, were derived from another manuscript used by Bilefeld when making his copy (see *GLGS*, xvii-xviii). The differentiation Pipping makes is recorded in the relevant endnotes.

The chapter headings require special comment. They do not always agree with the table of contents, which in the case of the *B*-text is a later addition. A single table of contents has been constructed (pp. 58-59), using the same font convention as for the main body of the text. The appropriate heading has been placed above each differentiated section, together with the chapter number or numbers relevant to the *A*- and the *B*-texts.

The spelling of the text has been normalized, or more strictly standardized, favouring the reading of the *A*-text, in most instances following the headwords in Pipping's glossary or suggestions in his footnotes. The orthography of the *B*-text is

too inconsistent to provide a useful basis for a normalization of the *B*-text passages. Where the *B*-text reading appears in an endnote, however, and in the Glossary, the orthography of the original has been retained. Nasal strokes and corrections or deletions by the scribes of the original manuscripts (all signalled in Pipping's editions) have been expanded or applied without comment, both in the text and the Commentary. Punctuation, capitalization and paragraphing have been rationalized by the present editor to give the text and translation a readable form. For the same reason, the manuscripts' division into paragraphs has been ignored.

The normalization that has been used has been chosen to make the text as accessible as possible to the modern reader, without sacrificing too much of the particular quality of Gutnish. The following may be noted: (1) *c* in the manuscripts has been rendered as *k* throughout; (2) *ch* has been rendered as *k*, *gh* as *g*; (3) *w* has been rendered as *v* if consonantal but as *u* if vocalic; (4) *u* has been rendered as *v* if consonantal, but as *u* if vocalic, although *hu* and *su* have been retained (e.g. in *huar* and *suin*). In the *A*-text *th* has been rendered as *t* and in the *B*-text *th* and *t* as *t* or *þ* as appropriate. Also in the *B*-text, *d* has been rendered as *d* or *þ* following the *A*-text spelling. The letter *y* in the *B*-text is consistently written with a dieresis; this has been dropped in all cases.

These choices reflect the most common overall usage in the *A*-text, and do not result in a radical alteration to the orthography as a whole. In individual instances not covered by this system, where the same word form appears with different orthography, that most commonly occurring has been selected. Pipping presents all instances of the different forms (*GLGS*, *Ordbok*), as well as describing the orthography of the *A*-text in detail, and the *B*-text in summary in his introduction (li-lxxxvi, lxxxvi-xcii); it does not, therefore, seem appropriate or necessary to duplicate his work.

Superscript numbers, in brackets to differentiate them from endnote references, show the start of each page number of Pipping's edition of the *A*-text. Similarly, in the translation, the page numbering in Wessén's Swedish translation is indicated.

The translation is presented after the text (the thesis format restricting the material to one side of a leaf) and no attempt has been made at parallel pagination. The font differentiation for significant variations and later additions in the *A*-text is replicated. The translation retains as far as possible the tenses and moods of verbs in the original. It also uses, if relevant, familiar legal concepts, where they reflect those of the original. The aim has been to include as much elucidation of the sense of the text as is possible in a translation. Where applicable, this elucidation has been included in braces, thus {}. Punctuation and capitalization follow modern English practice.

In order to avoid repetition in the Commentary, the Glossary contains cross-references to the former, where more information is presented than would be appropriate in the Glossary, or where a concept is not sufficiently explained by a translation.

<sup>[1]</sup>Register paa forschreffne low

[1] <i>Hier byrias fyrstum.</i>	24 Bers þrell
[2] 1 Af barnum	[20] 25 Af allum lutum
[3] 2 <sup>1</sup> Af tiunt	26 Þar som gangi i garði
5 2 Laigir þu akr ella eng	30 27 Af quinna lutum
[4] 3 Af blotan	28 Af þybarn
[5] 4 Af prestum ok prestbarnum	[20a] 29 Af <i>manni</i> <innitaknum> <sup>13</sup>
[6] 5 Af helgum dagum	[21] 30 Af <horkarlum> <sup>14</sup>
[7] 6 Af munka aigum <sup>2</sup>	[22] 31 Af <quinna> <sup>15</sup> skam <sup>16</sup>
10 [8] 7 Af mannhelg <sup>3</sup>	35 [23] 32 Af quinna gripum
[9] 8 Af aldra manna frið <sup>4</sup>	[24] 33 Af bryþlaupum <sup>17</sup>
[10] 9 Af varfriði	[24a] 34 Af erfisgierði
[11] 10 Af þingfriði <sup>5</sup>	35 Af quinna ret
[12] 11 Af haimafriði <sup>6</sup>	[24b] <i>Af skarlapi</i>
15 [13] 12 Af mandrapi	40 [24c] <i>Af raiþklepum</i>
13 Af biauði bot manni	[24d] 36 Af gutniskum kunum <sup>18</sup>
[14] 14 Af lutnum sakum <sup>7</sup>	[24e] <i>Af &lt;ogutnisku&gt;<sup>19</sup> fulki</i>
[15] 15 Af vereldum <sup>8</sup> manna	[24f] 37 Af farvegum <manz> <sup>20</sup>
[16] 16 Af <banduvereldum> <sup>9</sup>	[25] 38 Af skoga brigsllum <sup>21</sup>
20 [17] 17 Af <osoyþum> <sup>10</sup>	45 <sup>[2]</sup> [26] 39 Af halfgierði
[18] 18 Af berði <kunu> <sup>11</sup>	40 Hvar som haggr oloyfis
[19] 19 Af sarum <sup>12</sup>	[27] 41 Af sauði
20 Af loyski	[28] 42 Af aignakaupi
21 Skainir þu kleði mans	43 Sítr maðr i hers handum
25 22 Af ypnu sari	50 þa en gangn <sup>22</sup> biers ainum til handa,
23 Gier maðr manni vegþuera	frammar þan andrum

44 Af gutnisk mans syni	[47] 65 Af akrum
[29] 45 Af giældum	[48] 66 Af rofu akrum <sup>32</sup>
[30] 46 Af vepium	25 [49] 67 Af hafreki
[31] 47 Af þingum	[50] 68 Af eldi
5 [32] 48 Af fearkrafí	[51] 69 Af bierueldi
[32a] 49 Af kaupum manni <sup>23</sup>	[52] 70 Af <broagierþ> <sup>33</sup>
[33] 50 Af kaupum ukša <sup>24</sup>	[53] 71 Af skutí
[33a] Af kauptri ko	30 [54] 72 Af varþi
[34] 51 Af kaupum hesti <sup>25</sup>	[55] 73 Af husum ok husþiaupum
10 [35] 52 Af hestatekt <sup>26</sup>	[56] 74 Af <byrslufulki> <sup>34</sup>
[36] 53 Af skipa gezlum <sup>27</sup>	[56a] 75 Af seþalausú fulki
[37] 54 Af ranzaki <sup>28</sup>	[57] 76 Af ikornum
[38] 55 Af þiaufa ret <sup>29</sup>	35 [58] 77 Af herum <sup>35</sup>
[39] 56 Af oqueþinsorþum <sup>30</sup>	[59] 78 Af skafli
15 [40] 57 Af omerktu smafleþi <sup>31</sup>	[60] 79 Af messufalli <sup>36</sup>
[41] 58 Af suinum	[61] 80 Af dufli
[42] 59 Af bolambum	[62] [Hitta ... um loyski] <sup>37</sup>
[43] 60 Af fastum vepuri okliptum	40 81 Af burgan víþr byamen
[44] 61 Af fastum vepuri kliptum	[63] 82 Um skoga ok festuaigur
20 [45] 62 Af bukkum ok gaitum	allar <sup>37</sup>
[45a] 63 Af nautum ok russum	[65] [Af quinna ret] <sup>37</sup>
[46] 64 Af amerki	

[3] [1] 1<sup>38</sup> **Hier byrias lag guta<sup>39</sup> ok segia so at fyrstum**

Pitta ir fyrst upphaf<sup>40</sup> i lagum orum, þet<sup>41</sup> vir skulum naikka<sup>42</sup> haipnu ok iatta<sup>43</sup> krisnu ok troa allir <a ann><sup>44</sup> guþ alzvaldanda,<sup>45</sup> ok allir hann þar biþia, þet hann unni os ar ok friþ, sigr ok hailu ok þet et vir magin halda kristindomi orum, ok tro vari  
 5 retri<sup>46</sup> ok landi oru <bygðu>,<sup>47</sup> ok vir magin huern<sup>48</sup> dag þet sysla i allum giarningum ok<sup>49</sup> vilia orum sum guþi sei dyrþ i, ok or sei mest þarf at beþi til lifs ok sialar.<sup>50</sup>

[2] 2<sup>38</sup> **Af barnum**

Þet<sup>51</sup> ier nu þi nest et barn huert skal ala<sup>52</sup> sum fyt verþr a landi oru ok ekki ut kasta.  
 Vita skal hueriun kuna seng sina <þa en><sup>53</sup> han i barnfarum liggr. Fai miþ sir  
 10 vitniskunur tuar, griþkunu ok grankunu, et barn vari datt burit, ok ai gingin hennar handaverk til.  
 Þa en frels kuna verþr at þi san et han hafi barni<sup>54</sup> spilt, þa byti han þriar markr þegar sum þet kumbr upp firi kirkiumenn,<sup>55</sup> utan þi at ains et han hafi fyr skriptat sett mal, ok henni bieri<sup>56</sup> lerþr maþr fult vitni um. Þa inni han skript sina, en engin maþr a  
 15 þar sak a.<sup>57</sup> Þa en han dular ok kumbr mal upp firi þingsmenn,<sup>58</sup> verþr han skir þa hafi han sinar þriar markr af þaim<sup>59</sup> sum hana vitr<sup>60</sup> [4] ok symdaraip miþ siex mannum.<sup>61</sup>  
 Þa [en] han verþr ful, þa byti han þriar markr sokninni, en sokn vindr sykt.<sup>62</sup> Þa en mal kumbr upp firi þingsmenn, þa byti þriar markr þingi ok aþrar þriar markr <proasti>.<sup>63</sup> en han at san<sup>64</sup> verþr. En kumbr mal upp firi alla lyþi, ok verþr han en  
 20 siþan at san.<sup>65</sup> þa laupr þet i tolf markr<sup>66</sup> viþr landa alla.<sup>67</sup> Hafr han ai fe at byta, þa flyi land ok liggi<sup>68</sup> huerium manni þriar markr viþr sum hana hysir, eþa haimir,<sup>69</sup> eþa henni mat giefr. Þa <en><sup>70</sup> han vil ai til aiz at ganga, þa ir han þau<sup>71</sup> ful ok feld at þy mali.

Þa en hinir ganga atr mals<sup>72</sup> sum henni sak kendu, ok vilia ai fe fram leggja, þa  
 25 skulu men hana saklausa dyma, ok skira þes mals. En þair symin hana miþ aipum, ok

takin henni orþ af baki sum a legðu.<sup>73</sup> Þa en han gangr víþr et han <moþir><sup>74</sup> var, ok <kallar><sup>75</sup> barn vara datt burit, þa þarf ai henni fe fram leggja, en men vilia henni mistroa um, ok engar hafr han<sup>76</sup> vitniskunur víþr, þar sum miþ henni varu þa en han i barnfarum var.

- 5 Þa en <ambatnu><sup>77</sup> manz verþr slikt mal kient, þa leggir<sup>78</sup> engin henni maira fe fram þan siex oyra *penninga*. Þa en han verþr ful, þa byti drotin firi hana *siex oyra penninga*, ok leggi a bak henni siex <vintr><sup>79</sup> sen mali<sup>80</sup> ier <intr>.<sup>81</sup>

[5] [3] 3<sup>38</sup> Af tiunt

- Þet ier nu þi nest et þar a huer tíþir hafa, ok tiunt til fyra sum han[n]<sup>82</sup> kirkiu *hafr*  
 10 garra, ok bol var af anduerðu tilskurat. Þan prestr a firir hanum allan kristindom at <vaita>,<sup>83</sup> huart sum *hann* <víþr><sup>84</sup> þarf arla eþa síþla.<sup>85</sup> So iru allir menn um satir et firi Mariumessu i fastu skal huer maþr hafa tiunt sina <framraida>,<sup>86</sup> beþi lerþum manni sin luta ok kirkiu sen. I rauki a huer maþr tiunta. Þa ma engin þet segia firir et ai sei tiunt berþ sen Mariumessa kumbr. En eptir Mariumessu þa skal prestr lysa um  
 15 þria sunnudaga, en a fiarþa kirkiudurum atr luka ok <tíþir><sup>87</sup> hepta þa firi kirkiumannum til *þes* tima et tiunt ier all framraid, ok þriar markr fylgia af þaim manni sum ai vildi *fyr* tiunt sina framraiþa. Þitta aigú allir sykia saman ok allir aigú at hafa. <Soknamenn><sup>88</sup> aigú þriþiung ok kirkia þriþiung, ok þriþiung prestr. Þa en <laigulenningr><sup>89</sup> far bort<sup>90</sup> meþ tiunt oguldni af<sup>91</sup> sokn ok i andra, þa sekr hann sik at  
 20 þrim markum víþr prest ok *kirkiu* ok víþr kirkiumenn, ok fyri en þau<sup>92</sup> tiunt sina atr, þau et síþar sei.

- Þa en nequar vil siir kirkiu giera at mairu maki þan hann fyr hafþi,<sup>93</sup> þa skal hann giera af niu lutum. En tiunt [þa]<sup>94</sup> skal iemvel kirkia hafa sen lut sum prestr senn, þar til et hin nya ier vigþ. En síþan þa skal <sup>[6]</sup>hann þar giefra tiunt sum hann *kirkiu* gierþi  
 25 snimst.<sup>95</sup> Ai ma hann síþan atr laupa til fornu þa en hann andra hafr gart nya. Ok ai

ma hann ganga fran hinna fornu *ok* til nýu, siþar<sup>96</sup> þan a þaim dagi sum biskupr legði  
 vigslir a. Þa en þaim takr skilia um þegar um fyrsta ar eða annat, þa skal <sielfr><sup>97</sup>  
 vita mið aiði, ok kirkiumannum tuem þaim sum hinir vilja til nemna, et <hann><sup>98</sup> þar  
 i *kirkju*gerð vari, ok i vigslum, ok i allum lutum so sum andrir kirkiumenn. Þa en *fram*  
 5 iru gangnir þeir vinnr eða þeim maira, þa skal hann hafa beði <kirkiumanna><sup>99</sup> vitni, et  
 hann þar mið þaim i gærð vari, ok prest senz<sup>100</sup> vitni et hann *ok* tiunt hafi þar esíðan  
 hanum af <fyrða>,<sup>101</sup> so sum huer annara kirkiumanna.<sup>102</sup>

Þa en maðr laigir akr eða engi<sup>103</sup> yr annari<sup>104</sup> kirkjusokn, ok iru engun hus a, þa skal  
 hann kornþiunt querra laifa,<sup>105</sup> þar sum akr var tilskurðr. En hoy eða <humbla><sup>106</sup> þa  
 10 fyr *hann* haim, ok giefi þaim<sup>107</sup> presti tiunt af sum hann <sykir><sup>108</sup> típi *at*, ok allan  
 kristindom *hafa* takit af.<sup>109</sup> Þa en hus iru a, þa skal alt quert laifa. Hafi þan prestr tiunt  
 af sum þar at kirkju <sit>,<sup>110</sup> iemvel a þaun kirkia sen lut sum prestr senn.

#### [4] 3 Af blotan

Þet ier nu þy nest et <blot> iru<sup>111</sup> mannum <miek><sup>112</sup> <firibupin>,<sup>113</sup> ok fyrnska all  
 15 <þaun><sup>114</sup> sum haipnu <sup>[7]</sup>fylgir. Engin ma <haita><sup>115</sup> huatki a hult eða hauga eða  
 haþin<sup>116</sup> guð, huatki a við<sup>117</sup> eða stafgarða. Þa en nequar verðr at þi sandr, ok laipás  
 hanum so<sup>118</sup> vitni a hand et hann hafi haizl nequara<sup>119</sup> þa, mið mati eða mið drykkiu  
 senni,<sup>120</sup> sum ai fylgir <kristnum><sup>121</sup> siði, þa ir hann sakr at þeim markum viðr  
 kirkiumenn, en þeir sykt vinna. Þitta aigum ok allir sykia saman ok *allir aigum* at hafa,  
 20 prestr ok kirkia ok kirkiumenn. Þa en venzl ir hanum a hendi, þa standi hann firi með  
 siex manna aiði. Þa en kirkiumenn vinna<sup>122</sup> ai sykt ok kumbr þet upp firi þingsmenn,  
 þa veris<sup>123</sup> hann en mið siex manna aiði, eða byti iii markr þingi. Þa en *þet* upp kumbr  
 firi landa alla, þa byti hann tolf markr landi, en hann ai vindr mið tolf manna aiði  
 firistandit.



[5] 4 Af prestum ok prestkunum, ok þaira barnum<sup>124</sup>

Þet ir nu þi nest et prestr ok prestkuna ok prestbarn lerþ <þaun><sup>125</sup> iru slik at sleg ok  
 at drapi ok at allum lutum sum bondabarn. En hin olerþu, þaim <fylgin><sup>126</sup> moþur  
 kyni sinu.<sup>127</sup> [8a] Hittir maþr sakar at giera <lerþr><sup>128</sup> eþa olerþr, þa byti engin frammar  
 5 firi annan, þan hans kustr vindr at.

## [9a] [6] 5 Af helgum dagum

Þitta<sup>129</sup> ir nu þi nest et daga aigu menn alla helga halda þa sum biskupar hafa helga  
 buþit ok allir menn hafa viðrtakit. Engin skal annat verk at <giera><sup>130</sup> um sunnudag<sup>131</sup>  
 eþa annan helgan dag, utan tíþir at hafa eþa guz þianistu at lyþa, ok luf hafa at riþa  
 10 um bo sett sen messa ier sungin, eþa tíþir iru hafþar. Ai ma mandr maira a vagni  
 <hafa><sup>132</sup> um sunnudag<sup>133</sup> þan punz þunga eptir yxna oyk, ok halfs<sup>134</sup> eptir hesti. Þa  
 en maira hafr, þa ma halda lassi hans til siex oyra ok þau byti hann siex oyra firi  
 helgisbrut, utan þi at ains et nauþsinar<sup>135</sup> til gangin ok <lerþr maþr><sup>136</sup> [10] verþi  
 atspyrþr. Þa ma hann asia huat sum til <þrengir><sup>137</sup> ok lufa i <kirkiusokn><sup>138</sup> senni, so  
 15 et maþr verþi ai þar klandaðr ella avittr um gar. Þa en viðari vil aka, þa laiti hann e  
 viðr þann lerþan<sup>139</sup> mann firi siir sum <kirkiusokninnar a val>,<sup>140</sup> en hann vil ovittr  
 vera. Til kaupungs ier manni lufat at fara ella aka miþ garlakum <matnapi><sup>141</sup> ustum,  
 ok smieri, ok allum mielkmati, fiskum ok fuglum, eþa soyþum þaim sum þa al a torgi  
 selia, miþ bakapu braupi ok ai meþ mieli, eþa korni, ok ai miþ varu annari,<sup>142</sup> utan  
 20 hann heti viðr beþi lassi ok siex oyrum. Sak a halfa þann sum <takr>,<sup>143</sup> en halfa  
 prestr, ok kirkiumenn þair sum hann þa var i stapin, þa en hann miþ var takin. Þa en  
 maþr riþr ok <raiþir><sup>144</sup> <byrþi>,<sup>145</sup> þa ma ai þan mann klanda eþa sakan um  
 <giera>,<sup>146</sup> en hann sielfr sitr a baki. Þa en hann hafr rus i tugi, eþa laiþir miþ byrþi,  
 þa ir byrþ þaun tyk med skielum, <pegar><sup>147</sup> sum halfu pundi ier maira, ok þau fylgia  
 25 en siex oyrar<sup>148</sup> helgisbrut. Verþr frels maþr eþa frels kuna a verki takin um

sunnudag<sup>149</sup> eða annan helgan dag, þa ier tykt verk þet alt sum þaun þa i handum hafa,  
 ok liggi þau víþr siex oyra aviti firi helgisbrut. Þet a ok halft þan sum takr, en halft a  
 prestr, <sup>[11]</sup>ok kirkia, ok kirkiumenn. Verþr þrel eða ambatn manz um helgan dag a  
 verki takin, þa bytir<sup>150</sup> drotin firi þaun þria<sup>151</sup> oyra, en þaun yrkin<sup>152</sup> þria vintr sen mali  
 5 ir <intr>.<sup>153</sup>

[7] 6 Af munka aigum<sup>154</sup>

Þet ier nu þi nest en nequar verþr at þi sandr et hann haggr skoga firi munkum, eða  
 garþa niþr leggir,<sup>78</sup> eða <nequar> main gierir<sup>155</sup> víþr þa, eða <þaira> aigur,<sup>156</sup> þa  
 <liggr><sup>157</sup> hanum víþr bann, ok bot halfu mairi<sup>158</sup> þan bonda milli. Ok hafi byt firi þet  
 10 fyrsta þing sum þar verþr nest eptir. Þa en þings at biþar, þa liggia víþr þriar markr  
 landa sak, ok þau byti hann<sup>159</sup> <víþr><sup>160</sup> þa at lagum, þau et siþar sei.

Þa en nequar maþr giefr sik til klostrs barnalausar,<sup>161</sup> þa valdi sielfr aign senni;  
 huatki ma hana selia eða skipta miþan hann lifr.<sup>162</sup> Þa en hann doyr, þa stez  
 <þriþiung><sup>163</sup> quer i klostri, en <tuair><sup>164</sup> lutir ganga atr undir niþia. Þa en hann barn  
 15 a, þa valdi <hafuþlut><sup>165</sup> sinum. Þa en nequar verelzmaþr vil aign til klostrs giefra eða  
 til kirkiur, þa giefi tiunda lut af iorþaign senni, ok ai frammar, utan þi at ains et niþiar  
 lufin.

[8] 7 Af mannhelg<sup>166</sup>

Þet ier nu þy nest et mannhelg<sup>166</sup> a standa um daga þa alla sum verkhelgir iru, fran  
 20 þi et <sup>[12]</sup>sol setr um aftun ok til þes et lysir a þriþia dygri. Fiurtan<sup>167</sup> dagar i iaulum iru i  
 friþ taknir. siau vikur i fastu, ok all paskavika, þrir <gangdagar><sup>168</sup> ok all  
 helgudagavika, Drepr þu mann a þaim friþi, þa byt<sup>169</sup> þriar markr. Sargar þu mann,  
 byt tolf oyra. Slar þu man miþ stangu, eða yxar hambri, byt siex oyra. Nykkir þu  
 manni,<sup>170</sup> eða rindr, eða i har takr, eða miþ <nefa><sup>171</sup> slar, þa byt þria oyra, en i raíþi ir  
 25 gart. Firi þrel bytir ai frammar þan þria oyra, en hann bloþugt gierir. Þar skal e byta

sum gart ir, en ai þar sum hinn ier sum gierði. Prestr a tíðir hepta, ok kirkiudurum atr  
 luka firir allum þaim sum guz helg hafa brutit, mið þi et e fylgir bann helgisbruti. Þa  
 skal yr banni sla þegar so ir byt sum lag segia, ok kirkiumannum þykkir rað vera. Allir  
 aigu sak sykia saman, ok allir aigu at hafa. Soknamenn aigu þriþiung *i sak en annan*  
 5 kirkia, ok þriþia prestr, hurvitna<sup>172</sup> sum ai <kumbr><sup>173</sup> landa sak i. En landa sak  
 <kumbr><sup>173</sup> huergi i helgisbrut, utan þi at ains et mandr verði<sup>174</sup> i kirkiu drepin; þa<sup>175</sup>  
 liggia fiauratigi markr vípr ella i kirkiugarði, þar liggia xii markr vípr. Þet ir landa sak.  
 Þar a proastr<sup>176</sup> þriar <markr><sup>177</sup> af<sup>[13]</sup> firi banzmall.<sup>178</sup>

Kirkiur iru allar iemhelgar a landi, en mandr verðr <vegin><sup>179</sup> i. En kirkiugarðar iru  
 10 þrir helgastir i lag taknir. Þar skulu sakir menn helg hafa iemvel i prestgarði<sup>180</sup> sum i  
 kirkiugarði. Þar liggia vípr fiauratigi markr en sakr mandr verðr <vegin><sup>181</sup> i þairi  
 helg. En sakir allar andrar þar sum smeri<sup>182</sup> ieru, ok ai kumbr landa<sup>183</sup> sak i, þa aigu e  
 kirkiumenn þriþiung yr, en kirkia ann lut, ok ann lut prestr. Slar þu mann i kirkiu með  
 stangu eða yxar hambri, eða sargar i kirkiugarði, þar liggia siex markr vípr.<sup>184</sup> Slar þu  
 15 mann mið nefa i kirkiu eða skiautr þu manni<sup>185</sup> eða i har takr, eða i kirkiugarði mið  
 stangu slar,<sup>186</sup> eða með yxar hambri, þar liggia vípr þriar<sup>187</sup> markr. Slar þu mann mið  
 nefa i kirkiugarði, ella skiautr þu manni, eða takr þu mann i har, þar<sup>188</sup> liggia vípr tolf  
 oyrar helgisbrut. Þann a e vigslum syrgia sum vigslir hafr brutit, ok þar skirt giera  
 sum hann oskirt gierði með þrim<sup>189</sup> markum.

20 [9] 8 Af aldra<sup>190</sup> manna friði

Nu iru<sup>191</sup> enn <friðir><sup>192</sup> andrir tuer þair sum mestu varða et menn ulu mannhelg<sup>193</sup>  
 halda. Þar liggr ai bann vípr ok ai biskup<sup>194</sup> sak, utan þy at ains et þet verði a helgum  
 dagi gart. Þet ier aldra manna friðr. <Laupr><sup>195</sup> a fiurtan natum eptir paskar ok fem  
 natum eptir <miðsumar><sup>196</sup> ok standr a tiu<sup>[14]</sup> <n><sup>197</sup> netr ok tiu daga at huaru bragði.  
 25 Laupr um<sup>198</sup> solauppgang beði af ok a.<sup>199</sup> <Drepr><sup>200</sup> þu mann a þaim friði, þa byt<sup>201</sup> e

so miklu vereldi víþr landa alla sum hinn ier dyr sum þu drapt. Banda haldr þir engun fyr þan þu <byt><sup>202</sup> hafr.<sup>203</sup> Sargar þu mann eða ber a þaim friði, þa byt þriar markr. A þaim friði ma engin firi andrum spiella huatki<sup>204</sup> hus eða garða, utan hann sei sakr at þrim markum.

5

## [10] 9 Af varfriði

Nu ier enn varfriðr síþan. Hann laupr a halfum manaði firi aldra manna seþir, ok standr a halfan manað eptir. A þaim friði ma engin virða firi andrum huatki hest eða uxa, mið þy et bondi þarf þa beði huern dag a akrum hafa, utan hann sei sakr at þrim markum. Þa en gield ir manna millan ok ier lagrytt<sup>205</sup> til gielz, þa virðin annat<sup>206</sup> bo

10 hans <soyði><sup>207</sup> eða kust, ok ai ortasoyði<sup>208</sup> sum hann þa víþr þarf.

[11] 10 Af þingfriði<sup>209</sup>

Þar<sup>210</sup> ier enn síþan þingfriðr<sup>209</sup> manna. Þingsmenn aigu þingfrið<sup>209</sup> sykia. Takr þu mann i har, eða með nefa slar, a þingi, þa byt þriar markr firi þingfrið<sup>209</sup> ok þau laga bytr. Slar þu mann mið stangu, eða yxar hambri, eða sar <vaitir><sup>211</sup> manni, byt<sup>212</sup> þriar

15 markr. Drepr þu mann at dauðum, eða af hagg <vaitir>,<sup>211</sup> byt<sup>213</sup> siex markr, utan þy at ains et mandr verði<sup>214</sup> at <sup>[15]</sup>hemdum drepin. Ai ma sakr maðr þingfriði<sup>209</sup> um troysta, en ai ier aldra manna friðr.

## [12] 11 Af haimfriði

Þa ir enn huerium manni haimfriðr síþan.<sup>215</sup> Drepr þu at dauðum mann haima i

20 garði sinum. eða af hagg <vaitir>,<sup>216</sup> þa byt<sup>217</sup> tolf markr víþr landa alla, ok andrar tolf hanum, ok þau vereldi. Slar þu mann mið stangu eða yxar hambri, eða sar <vaitir>,<sup>216</sup> þa byt<sup>218</sup> þriar markar hanum, ok andrar þriar moga, ok þau laga bytr. Verðr husbondi berðr i garði sinum haima, eða flaira fulk, þa takr<sup>219</sup> þann ann haimsokn sum hoygstr ir, ok ai flairin. En all skulu hafa laga bytr.

## [13] 12 Af mandrapi

Þet ier nu þy nest en so illa kann bieras<sup>220</sup> miþ fianda raþi et mandr <hittir><sup>221</sup> mann  
 at drepa, þa skal flya miþ hanum faþir, ok sun, ok broþir. Þa en ai iru þair til, þa flyin  
 miþ hanum nestu niþiar um fiauratigi<sup>222</sup> netr til þairi kirkiur<sup>223</sup> sum allir menn hafa  
 5 helg i<sup>224</sup> <takit>.<sup>225</sup> Þet ir <Farþaim><sup>226</sup> ok Þingsteþi ok Atlingabo.<sup>227</sup> Þar<sup>228</sup> skal hafa  
 [16] helg ok heli so i prestgarþi<sup>229</sup> sum i kirkiugarþi. En siþan þet ier utgangit, þa riþi  
 þengat sum hann bandu vill hafa dragit, ok dragi um haimþorp þry, ok so lang<sup>230</sup> a  
 skoga fran haimþorpum þaim þrim, et i miþiu mytis fran andrum haimþorpum sum  
 <annanveg skogs><sup>231</sup> liggia, en hann loyfi far<sup>232</sup> af þaim sum aign aigu.<sup>233</sup> Ai ma  
 10 bandu draga um þing eþa kaupung ok ai um kirkiu maira þan aina, þa sum hann til  
 sykir. Hafi<sup>234</sup> siþan helg i bandu sinni, ok sii viþr annar.<sup>235</sup> Ok dragi e a þaim friþi sum  
 nestr ier eptir <paskar>,<sup>236</sup> en þar til haldr hanum banda þaun sum hann þa drog, en  
 hann vandreþi<sup>237</sup> hafþi ny gart. Þet kalla menn vatubandu. Þaun banda sum dragin  
 standr um atmeli hana, ma engin lasta sen atmeli ir uti. *En mandr* hafi siþan sielfsvald  
 15 at vera i bandu senni eþa fara utlendis til helgra manna, sinar syndir<sup>238</sup> at byta. Hafi  
 atta daga frest til skips at fara, ok fari so i friþi pilagrimis ferþ sina. Ok þegar hann atr  
 kumbr, þa hafi ok<sup>239</sup> atta daga frest fara atr til bandur sennir<sup>240</sup> i friþi. Þa en mandr  
 gierir til sakar i kirkiusokn þairi samu sum hann sielfr bor i, þa flyi hann yr þairi,  
 ok<sup>233</sup> dragi so annansteþ bandu, ok þau<sup>241</sup> þar sum huatki bor i moþir eþa dotir eþa  
 20 systir. Kirkiu þa syki hann þau andra miþan, firi þy so et ai magu þair beþir til annir at  
 fara. [17] Tiunt þa fyri hann halfa þar sum hann tiþir sykir, en half liggi quer<sup>242</sup> at þairi  
 kirkiu sum hans bol var tilskurat. Þa en mandr gierir sakar i haimþorpi þi sama sum  
 hann bor i, þa flyi hann þegar þeþan ok dragi annansteþ bandu, en hann friþ vil hafa,  
 meþ þy et ai magu þair beþir i ainu haimþorpi boa. Þa en ogutniskr maþr drepr

ogutniskan *mann*, þa dragi so bandu sum <gutniskr>,<sup>243</sup> en hann a boli sielfs sins bor a Gutlandi.

### 13 Af biauþi bot manni

Biauþi bot manni en hann orkar,<sup>244</sup> sen atmeli ir utgangit, ok lati atmeli ai milli,<sup>245</sup>  
 5 ok biauþi þrysuar<sup>246</sup> um þry ar. En *hinn* sei mandr oskemdr, þau en<sup>247</sup> hann taki at fyrsta *sinni* þegar<sup>248</sup> buþit verþr. Þa en hann vil ai taka at fyrsta *sinni* ok ai at andru, þa taki *hann* at þriþia, sen þry ar iru utgangin.<sup>249</sup> Vil *hann* ai þa taka, þa skal biera a þing firi alla lyþi. Taki en þar en hann vil. Þa en hann ai vil, þa raþin allir lyþir firi fe en hann sei mandr osakr.<sup>250</sup> Þa en hinn kallar ai vera frest liþin, en hann kallar *vara* liþin  
 10 sum vereldi biauþr, þa hafr þann<sup>251</sup> vitorþ sum liþit kallar, miþ þrim þaira manna skiellum<sup>252</sup> sum miþ hanum haima at garþi varu, ok bot buþu þrysuar<sup>253</sup> um þry ar. Ok viti þet miþ tolf manna aiþi et e vari atmeli a millum<sup>254</sup> latit. Þa en mandr vil ai vereldi <biauþa><sup>255</sup> ok <frestir><sup>256</sup> iru þau allar liþnar, þa skal land hann friþlausan dyma, ok til dags um manaða frest vereldi utretta,<sup>257</sup> ok hann sakan at siex markum silfs viþr  
 15 malsaiganda,<sup>18</sup> ok aþrar siex landi. So liggi ok þaim viþr sum ai haldr bandu sina. Þar gangi<sup>258</sup> ok engun byn firir et ai skuli alt upp takas.

### [14] 14 Af lutnum sakum<sup>259</sup>

En um lutnar<sup>259</sup> sakir eptir faþur eþa broþur eþa niþia, þa aigu allir viþr at sia þar til et þair orka vereldi biauþa. En hinn<sup>260</sup> taki þegar en hann vil ok veri mandr oskemdr.  
 20 Þa en hann ai *vil* so brat taka, þa skal biauþa hanum þrysuar til iemlanga,<sup>261</sup> biera ok<sup>262</sup> siþan a þing firi alla lyþi. Taki [enn]<sup>263</sup> þar en hann vil, eþa raþin allir lyþir firir fe, en þair sein osakir.

Vela <tuair><sup>164</sup> um eþa flairin ok drepa ann *mann*, þa hafin<sup>264</sup> þair allir aina bandu, þar til et ann takr viþr bana.

Nípi ma hemna en hann vil fyrí ungan oformaga. All þaun sum lútu aígu líauta ok  
 vília hemna fíri ungan oformaga, þa ír þet hemnat sum nequar af þáim hemnar fíri  
 hann, huart sum heldr<sup>265</sup> ír quíndísmáþr eþa kerldís-. Þaun hemd standr so sum<sup>266</sup> en  
 hann síelfr hemní. Þaun varþa ok vereldi upp taka en erfíngi ír ungr, sen at þi máli ír  
 5 kumít, et hínn ma fe fram bíauþa ok yr sakum loysas sum í hafr varít.

Þa enn <gutniskr><sup>267</sup> maþr drepr ogutniskan mann ok orkar<sup>268</sup> vereldi bíauþa, þa  
 þarf hann huatki víþr vegsl<sup>269</sup> eþa bandur. Þa enn <ogutniskr><sup>270</sup> maþr drepr gutniskan  
 mann, þa haldr ai hanum banda, utan þi at ains et<sup>271</sup> hann vereldi vinní búþít.

Þa en <sup>[19]</sup>oformagi verþr manni at bana, þa ír byt at tolf markum sílfs.

10 Þa en kuna hafandi verþr vegin míþ barní ok orka<sup>272</sup> menn aíþum uppihalda <et><sup>273</sup>  
 barn varí henni quíkt í quíþi, þa víti þet hennar husbondi en hann ír tíl. Íer han[n aí]<sup>274</sup>  
 tíl, þa víti<sup>275</sup> þann sum henni íer nerkumnástr míþ þríim bólfástum mannum gutniskum  
 at samu<sup>276</sup> sokn, ok þar tíl so margum et tolf seín, *allir* henni íemburnír. Þa <bytír><sup>277</sup>  
 barnít at tolf markum sílfs oburít, en hana at fullu vereldi.

15 [15] **15 Af vereldi manna**

Nu íru enn fram síþan vereldi manna. Gutnísks manz vereldi bytís at þríim markum  
 gulz, en hann ír at dauþum drepín. Aldra annara manna vereldi bytís<sup>278</sup> at tíu markum  
 sílfs, utan þrels vereldi bytís at halffemti mark penninga. <Takr><sup>279</sup> <gutniskr><sup>280</sup>  
 maþr ogutníska kunu, þa bytís <han><sup>281</sup> at *fullu* vereldi sínu, en barn fylgín feþrni  
 20 *sínu* at vereldi. Takr ogutniskr maþr gutníska kunu, þa varí huart þáira at vereldi sínu.  
 En barn fylgín feþrni *at vereldi*.

[16] **16 Af <banduvereldi><sup>282</sup>**

Gutnísks manz <banduvereldi><sup>283</sup> íru tolf markr sílfs, en ogutnísks manz *at* fem  
 markum sílfs,<sup>284</sup> ok þrels at síex oýrum penninga.

Allir iru iemmir at botum þar til et limalyti kan i at kuma. Þa en limalyti kumbr i, þa <ier ogutnisk><sup>285</sup> manz <sup>[20]</sup>hand eþa fotr byt at tiu markum penninga, ok so all annur misleti sum at vereldum bytas.

Dreþr þrel manz mann gutniskan, þa taki drotin ok laiþi hanum bana bundnan<sup>286</sup> i  
 5 garþ firi fiauratigi nata, ok niu markr <silfs><sup>287</sup> miþ. Þa en ai ier bani til, þa giendi tolf markr silfs ok ai maira. Þa en þrel dreþr ogutniskan mann, þa byti drotin *firi hann* tuar markr silfs ok laiþi bana <bundnan> i garþ<sup>288</sup> firi fiauratigi nata. Þa en ai ir bani til, þa byti hann<sup>289</sup> fem markr silfs. Ok vinni hanum siex manna aiþ et hann huatki vari i þaim skapa raþandi eþa valdandi. Vindr ai drotin aiþi uppihaldit, þa byti fult vereldi,  
 10 beþi gutniskan ok ogutniskan. Þa en þrel dreþr þrell, þa vindr ai mann <noyþgat><sup>290</sup> til þes et hann giefi bana at botum, en halffemti mark penninga ir i buþi.

En þrel þan sum ort hafr mala, þa taki <frelsi><sup>291</sup> firi kirkiudurum miþ soknamanna vitnum ok siþan <varþar><sup>292</sup> þrell siir sielfr huat sum hann gierir.

### [17] 17 Af osoyþum

15 Uxi fastr ok fem vittra gamal <bier><sup>293</sup> ok manni tolf marka sak i garþ, en hann verþr manni at bana. Hest all<sup>294</sup> binda, en til bonda kumbr, at<sup>295</sup> fiarþa staurgulfi fran lipstukki ok <fiugur><sup>296</sup> stig fran durum manz. Þa varþar ai utan frembra foti <sup>[21]</sup>manninerar<sup>297</sup> ok tannum en hann bitz. Þa en þu i garþ far eþa til kletis, þa bint viþr gafl eþa bak vegg,<sup>298</sup> þa varþar þu ai frammar þan aþans<sup>299</sup> var telt. Galtr merktr ir at  
 20 þriþia en hann hafr þria vintra fastr gangit. Hundr ir at fiarþa. Hanum varþar e um alt, en hann skapa gierir, aigi þan sum vil. Þaim fiaurum oqueþinsvitum varþar huer maþr i garþi sinum viþr tolf marka silfs sak.

Þa en oqueþinsvitr verþr sueverþari manni at bana þan gutniskum, þa falla e <tuair><sup>164</sup> lutir af vereldi hans en þriþiung þa byti <hin><sup>300</sup> sum soyþin a. Þet kalla  
 25 menn krafarvereldi en oqueþinsvitr verþr manni at bana, eþa lestir mann at limum. Þet



al <krefia><sup>301</sup> ok ai hemna, lagryþia til sum til annara gieldeta. Þa en oqueþinsvitr  
 waitir<sup>302</sup> manni sar eþa lasti, þa fallin e <tuair><sup>164</sup> lutir af bot, en þriþiung bytir hin<sup>303</sup>  
 sum soyþin a, *firiutan*<sup>304</sup> hund bit; þa bytir tanna spur <huert><sup>305</sup> at tuem oyrum til  
*fiugura*.<sup>306</sup>

5 [22a] [18] **Ber maþr kunu**

Ber maþr kunu so et barn spillis oburit, ok hafr þau quikt i quiþi verit, þa bytir hann  
 halfu<sup>307</sup> vereldi. Þa en han kennir þet manni en hann dular, þa bindi han hann viþr miþ  
 tuem <vitnum>.<sup>308</sup> þaim sum <han><sup>309</sup> sik <skirskutaþi><sup>310</sup> firir a þriþia dygri et han  
 <berþ><sup>311</sup> vari, eþa þaim sum viþr varu, ok þau bolfastum, ok <tuaim><sup>164</sup> quinna  
 10 vitnum et barn vari siþan datt burit sen han var berþ. Ok viti þet sielf miþ siex þiaupa  
 aiþi et þet quikt vari.<sup>312</sup>

Kuna skal barns at gieta at mungati hueriu, leggi i kietta ok hafi ner sir, eþa hafi  
 barn i knium, eþa leggi i seng ok liggi sielf ner. So skal hueriun kuna *um* þria vintra  
 barni<sup>313</sup> gezlu <vaita>.<sup>314</sup> Þa en nequar mandr verþr miþ vaþa i <þairi><sup>315</sup> gezlu barni  
 15 at bana, þa bytir hann vereldi fullu. Þa en kuna leggir<sup>78</sup> barn a gulf niþr eþa i seti  
 varþalaust, eþa leggir<sup>78</sup> i seng ok <varþarlaust>,<sup>316</sup> þa ir barn<sup>317</sup> obyt huat sum helzt  
 kan at kuma. Þa en kuna gangr þar miþ <sup>[23]</sup>barni<sup>318</sup> i seng sum druknir menn liggia firir  
 ok kufnar<sup>319</sup> barn i þrangi eþa miþ kleþum, þa ir þau barn obyt, þau et han liggi sielf  
 ner.

20 [19] **Af sarum**<sup>320</sup>

Gierir maþr manni sar att eþa flairin mundar diaupt,<sup>321</sup> þa byti mund huern<sup>322</sup> at half  
 mark til atta marka beþi a diauplaik ok a langlaik, ok halfu minna en ai ir mundar  
 diaupt ok þau þarf lekisskep viþr. Þan maþr sum firi sarum verþr, þa hafi vitni af tuem  
 raþmannum i sama hunderi ok ains lanzdomera af sama siettungi ok sueri sielfr miþ  
 25 siex mannum miþ þaira vitnum, utan þaira aiþ, en bot ir mairi<sup>323</sup> þan þriar markr. Þa

- en þrjar markr iru eða þrim<sup>324</sup> minna, þa ier þriggia manna aþr. Þa en hann flairi sar hafr, þa sueri hann huat hann heldr vil, a ann eða flairin ok þau *til* sama bota. All hulseri iru byt at mark silfs. Sargar maþr mann miþ knifi, þa bytir tuar markr silfs. Kastar<sup>325</sup> maþr at manni miþ staini eða andru nequaru ok far sar af, þa bytir þrjar
- 5 markr. Verþr maþr berþr miþ lukahaggum, so et synir slegir iru, þa bytir half mark huern<sup>326</sup> sleg<sup>327</sup> til fiugura ok þau miþ sama vitnum sum til sara. Ier mandr sargaþr ginum nas<sup>328</sup> eða <ver, þa><sup>329</sup> bytir <tuaim><sup>164</sup> markum penninga ok þau litvan<sup>330</sup> en atr ir groit. Ier ypit<sup>331</sup> so et ai kann hailna, þa iru fullar mestu bytr. En oyra halfu minna. Ma er eða litvan<sup>330</sup> sia yfir þuera gatu sum ai hyl hatr<sup>[24]</sup> eða hufa millan barz
- 10 eða brunar, þa bytir half mark silfs. Þa en sia ma yfir þuert mot, þa ir mark silfs; ok þau sara bytr. Suarþsprang bytir<sup>332</sup> at mark penninga. Skin hiernskal, þa bytir tuar markr penninga.<sup>333</sup> En ier hiernskal suigin eða rimnin,<sup>334</sup> þa ir mark silfs. Sis<sup>335</sup> a himin<sup>336</sup> eða hinna, þa ir byt at <tuaim><sup>164</sup> markum silfs.
- Bain huert sum i skalu skioldr ier byt at mark penninga huart til fygura<sup>337</sup> baina.
- 15 Huaifibain <huert><sup>338</sup> sum bier elna langan þraþ yfir fem elna <hauga><sup>339</sup> ri ir byt at tuem markum penninga huert<sup>340</sup> til fiugura baina. <Fingr><sup>341</sup> huert ir byt at ii markum penninga en *þet* af ir. Þumlingr ier bytir at tuem markum silfs. Þa en fingr ir liþstarkt so et engin ir <fengr at>,<sup>342</sup> þa ir byt *so* sum af sei. Þa en mandr ir at anni hendi lestr. ok ma þau halda a suerþi eða sikli ok vindr ai vapni uppi vegit, þa ir byt at
- 20 ii markum [silfs. Þa en maþr ier lestr at gangfempni ella runfempni, þa ier byt at ii markum]<sup>343</sup> silfs. Þa en sundr ier þan hels eða nakka, þa ir *ok* byt at ii markum [silfs. Tia hueriun ier byt at ii markum]<sup>343</sup> penninga en han af ir. Þa en af ir hand eða fotr eða auga uti, þa ir byt at siex markum silfs huert þaira. Þa en mandr laikr at manni ok
- [25]haggr af beþar hendr, <eða><sup>344</sup> beþa fytr, eða beþin augun ut stingr, ok lifr<sup>162</sup>
- 25 mandr *en* siþan, þa byti tolf markr<sup>345</sup> silfs huert þaira. Þa en nasar iru af skurnar af

manni so et hann ma ai veria<sup>346</sup> sikli eþa snori, þa bytir ok at tolf markum silfs. Þa en tunga verþr dragin ut af hafpi ok afskurin, so et ai ma mals viðr at niauta, þa ir ok byt at tolf markum silfs. Þa en mandr verþr lestr at skapum, so et *hann* ma ai barns faþir vera, þa ir byt at siex markum silfs vigniauri huar. Þa en beþir iru <lestir>,<sup>347</sup> þa ir byt at tolf markum silfs. Þa en [alt]<sup>348</sup> ir af miþ skapti, so et mandr *ma* ai hugunda niauta utan sitiandi sum kuna, þa ir byt at xviii markum silfs.

*Rif huert bytir at ii markum til fiugura rífa. <Telgia><sup>349</sup> i hendi eþa foti ir byt at mark penninga. Þa en maira bain ir sundr, þa ir byt at mark silfs so foz sum handar, en lastalaust ir atr hailt. Þa en limalastir fylgia, þa bytir ii markr silfs.*<sup>350</sup> Hafr mandr syna slegi a hendi,<sup>351</sup> ok segr hana onyta vara, þa viti miþ samu vitnum sum til sara. Þa en ai iru synir slegir, þa hafi þan vitorþ sum vers. Þet ir handalestr minstr, en ai ma þula varmt eþa kalt so sum fyr. Þet ir byt at mark penninga <sup>[26]</sup>ok viti sielfr miþ ainsyri.<sup>352</sup>

Ier lyþi lustit manni yr hafpi miþ synum slegum<sup>353</sup> so et hann huatki hoyrir hund i bandi eþa <hana><sup>354</sup> a vagla, eþa mann en hann a durum kallar, þa ir byt at xii markum silfs ok viti sielfr miþ siex manna aiþi ok miþ samu vitnum sum til sara. Þa en mandr *verþr* ainu oyra at lyþi lestr so et hann ekki hoyrir miþ þi, en hann haldr firi andru, þa ir byt at vi markum silfs. Þa en oyra verþr manni af hagguit, *þa ir byt at mark silfs.*<sup>355</sup> *En verþr oyra <lyt>,<sup>356</sup> þa bytir at <tuaim><sup>164</sup> markum penninga. Slar þu manni tendr yr hafpi, þa bytir þu so huern sum hann <dyr><sup>357</sup> ir: yfru fremstu tua bytir at <tuaim><sup>164</sup> markum penninga huarn, en þa tua sum þar sitia nest at mark penninga huarn, en siþan huern at mark penninga miþ bitum ok allu. En niþru tendr alla <halfu><sup>358</sup> legra ut ok ut.*<sup>359</sup>

Takr þu manni<sup>360</sup> i <har><sup>361</sup> miþ anni hendi,<sup>362</sup> byt tua oyra. Takr þu miþ baþum, byt half mark. Nykkir þu manni<sup>363</sup> byt tua oyra. Skiautr þu manni byt tua oyra. Slar þu

manni mungat i augun, þa byt þunka atta ertaugar. *Sparkar þu mann byt tua oyra.* Slar þu mann miþ nefa byt tua oyra. Gangr þu við ainum, þa <sup>[27]</sup>hafi<sup>364</sup> hann vitorþ til fygura<sup>365</sup> slega. Gangr þu ai við, þa haf<sup>366</sup> þu vitorþ sum vers. Slar þu mann miþ stangu byt half mark huert hagg til tyggia marka. Frammar bytir ai mandr fe sinu firi  
 5 lukahagg, utan lastir fylgin. Þet iru<sup>367</sup> lag guta.

## 20 Af loyski

*Skieg manz bytir so sum annur hardrag.* Loyski þet sum <fingr><sup>368</sup> ma asetia bytis viii ertaugar.<sup>369</sup> Þa en tu ma asetia, þa bytis half mark. Þa en þumling latr til at þriþia, þa ir byt at mark penninga. Þa en loyski ir so mikit et lofa ma a leggja, þa iru tuar  
 10 markr penninga.<sup>370</sup> *Þa en huert har ir af, þa bytir at mark silfs, en frammar bytir ai þau et huert har sei af dregit. Þa en torfa ier manni af hafþi haggvin, þa ir byt at mark silfs.*

## 21 Skainir þu kleþi mans

Skainir þu kleþi manz, þa byt yfirkleþi at oyri. Kurtill<sup>371</sup> at <tuaim><sup>164</sup> oyrum,  
 15 likvara at atta ertaugum, ok gier alt hait kleþi manz ok iemgut sum þet fyr var. Likvara kallarr<sup>372</sup> <sup>[28]</sup>serk ok skyrtu, brok<sup>373</sup> ok hatt manz. Þaun iru all iem dyr, huert þaira sum skaint verþr. Þa en a harund kumbr ok verþr sar, þa bytir<sup>374</sup> þu beþi sar ok kleþi.

## 22 Af ypnu sari ok lukahaggum

20 Sari skal maþr varþa ypnu til iemlanga, ok aina nat. Verþr maþr berþr miþ lukahaggum ok liggr i seng samu so et hann ai gangr uppi millan ok far þau forskiel, þa hafi fiugura<sup>375</sup> bolfasta manna vitni ok þriggia domera af sama siettungi ok þar til so marga et tolf sein. Þa en hann ai far forskiel, þa hafi hans arfi vitorþ miþ samu vitnum. En gangr hann uppi millan, þa hafi hann vitorþ sum vers.

**23 Gier maþr manni vegþuera**

Gierir maþr manni vegþuera, takr *riþandi* mann i baizl, eþa gangandi *mann* i akslar ok vendir um af gatu senni, þa bytir þu þunka viii ertaugar. En gierir hann manni vald ok latr lengr fylgia, þa bytir<sup>376</sup> þriar markr hanum firi vald ok *aþrar* þriar markr moga.

5

**24 Bers þrell**

Bers þrell manz viðr mann frelsan, þa hafi e *hann* hag tu gin ainu, þa ier þaira millan iemt. Þa en þrell far flairi þan tu gin ainu, þa ir byttr slegr huer at <tuaim><sup>164</sup> oyrum til fygura.<sup>377</sup> Þa en hin frelsi far flairi *hag* þan att gin <tuaim>,<sup>164</sup> þa ir *hanum* byt at half mark huert hag til fygura.<sup>378</sup> Þa en þrel far nyk eþa ryst eþa rind, þa ir e hanum byt  
 10 halfu sueverþari þan frelsum. Þa en i <sarafar><sup>379</sup> kumbr, þa bytir iemdyrt sum frelsum til þriggia marka ok ai frammar. Þunka bytir engin þreli ok engum<sup>380</sup> <bytir><sup>381</sup> ok þrel þunka.<sup>382</sup>

[29a] [20] **25 Af allum lutum**

En oformagar iru, ungir, eptir faþur dauþan, ok iru synir magandi menn, þa ma ai  
 15 hin elzti skilias viðr hin yngsta, þau et noyþas <taki>,<sup>383</sup> fyr þan hann ir magandi. Noytin allir af allu oskiptu, þar til et hann ir femtan ara gamal. Siþan taki hann viðr skiaup<sup>384</sup> ok skalum ok <laitar><sup>385</sup> firir sir huer en þair ai vilia lengr saman vera. Þa en so takr noyþas et iorþ verþr til <fyþur><sup>386</sup> selia fyr *þan* allir sein magandi, þa al festa aldra iemt ok [ai]<sup>387</sup> at fastu selia, so elzta sum<sup>388</sup> yngsta, utan þy at <ains><sup>389</sup> et  
 20 nequar taki ungan oformaga til sina, huat sum *hann* heldr ier quindismaþr eþa kerldis-, ok giefi hanum fyþu þar til et hann ir magandi, þa haldr hann inni sinum luta, þau et andrir verþin iorþ til fyþur selia. Giftir faþir sun senn ok doyr suninn ok <laifir><sup>390</sup> <dytrir><sup>391</sup> eptir sik, þa skulu þaar sitia i karls skauti ok biþa luta senna. Þa en karlin<sup>[30]</sup> doyr ok gangs eptir, þa skiptin arfi at hafþatali <dytrir><sup>392</sup> ok  
 25 <sunadytrir>.<sup>393</sup> Þa en synir karls iru flairin, þa liautin sunadytrir eptir faþur senn.

Samulund liauz ok eptir faþurmoþur en han lifr<sup>162</sup> lengr en sun. Hafr erfilytia<sup>394</sup> aign lutna, þa liautr huert siþan eptir annat i hueria quisl sum þet kumbr, huart sum heldr sei lindagyrt eþa gyrþlu-, emiþan bloz ir til.<sup>395</sup> Þa en gangs bloþ alt ok ir kumit undir tua lindagyrt ok okumit undir þriþia, þa liautr atr i garþ sama sum yr var kumit. Þa en  
 5 kumit ir undir þriþia ok iru allir þrir eptir sik, þa steþz þar quert i garþi sum i ier kumit, þau et gangis. Hafr erfilytia lutu<sup>396</sup> lutna ok gangs eptir hana, þa liauti þan sum bloþz ier nestr. Þa en baþi iru<sup>397</sup> iemner, kerldi ok quindi, þa liauti<sup>398</sup> þau kerldi ok ai quindi.

## 26 Þar som gangs i garþi

10 Þar sum gangs<sup>399</sup> i garþi, þa liauti dotir eptir faþur senn myþrni ok faþurmyþrni. Þa en <faþursystir><sup>400</sup> iru til, giptar eþa ogiptar,<sup>401</sup> þa takin þar sett <faþurmyþrni>.<sup>402</sup> Þa en nekkrar iru ogiptar, þa takin attunda penning af feþrni sinu þegar gield iru guldin.

<sup>403</sup> [29] Þar sum gangs i garþi, þa liautin niþiar hafuþlut <sin><sup>404</sup> miþ burnum a fiarþa mann. En fiarrar ier, þa taki<sup>405</sup> attunda lut siþan gield iru guldin ok quinna lutir iru  
 15 utrettadir. En quindi taki<sup>405</sup> slikt yr garþi sum <han> i hafþi,<sup>406</sup> en þet skrifat ier i<sup>407</sup> fyrsta ari. Ier þet ai skrifat, þa hafi garþin<sup>408</sup> vitorþ.

[30a] Gangs eptir mann ok limnar enkia i garþi, þa hafi at uppheldi i garþi til atmelis laup rygar<sup>409</sup> ok annan korns,<sup>410</sup> um huern<sup>411</sup> manað, en han ai doyr eþa giptis a fran. En þann kustr sum henni <fylgþi><sup>412</sup> þar i garþ, þa taki slikan yr [31] garþi sum <han  
 20 i><sup>413</sup> quam. Verþr kuna gipt i flairi garþa ok far barn i flairum, þa liauti so barn sum barn myþrni sitt beþi aign ok oyra. Ok bryþr takin upp firi samsystir *sinar* huat *sum* þar<sup>414</sup> iru heldr, giptar eþa ogiptar. Þa en kuna ir gipt af garþi miþ haimfylgi ok gangs eptir hana, þa liautz atr i garþ sama sum han af giptis. Þa en gangiz<sup>415</sup> ier i þaim garþi, þa liauti nesta bloþ, huat sum heldr ier kerldi eþa quindi, ok <þoygin><sup>416</sup> quindi lengra  
 25 þan a fiarþa mann. Iru beþi iemner, þa liauti þau kerldi. <sup>417</sup>Þet iru ok lag et kuna

liautr<sup>418</sup> hogsl ok iþ eptir bonda senn. <Sitr><sup>419</sup> han lengr enkia i garði með synum  
sinum ok gangs eptir syni hennar fyr þan atta ar iru utgangin, þa taki mark penninga  
um huert ar miþan synir lifðu. En giptis han fran barnum sinum lifandum, þa hafi  
hogsl ok iþ ok ai maira. Enkia þaun sum barnalaus ir, þa hafi herbergi en han vil i  
5 sama garði sum han gipt ier i. Þa en han ai vil, þa hafi half mark penninga um huert ar  
til siextan ara ok taki upp eptir þi sum ar liþa.

### 27 Af quinna lutum

En um quinna lutu, þa liautr dotir eþa doturbarn. *Þa en ai iru þaun til, þa liautr  
systir eþa systurbarn.* Þa en ekki ier þaira til, þa liautr faþursystir eþa faþursysturbarn.  
10 Þa en ekki ier þaira til, þa liauti nesta bloþ a fiarþa mann ok ai frammar. Ier ai þet til,  
þa standr<sup>420</sup> [32]quert i garði með niþium. Ier kerldi gangit sik ok ier i quinna luta<sup>421</sup>  
kumit, huat sum heldr ier af bryþr eþa systr, ok iru beþin bloz iemner, þa liautin beþin.  
Brinna inni <tuair><sup>164</sup> feþgar beþir i ainu husi, ella drunkna beþir a ainu skipi, eþa  
falla beþir i ainu vigi,<sup>422</sup> þa ier systir iemner sum dotir. Varþa synir flairin eptir mann  
15 ok aukas af allum kann gangas eptir nequara, þa varin allir iemner at lutum til fiarþa.  
Huer sum sell sett feþrni ok afhendis allu þi sum innan staurs ier, vari skildr viðr lutu  
miþ niþium eþa <bryþrum><sup>423</sup> ok vari i ogutniska manna vereldi. En synir hans varin i  
lutum ok i lagum miþ niþium, en þair fa atr þriggia marka laigi.

### 28 Af þybarn

20 Engin þysun far sik gyt til luta utan *þi at ains et* hann hafi aþal gutnisk<sup>424</sup> beþi faþur  
ok moþur ok vitri þegar miþ <skrifan><sup>425</sup> i etarmanna skra, þar til et þriar iru eptir sik  
allar <gutniskar>.<sup>426</sup> Þa liautr sun þairi <þriþiu><sup>427</sup> lutu<sup>428</sup> með niþium. Far gutniskr  
maþr þybarn viðr gutniska kunu ok gangs eptir hann ok loyfir<sup>429</sup> eptir sik þybarn syni  
ok dytrir, þa skiptin þaun<sup>430</sup> feþrnis oyrum at hafþatali miþ aþal dytrum, en þar iru til.  
25 Iru ai þar til, þa skiptin *þaun* sina milli at hafþatali feþrnis oyrum. En far gutniskr

maþr þysyni víþr ogutniska kunu, þa fyþi *hann* þaim þar til et þair iru magandi. Vilia þair ai lengr miþ feþr vera, þa giefi þriar markr penninga huerium <sup>[33]</sup>þaira ok fulkvapn ok sengakleþi, faldur<sup>431</sup> ok legvitu<sup>432</sup> ok vengi, ok femtan elnar <kleþis><sup>433</sup> til gangkleþa. Þa en hann hafr þydytrir, þa fyþi ok þaim, þar til et þar iru xviii ara gamlar; hafi sielfsvald um gipta þaim en nequar baiþis. En varþa þar ai giptar ok vilia þar ai lengr meþ feþr vera sen xviii ar iru<sup>434</sup> utgangin, þa giefi mark silfs hueri þaira ok seng *ok* gangkleþi ok ko eptir emnum sinum. Þybarna ret skal utgiefa allan miþ kirkiumanna vitnum ella skiellum.<sup>705</sup>

Far gutniskr maþr þydotur víþr ogutniska kunu ok falz nequar víþr þa þydotur, þa hogsli<sup>435</sup> hana miþ iiij markum penninga, huat hann heldr [ier] gutniskr eþa ogutniskr. En verþr maþr innitakin miþ þissi þydotur, þa loysi undan hand eþa fot meþ iii markum silfs. Far gutniskr kuna þydotur víþr ogutniskan mann, þa hafi<sup>436</sup> sama ret sum nussi var sekt.<sup>437</sup>

#### [20a] 29 Af intekt

Þa en mandr verþr innitakin miþ gutniskri kunu <ainloyþtri>,<sup>438</sup> <þa ma><sup>439</sup> hann i stukk setia ok hepta um þriar netr ok senda buþ frendum. Loysin undan siþan hand eþa fot miþ siex markum silfs, eþa lati af hagga en hann vindr ai undan loyst. Þa en hann ai verþr innitakin miþ, utan verþr barn hanum til handa burit ok kennir kuna manni barn, en hann <queþr><sup>440</sup> nai víþr, þa taki *hann* miþ sir tua bolfasta menn af þairi sokn sum þa var kunnan i, <þa en><sup>441</sup> barn var aflat, ok sueri so miþ siex manna aiþi et þair <sup>[34]</sup>aldri hoyrþin af þy mali orþ eþa ymil, fyr þan barn vari fyt.<sup>442</sup> Þa fylgir hanum vitorþ en han[n]<sup>443</sup> far þa tua bolfasta menn. <Faldr><sup>444</sup> hann ok far ai vitorþ, þa hafi han vitorþ miþ siex mannum *allum* sir iemburnum, ok sueri þet et hann sei faþir at barni. En hann taki víþr barni siþan ok víþr <myþr><sup>445</sup> en hann vil. Þa en hann ai vill, eþa ai ma, þa giefi henni fult hogsl en han gutniskr ir. Verþr gutniskr maþr



innitakin miþ ogutniskri kunu, þa far han þriar markar af hanum ok þoygi<sup>446</sup> ellar utan hann sei innitakin þar sum hennar seng ir ok hennar haim. Verþr ogutniskr maþr innitakin miþ gutniskri kunu, þa byti sum aþal gutniskr. Þa en hann verþr ai innitakin ok far þau barn meþ henni, þa giefi henni hogsl atta markar ok fyþi sielfr barn sett. En  
 5 kennir kuna barn hanum ok hann queþr<sup>447</sup> nai viþr, þa veri sik miþ samu vitnum sum gutniskr. En barn fyþin þair sum hogsl aigú upp taka, faþir eþa broþir, en han ogipt ier.<sup>448</sup> Far <ogutniskr><sup>449</sup> maþr barn viþr ogutniska kunu, þa giefi ok henni hogsl iii markr ok fyþi faþir barn sett. Þa en hann verþr innitakin *miþ*, þa giefi ok þriar markr, þau et ai sei barn.

10 [21] **30 Gierir mandr hor**<sup>450</sup>

Gierir mandr hor, þa byti iii markr þingi ok siex markar malsaiganda. Þa en mandr gierir yfirhor [lerþr ella]<sup>451</sup> olerþr,<sup>128</sup> þa byti xii markr landi ok aþrar tolf markr malsaiganda. Gierir giptr maþr hor viþr ogipta kunu, þa skal hann hana hogsla. Gierir<sup>[35]</sup>laggipt kuna hor viþr ogiptan mann, þa skal hann hana ai hogsla. Verþr maþr  
 15 innitakin miþ annars manz kunu, lerþr eþa olerþr, þa liggi hanum viþr fiauratigi markr eþa lif hans ok rabi <þau><sup>452</sup> *malsaigandi huat hann heldr vill, fe eþa lif hans*. Lukkar mandr dotur manz eþa nequan hans varnaþ til festur utan faþurs raþ eþa frenda, þa byti xl markr malsaiganda; þar hafi land tolf markr af. Takr mandr kunu eþa moy meþ rani eþa valdi, utan faþurs raþ eþa frenda, þa rapin þair sum hennar mal rykta halsi  
 20 eþa vereldi hans, en kuna ir gutnisk; þar hafi land tolf markr af. Þa en kuna ir ogutnisk, þa rapin þair sum hennar mal rykta halsi hans eþa x markum silfs; þar hafi land xii markr af.

[22] 31 Verþr kuna skiemd a vegum<sup>453</sup>

Verþr kuna skiemd i skogi ok til symnis noyd eþa annanstæp, þa laiþi mann miþ  
opi<sup>454</sup> en han ai vil skam þula, ok fari þengat eptir sum hann far firir. Þa en nequar  
hoýrir op hennar, þa ma þan biera henni ful skiel ok all<sup>455</sup> so sum hann viþr vari ok  
5 augum a sagi. Þa en engin hoýrir op hennar, þa skirskuti han sik þegar um fyrsta dygr  
þar sum han til byar kumbr, ok segi namn manz. Þaira niautr han ok skiela at, en þaun  
duga vilia. Þa en han lengr suelir ok kerir ai, þa ir þigia best yfir. Þan far þa vitorþ  
sum vers. Þa en mandr verþr at sliku sandr ok fylgia skiel kunu, þa bytir hann  
gutniskri kunu xii markr silfs, en ogutniskri *kunu* fem markr silfs ok ofrelsi kunu vi  
10 oyra penninga. Verþr firi laggipt kuna gutnisk eþa ogutnisk, þa hafr hann firigart lifi  
sinu, eþa loysi sik miþ so miklu vereldi sum kuna ir dyr. Þa en kuna kennir ai mann,  
ok skirskutar þau sik um fyrsta dygr siþan <han><sup>456</sup> til <sup>[36]</sup>byar kumbr, ok latz siþan  
hafa kient mann siþan lengra ir frangangit, þa vers hann miþ xii manna aiþi fyri þeiri  
sum ai ier hafandi. Þa en han ier hafandi ok biers a þaim tima<sup>457</sup> sum han skam sina  
15 skirskutapi, þa aigi han vitorþ miþ tolf manna aiþi ok vitnum þaim sum han sik  
skirskutapi firir. Þa en þrel manz gierir slikt viþr gutniska kunu, þa <vindr><sup>458</sup> ai  
drotin miþ vereldi vert hann, utan þi at ains at han heldr vili hafa vereldi takit þan lif  
hans.

[23] 32 Um quinna gripi<sup>459</sup>

20 En um quinna gripi iru lag þaun. Slar þu tupp eþa huif af kunur hafþi so et ai ier miþ  
vaþa gart ok beras hafuþ hennar <halft>,<sup>460</sup> þa byt mark penninga; þa en beras alt þa  
byt ii markr penninga. Hafi han <vitorþ><sup>461</sup> um miþ vitnum þaim sum a sagu huat sum  
*heldr* berapis, alt eþa halft. En ofrels kuna far slega bytr, ok ai maira. Slitr þu nast eþa  
nestla kunur, þa byt atta ertaugar. <Slitr><sup>462</sup> þu beþi byt half mark. Þa en hann faldr  
25 niþr a iorþ, þa byt mark.<sup>463</sup> Slitr þu snopir kunur, þa byt half mark hueria til mestu<sup>464</sup>

bota. Ok fa henni alt atr. Viti sielf han ner alt ir. <Skiautr><sup>465</sup> þu kunu so et henni stinqua kleði yr lagi, þy sum þaun fyr varu, þa byt atta ertaugar. Stinqua þaun a legg miþian, byt half mark. Stinqua þaun so haut et sia ma kniborþ,<sup>466</sup> þa byt mark penninga. Stinqua þaun so haut et beði ma sia lend ok <sup>[37]</sup><loyndir>,<sup>467</sup> þa byt ii markr.

- 5 Takr þu kunu um baugliþ byt half mark en <han><sup>468</sup> kera vil. Takr þu um alnbuga, byt atta ertaugar. Takr þu um axlar hafuþ, byt fem ertaugar. Takr þu um briaust, byt oyri. Takr þu um ankul,<sup>469</sup> byt half mark. Takr þu milli knis ok kalva, byt atta ertaugar. Takr þu ufan kni, byt v ertaugar. Takr þu en handar mair, þa ir þet gripr hinn ohaipverþi ok <haitir><sup>470</sup> fola gripr; þar liggia engar febytr viþr;<sup>471</sup> flestar þula<sup>472</sup> sen
- 10 þar *til* kumbr. Þa en firi verþr ogutnisk kuna, þa bytir<sup>473</sup> þu henni halfu minna gripi alla þan gutniskri kunu, *en firi ir kuna frels ok friþvet*.

[24] **33 Af bryllaupum**<sup>474</sup>

Um vagnikla ferþir þa skulu ai flairin aka þan <tuair><sup>164</sup> a huarum vagni. En maga raip ir aftakin. Þar singis brupmessa sum ungi maþr ier ok bryllaup skal <drikkas>.<sup>475</sup>

- 15 Sendi ungi maþr þria menn gin brup senni ok bryttuga biþi þar sum brupmessa sings ok bryllaup <drikks>.<sup>476</sup> En bryllaup skal drikkas um tua daga miþ allu fulki ok giefar giefi huer sum vil, eptir vilia sinum. En fyrningar iru <aftaknar><sup>477</sup> til bryllaupa hafa. A þriþia dagi þa hafin sielfsvald um at biauþa atr drozsietum ok gerþamannum<sup>478</sup> ok nestu frendum. Minni skulu skenkias so marg sum husbondi vil <sup>[38]</sup>firir Mariu minni.
- 20 En eptir Mariu minni, þa hafi huer maþr haimluf ok ol bieris<sup>479</sup> ai lengr in. Huer sum þitta briautr, þa byti xii markr landi. En huer sum obuþin kumbr til bryllaups eþa vaizlur ols, þa gieldi iii oyra penninga.<sup>480</sup>

[24a] **34 Af erfisgierpum**

- Erfisgierþir iru allar aftaknar. Utan huer sum vil, þa giefi kleði ok skyþi
- 25 innansoknafulki eptir þan sum fram<sup>481</sup> ier liþin.

**35 Af quinna ret**

<sup>482</sup>Skarlab ok bladragnig sliti þet huer<sup>483</sup> sum til ier,<sup>484</sup> ok engin maira til auki sen þet ier slitit, huatki fornt eða nyt.

Raiþklepi<sup>485</sup> ok raiþvengi skierins ai smeri<sup>486</sup> þan i fiarþunga.

5

**[24d] 36 Af gutniskri kunu**

Pitta ir ok semp sik<sup>487</sup> um gutniskar kunur, et huer broþir gieri rap firir systr senni til giptur. Vil hann<sup>488</sup> ai, þa giefi *henni* attunda lut af aigu senni til upheldis, miþ skynian nestu<sup>489</sup> frenda ok soknamanna, so et han huergi <oraþlika><sup>490</sup> firigieri sinum kust.

En um ogutniskt fulk,<sup>491</sup> þa liautin tuar systrir gin ainum bryþr. Þa en falla kann  
10 syskana millan eða syskanabarna, þa skiptin so þi sum feþrni eða myþrni. Þa en fiarrar <gangr>,<sup>492</sup> þa liauti þan sum bloþi ier nestr.<sup>493</sup>

<sup>494</sup> [60a] **[24f, 64] 37 Af farvegum manz**

En um farvegi manna þa iru lag þaun: a mandr aign huergin tafasta, þa al hann sielfr  
at vita <a><sup>495</sup> ypna varst, hur hann farveg a. Þa en hann tafasta a ok ypna<sup>496</sup> varst, þa  
15 far<sup>497</sup> hann ai vita a annars aign ypna. En hafr hann sielfr lukna, þa ma hann vita a  
annars ypna. Þa en menn vilia gierþa talautir<sup>498</sup> innan gierþa, þa aigu þair quiar  
<laifa><sup>499</sup> femtan stiga braiþar. Þa helga þair garþ senn ok ai ellar. Gierþir mandr sir  
haga yfir farveg manz, þa gierþi<sup>500</sup> hann hanum liþ en hin fari þet sum hann fyr for.  
Þa en *hann* gierþir atr gatu manz yfir laga<sup>501</sup> farveg manz, þa gierþi<sup>500</sup> þan liþ sum  
20 garþin a, ok þan<sup>502</sup> varþi liþium sum veg a.

<sup>[38a]</sup> **[25] 38 Af skoga <brigslum><sup>503</sup>**

Brigþas <tuair><sup>164</sup> menn um skog, þa al mandr hafa tu vitni: <liksvitni><sup>504</sup> ok  
ortarvitni. Laþigs viþ garran eða <troþur><sup>505</sup> klufit ok a stumbla legt, eða <sup>[39]</sup>klappat  
quisti ok saman burit ok þar latit þorkas til hafallar,<sup>506</sup> þet ir ortarvitni fult.<sup>507</sup> Vitorþ  
25 hafi þann sum liksvitni hafr driaugari at ort umkring. An[n] af þaim sum mest a skal

<fyrsti><sup>508</sup> til aiz at ganga. Vil hann ai miþ aiþi vitna, þa dugin<sup>509</sup> hans vitni huargum.<sup>510</sup> En um aðal iorþ skal ok hafa tu vitni: niþiavitni ok ortarvitni um þria vintr. Ortarvitni bierint<sup>511</sup> þair sum aign aigu *a* fasta.<sup>512</sup> <Brigþr><sup>513</sup> þan sum kringum *a*, þa vitnin<sup>514</sup> þair sum nest aigu utanum. Niþiavitni bier ai nerari<sup>515</sup> þan fiarþi  
 5 frankumin.

Þa en þaun mytas, aðal iorþ ok skogr ok myr, þa takin<sup>516</sup> *aþal* iorþ tua luti<sup>517</sup> ok skogr ok myr þriþiung. Skogr ok myr þa takr<sup>518</sup> halft huat af dauþiorþu<sup>519</sup> þar sum þaun mytas millan stumbla ok starþufur. Ok huatki ma þaira miþ andru *vitna*, ai skogr miþ myri ok ai myr miþ skogi.

10 Lufi engin maþr andrum manni hagga i oskiptum skogi, eþa ag sla i oskiptri myri utan hann sei sakr at þrim markum viþr malsaiganda ok aþrum þrim viþr moga. Dirfis engin maþr yrkia i annars manz skogi eþa myri<sup>520</sup> utan þet sei tykt miþ skiellum<sup>705</sup> sum hann miþ far, anbol eþa faruskiaut. En segr hann et hinn oskellika hafi<sup>521</sup> takit, þa vitin<sup>522</sup> [40] þet meþ asyn. Huer sum skapa far um skog eþa aþrar aigur ok vil hann  
 15 nequarum mistroa um nequat, þa syni engin andrum ranzsak<sup>523</sup> ok asyn utan sak.

Huer sum <merkium><sup>524</sup> spillir utan staurs eþa innan, þa vari sakr at þrim markum viþr malsaiganda ok aþrum þrim viþr moga. Dirfis ok engin maþr gerþa af oskiptri aign utan hann sei sakr at þrim markum viþr malsaiganda ok en aþrum iii viþr moga. Garþi a varþa huer þar sum hann giert hafr; þan tagarþi<sup>525</sup> sum tafast *a*. En þan sum ai  
 20 *a* tafast, þa varþar þan<sup>526</sup> miþalgarþi. Þar bytir huer spiel sum hann garþ *a*<sup>527</sup> firir. Þa en flairi aigu ella hafa<sup>528</sup> garþ auman, þa gialdin allir spiel sum ai hafa garþ laggiertan. Engin far haildir firir spiel sin utan hann hafi ella *a*<sup>529</sup> sielfr laggiertan <garþ>.<sup>530</sup> Ai ma visa spiellum a annars garþ auman utan hann sielfr hafi goþan.

## [26] 39 Af halfgierði

- Baiþis maþr halfgierði af manni, þa al til segia hanum<sup>531</sup> miþ granna vitnum eþa kirkiumanna. Ok skilin soknamenn til lutar i samu siaunatum. Liauti þan siþan sielfr miþ granna vitnum, en hinn ai vil viðr vara, ok gierð þar sum þu liautr. En hin hafi
- 5 *siþan* atmelis frest fran lutadagi. Þa en siþan kuma soyþir i, þa tak i hus ok lat ai ut fyr þan hann spiel bytir ok half mark fram setr til garz. Hafi giert i halfum manaði ok taki atr veð sin. Þa en *hann* ai gierðir i halfum manaði, þa tappi sinni half mark ok þu tak atr til annarir half mark<sup>532</sup> þar til et <sup>[41]</sup>gert ier. Varði e spiellum miþan ogert ir. Firi þi et garðr ir granna <setir>.<sup>533</sup>
- 10 Huer sum takr soyð i hus, þa anduerði soyði til þes et hann til segr hinum miþ granna vitnum sum soyðin a. Vil hann ai siþan soyð sen ut loysa, þa hafi sielfr skapa en<sup>534</sup> soyðr ir verri<sup>535</sup> eþa dauðr með allu. Þa en allum ier laglika tilsegt, þa anduerði þan sum garð a auman. Þa en mandr a osoyðan<sup>536</sup> ok laupr i at laggiertum garði, þa al manni til segia miþ granna vitnum ok biþia soyð senn hepta. Þa en *hann* siþan gierir
- 15 skapa, þa al taka soyð i hus ok hann<sup>537</sup> byti spiel sum soyðin a. Briautr uxi bandhailan garð, þau et hann ai sei laggiertr, þa bytir þu spiel. Þa en hann laupr yfir, þa bytir ai, en ai ok<sup>538</sup> garðr laggiertr ier. Þa ir uxi at lagum heptr en hornband ir a eþra foti ok so um horn. Engin garðr ir laggiertr utan hann sei<sup>539</sup> með <tuaim><sup>164</sup> bandum bundin ok halfþriþi elna haur til<sup>540</sup> yfrsta banda ok *þau* firi þaim soyðum <sup>[42]</sup>sum yfir laupa ok ai
- 20 firir suinum eþa firir <þaim><sup>541</sup> soyðum sum undir skriþa. Gasa eþa grisa gieti huer sielfr en garðr ir laggiertr firir.

## 40 Huar som haggrr oloyfis

Haggrr maþr innan gierða oloyfins<sup>542</sup> ok akr til, þa vari sakr at þrim markum viðr malsaiganda ok aþrum þrim viðr moga. En bier hann yr haim til sina, þa vari sakr at

atta ertaugum ok e hailt atr. Brestr axul a gatu eða annat raiði, þa haggi saklaust i annars aign en hann ai sielfr a so ner et hann sia ma oyk ok vagn, eða rus ok kerru.

Rifr þu garð manz upp so et þu briautr yfrsta banda, þa byt half mark. En rifr þu annat staurgulf byt <viii><sup>543</sup> <ertaugar>.<sup>544</sup> Rifr þu þriðja, byt iiii<sup>545</sup> ertaugar. Rifr þu  
5 so brat sum lipzmeli sei,<sup>546</sup> þa byt tuar markr ok ai frammar. Ok gierð atr garð hans iemgöðan ok iemlangan sum hann fyr var ok varða skapa emen<sup>547</sup> ypit ier.

Takr þu við manz eða garz virki eða timbr i skogi, byt vi oyra. Þa en hinn hafr til gatur fyrt, þa iru<sup>548</sup> þriar markr, en hann ekki lafir sett atr. Ok fai hanum alt sett aigit atr iemgutt ok iemmikit, en þu verðr <sandr><sup>549</sup> at. Viti<sup>550</sup> sielfr mið aiði ner alt ier.

10

## [27] 41 Af sauði

Sauði varðar huer sum hann i garði hafr utan þi at ains et hiaul <liggi a><sup>551</sup> <eða><sup>552</sup> fellidur; þa varðar þann sum fran ypnu gangr. Grafr þu <sauð><sup>553</sup> i engium eða aign þenni, þa gier gang ok gatu iemgöða fran sum til, ellar varðar þu soyði manz en hann vaða liautr.

15

## [43] [28] 42 Af aignakaupi

Aign ma engin selia utan þrang rekin til. Þa segi<sup>554</sup> til skyldasta með soknamannum ok etarmannum, ok þair skynin huat til <þrengir>.<sup>555</sup> En huer sum gieftr penninga a aign utan þissa skynian, þa hafi firigieft penningum sinum ok byti tolf markar landi ok aprar xii skyldum mannum, þaim sum rypta. En aign ir aldri lagkaupt utan með  
20 þingsmanna skynian, ok agrafr frammi standi um atmeli. Með samu vitnum skal ok festa sum <kaupa>.<sup>556</sup> Skipta menn aignum, þa lysin a þingi skipti sinu, so et beðir sein<sup>557</sup> viðr. Þa en nequar mistror þaim, þa ranssaki i sama ari. Þa en ai vinna<sup>558</sup> skyldir menn kaupt aign af þaim sum selia þarf, þa kaupin quislarmenn eða etarmenn in mið samu skyn sum <settr><sup>559</sup> ir. En aign kaupis aldri utan etar. Þa en þair menn  
25 hafa aign sum ai iru i ett, gutniskir eða <ogutniskir><sup>560</sup> ok þorfu selia, þa selin þaim

sum liauta aigu, en þair efla. Efla ai þair, þa kaupin hunderismenn i sama hunderi sum  
 aign liggr i. Huer sum þitta briautr, <byti><sup>561</sup> xii markr landi. Þa en fierrar maþr kaupir  
 þan nesti, þa skal afrap fram setia a hunderis þingi, þi sum aign liggr i, ok hinum  
 laglika til segia sum utan þings ier, fyr enn afrap *fram* seti, firi hans soknamannum  
 5 sum afrap a taka. Sel maþr aign sina, þa takin afrap beþi quindi ok kerldi *þet* sum  
 <liauta> a<sup>562</sup> ok ai þair <sup>[44]</sup>sum noyta miþ hanum. En aign kaupin þau niþiar eþa  
 quislarmenn. Vilia ai þair, þa iru quindismenn nerari þan utanmenn. En sel maþr aign  
 sina ok kaupir andra miþ sama verþi<sup>563</sup> til maks sir, þar gangr ai afrap<sup>564</sup> af. Iorþ ir ok  
 aldri afrapalaus<sup>565</sup> utan þi at ains et allir lyþir selin eþa han verþi at vereldi guldin eþa  
 10 mark laigi<sup>566</sup> at haimfylgi <a malapingi><sup>567</sup> utlufat eþa at þiaufgildi guldin. Iru bryþr  
 flairin eþa bryþlingar,<sup>568</sup> ok hafa skipt eþa aprir skyldir menn ok selia ymsir aign sina,  
 þa taki engin þaira afrap af aprum utan þan sum þaim ier nestr ok haldr senni aign.

### 43 Sitr maþr i hers handum

Sitr mandr i hers handum ok gielldr firi sik iorþ eþa aign sina, þa ier niþi nestr atr  
 15 loysa, en hann vil, ok fe<sup>569</sup> firigelda siþan hinn haim kumbr. Sitr bondasun i hers  
 handum, eþa oformagi, þa ma engin hann dyrari ater loysa þan at iii markum silfs,  
 utan þi at ains et umbuþ sei til, faþurs<sup>570</sup> eþa frenda; ok hafi þriþiung at avagst slikt  
 sama fe sum hann galt. En vitorþ far hann ai frammar þan til iii<sup>571</sup> marka silfs en þa  
 takr askilia.<sup>572</sup> En hinn sum lutna<sup>573</sup> hafr aign<sup>574</sup> ok ai ir oformagi, hann gier<sup>575</sup> sielfr  
 20 mal<sup>576</sup> firir sir so sum hann viþr ma kuma. Þet standr sum hann sielfr gierir. Þaun iru  
 lag landa milli et utlendingr loysi aldri dyrari mann gutniskan þan at iii markum silfs,  
 utan *hann* hafi umbuþ faþurs eþa frenda, ok taki þriþiungs avagst eptir fe sinu. Þa en  
 broþir far miþ fe oskiptu ok <sup>[45]</sup>kumbr i hers hendr,<sup>577</sup> þa loysin bryþr hann ok miþ fe  
 oskiptu. Þa en hann far miþ fe skiptu, þa loysi sik sielfr. Bryþr aigu broþur af hers  
 25 handum loysa emiþan oskipt ir þaira millan.



<sup>578</sup>Þa en *nequat* gagn biers ainum til handa frammar þan andrum eða verþr fyndr auþin, þa aigú allir hafa emiþan oskipt ir. Þa en bryþr veria aign oskipta ok drepr ann þaira mann, þa varþar sinum verkum huer.<sup>579</sup> Þann bytir sum drap.

#### <sup>580</sup>44 Af gutnisk mans syni

5 Engin gutnisk manz sun far skipt af feþr sinum af aigur,<sup>581</sup> þoygi<sup>582</sup> et hann baiþis, utan þi at ains et faþir vili eða giptis miþ faþurs raþ ok vilia. Þa en hann skipta vill, þa taki upp hafuþlut senn af oyrum at rekning, en faþir þa hafi bol sett oskipt ok giefi *syni* þaim landzlaigur af ok hafuþlut senn, ok <raþi><sup>583</sup> sielfr firi<sup>584</sup> sir fara huert hann vil. <sup>585</sup>Þa en þair hafa bol flairin, þa fari sun a nequat þaira ok at rekning en hann<sup>586</sup>

10 vill <sup>587</sup>so frammarla sum faþir skynias ai oraþamaþr. Þa en ogutniskr maþr hafr syni ogipta eða gipta, þa fain aldri skipt af <feþr><sup>588</sup> sinum utan faþir <skynis><sup>589</sup> oraþamaþr.

#### [29] 45 Af giöldum

Huer sum giöld <gierir><sup>590</sup> oraþlika, þa firigieri sinum lut ok ai maira. En engin

15 giöldi giöld eptir hann dauþan frammar en hans kustr vindr at.

#### <sup>[46]</sup> [30] 46 Af veþium

Hafr þu<sup>591</sup> veþ takit af manni firi sant giöldeti,<sup>592</sup> þa stemni hanum til kirkiur eða til þings ok loysi atr at laga frestum, eða virþin soknamenn *eða þingsmenn*.

#### [31] 47 Af þingum

20 Þitta ir ok sempt sik et þing all skal byria halda firi miþian dag. Raþmenn skulu retta a hunderis þingum. Huer sum ai kumbr af þaim firi miþian dag, þa byti <þria><sup>593</sup> oyra þingi. Þa *en* engin þaira ier <kumin><sup>594</sup> um miþian dag, þa varin sakir at iii markum viþr þan sum fyr bier mal upp ok aþrum þrim viþr moga. En domar dymins ai *lengr* ok aiþir lyptins ai lengr en sol setr. Huer *sum* þitta briautr byti þingi eptir þy sum þing ier

25 haut<sup>595</sup> til. Sakar engar ma siettungr sykia hoyrin þan til iii<sup>596</sup> marka, en þriþiungr til

siex marka ok land alt til tolf marka. Iru stefnur um aignir, þa vari lagfeldr þann sum ai kumbr at sama tima sum þing al halda.

[32] **48 Af fearkrafi**

Kan fearkraf verþa manna millan, þa far engin hoygri lag af andrum þan til siex  
 5 manna, en þaim kann askilia. En um aignadailu til xviii manna, en daila ir til mark<sup>532</sup>  
 gulz, so ok þau et maira sei. Þa en þaim skil a, þa skulu þet virþa hunderis raþmenn  
 utan aip <en><sup>597</sup> daila<sup>[47]</sup> sei til mark<sup>532</sup> gulz ok taki *nu* <fyrstu><sup>598</sup> stemnu um manþa  
 frest af þairi. Þa en hann vil atr segia, þa segi atr firi half<sup>599</sup> manþ [frest ok flyti um  
 half manþ frest aþra]<sup>600</sup> fram til þriþiu. Þa en daila ir minni en til<sup>601</sup> mark<sup>532</sup> gulz, þa  
 10 skal taka vi manna stemnu fyrstu um halfan manþ. Þa en hann vill atr segia, þa segi  
 atr firi siau nata<sup>602</sup> frest ok flyti um siau nata frest aþra fram til þriþiu. En stefnur ma  
 ai lengr flytia utan beggia vilia.

[32a] **49 Af manna kaupi**<sup>603</sup>

[48a] [33] **50 Kaupir þu uxa**<sup>604</sup>

15 Kaupir þu uxa, þa royn hann um þria daga. Lastir fylgia hanum <tuair>.<sup>164</sup> Ann en  
 hann ai dragr, annar en hann briautr.

Kaupir þu ko,<sup>605</sup> þa royn hana um þry mielkmal. Lastir fylgia henni <tuair>.<sup>164</sup>  
 An[n] en han sparkas so et ai ma mulka, annar en han mielkstulin ier.

[34] **51 Kaupir þu hest**<sup>606</sup>

20 Kaupir þu hest, þa royn hann um þria daga ok laiþ atr miþ lasti en þu nequan findr.  
 <Lastir><sup>607</sup> fylgia hesti<sup>608</sup> þrir. Þann ir ann en *hann* starblindr ier, annar en hann bitz,  
 þriþi en hann <frembru><sup>609</sup> fotum sparkas. Þa en þu hann lengr hafr, þa takr ai sali  
 viþr, <þau et><sup>610</sup> lastir fylgin, utan hann sielfr vili.

[35] 52 Af hesti<sup>611</sup>

Takr þu hest manz i baitu eða annanstæð, oloyfis hinum sum a, ok riðr *mið* eða akr  
 mið, þa byt iii markr malsaiganda ok aþrar iii moga, en þu verðr sandr at et þu <a  
 baki><sup>612</sup> vast ok fa e alt haitr atr. Takr þu hest manz viðr garð bundnan ok <laifr><sup>613</sup>  
 5 engin<sup>614</sup> atr, þa byt<sup>615</sup> ok þriar markr malsaiganda ok aþrar þriar-moga, utan þi at ains  
 et þu mistakit <hafr><sup>616</sup> ok annan <querran><sup>617</sup> laift. Þa en þu mistakit hafr, þa byt viii  
 ertaugar ok kum hanum hailum haim atr firi þriþia dygr.

## [49] [36] 53 Af skipa gezlu

En um skipa gezlu iru lag þaun. Kaupskip, þet sum þretan iru rangr i ok þrir bitar, þi  
 10 varðar mandr at strandu uti. En byrþing skal reka ginum stukk eða rif eða ginum bul  
 viðr hus þet sum þiauf sufa i. Las al at vara ok lykil þan sum husfroyia bieri eða  
 husbondi. Rekendr sein ai lengrin þan þrir stelkir ok fiarði hamar. Vegi <stelkr><sup>618</sup>  
 huer tuar markr eða <rekki><sup>619</sup> um þriar rangr. Ok af sia, þa varðar ai. Hittir mandr  
 myndrikkiu varðalaus at strandu uti, þa aigi þann sir at attu sum a hittir, en hinn ir  
 15 huergi so ner et hann op hans hoyrir, en hann þrysuar hafr ypt. <Batr><sup>620</sup> ir ekki yr  
 varnaði, aigi huer sum vill. Þa en mandr takr manz bat at staðum ok far mið, þa bytir  
 hann so sum hann riði hesti manz.

## [37] 54 Af ranzsakan

Kuma menn manni til garz ok baiðas et ranzsaki, þa ma engin andrum  
 20 ranzsaka[n]<sup>621</sup> synia. Vil hann granna sina viðr hafa, þa all biða þaira en ai vill manni  
 oskiel biauða.<sup>622</sup> Nemni sinn mann huar in at ganga. Lausgyrtr skal inn at ganga<sup>623</sup> ok  
 kapulaus siðan ranzsaka<sup>624</sup> skal. Þa en mandr syniar aþrum ranzsakan, þa iru ohailig  
 dur hans ok far enga bot firir, þau et ai hittis fuli<sup>625</sup> inni. Þa en [50]inni hittis nequat  
 þes<sup>626</sup> sum men iefa um, þa skal at fangum spyria. Gangr hann viðr þegar ok  
 25 <segr><sup>627</sup> fang sin, þa al laipznum<sup>628</sup> fylgia ok royna fang hans. Fullas hanum skiel

tuar ertaugar firi þing huert. Þaun naut eða rus sum nytia ma, þa nyti mið soknamanna kennu. Ok fari ai til Visbyar mið, utan riði til þin[g]s<sup>669</sup> meþ, eða <sup>[55]</sup>laði, ok leggi af saþul ok bindi so fierri et motstukka magi sia<sup>670</sup> mið allum <upphaizlusoyþum>.<sup>671</sup>

[46] **64 Af [a]merki**<sup>672</sup>

- 5 Huer sum amerki gierir [a] annars fileði utan þet sei kaupt eða at haimfylgi giefit ok verþr þar sandr at, þa byti iii markr.

[47] **65 Af akrum**

- Hafa flairi menn akra saman ok vilia sumir liggia lata ok sumir sa, þa raþin þair sum maira aigu ok segin til firi Mariumessu i fastu huart þair heldr vilia, liggia lata eða sa.
- 10 En skiptas landboar um, þa hafi vi penninga firi laupsland þan sum bort far af þaim sum þar kumbr a, firi akra þa sum hann ai far sa. Ok rymin þair um hoyslet, huer firi aþrum, so margra lassa rum sum bol gielldr at markum.

[48] **66 Af rofnakrum**<sup>673</sup>

- Huer bondi sum <seþir><sup>674</sup> hafr, þa loyfi<sup>675</sup> laupsland til rofnakrs<sup>673</sup> um huert ar. En
- 15 seþalaust fulk sum hus hafr, þa hafi halfs laupsland til rofnakrs<sup>673</sup> ok þan lati oyk<sup>676</sup> til sum aign<sup>677</sup> a. Huer sum ai haldr þitta, þa vari sakr iii oyrum viþr sokn.<sup>678</sup> En huilik sokn sum ai ryktar þitta, þa vari sak at iii markum en a þing kumbr.

[49] **67 Af <hafreki>**<sup>679</sup>

- Hittir mandr hafrek a landi,<sup>680</sup> þa hafi attunda penning huern af fynd. Hittir hann<sup>681</sup> a
- 20 fluti<sup>680</sup> uti ok <sup>[56]</sup>þarf viþr skips ok ara eða hittir hann a hafs<sup>680</sup> butni ok þarf viþr krok ok kexi,<sup>682</sup> þa hafi þriþiung af fynd<sup>683</sup> sinni. Þa en hann hittir yr lanzsyn, þa hafi halft af þi<sup>684</sup> sum hann hitti.

**[50] 68 Af eldi**

Kan so illa at bieras et skapi skin af þaim eldi sum gieris<sup>685</sup> i skurstainum eða i eldhusum ok fliaugr i annan garþ at skapa, þa byti iii markr, en skapi ir til iii marka. Þa en flairi garþar fa skapa, þa litin allir viðr þar iii markr.

5

**[51] 69 Af bierueldi**

Þa en skapi skin<sup>686</sup> af bierueldi, þa byti halfu vereldi sinu, þan sum bier. Þa en af<sup>687</sup> ofmaga skin<sup>686</sup> slikt, þa gielti þan sum visar.

**[52] 70 Af broagierþ<sup>688</sup>**

Þet ir ok semp sik<sup>689</sup> et broa skal um huert ar i allum soknum. Huilikin sokn sum ai  
10 broar, þa byti iii markr þingi.

**[53] 71 Af skuti**

Þet ir ok <semp sik><sup>690</sup> en skut þarf skiauta til landz þarfa, þa skal skiauta at<sup>691</sup> markatali bepi af aign ok af oyrum, ok ai af garrum gersemum.

<sup>[57]</sup> **[54] 72 Af varpi**

15 Varþ al sitia<sup>692</sup> huer sum ier tiugu ara ok haldi vapnum uppi ok allum skyldum<sup>693</sup> ok gielti varþpenninga i paskaviku.

**[55] 73 Af husum ok husþiaupum**

Huer sum setr hus niþr utan <sokninna><sup>694</sup> luf, þa vari sakr at iii markum viðr sokn ok rymi hus upp i sama ari. Huer sum takr husþiaup utan sokninna<sup>695</sup> luf, þa vari sakr  
20 at iii oyrum.

**[56] 74 Af byrslufulki**

Alt byrslufulk<sup>696</sup> sum a bondans brauþi<sup>697</sup> ier, gangr þet bort ohelgan dag af garþi oloyfis sins husbonda, þa<sup>698</sup> laifi atr ertaug um dag huern<sup>699</sup> af sinni laigu ok fulli dagsverk<sup>700</sup> atr.

[56a] **75 Af sepalausú fulki**

Alt sepalaust fulk i soknum, þa hafi engti ginneli et þet ai skuli byrgia seþ miþ bondum. Ok hafi siex penninga af laupslandi firi korn, ok <fem><sup>701</sup> penninga firi rug<sup>702</sup> ok hagra, ok fyþi sik sielft.<sup>703</sup> Ok segi bondi<sup>704</sup> til miþ skiellum.<sup>705</sup> Huer sum  
 5 þar ginnelir þa vari sakr at oyrum iii.<sup>706</sup>

[57] **76 Af ikornum**

Huer sum far at ikornum firi Simonismessu Jude ok eptir Mariumessu i fastu byti iii markr. En fari engin innan staurs utan luf aiganda.

[58] **77 Af herum**<sup>707</sup>

10 Fari engin at herum<sup>708</sup> miþ gildri eptir Mariumessu i fastu eþa firi <Simonismessu><sup>709</sup> Jude utan hann heti viþr iii markum.

[59] **78 Af skafli**

Hitta<sup>710</sup> ir ok semp<sup>711</sup> sik et skafli alt skal hafa helg til yfru Mariumessur.<sup>712</sup> Huer sum þitta briautr byti kirkiumannum þria oyra. Af þissu hafi halft þann [sum]<sup>713</sup> sykir.  
 15 Briauta oformagar, þa bytin halfu minna.

[60] **79 Af messufalli**<sup>714</sup>

Þet ir ok gamal retr et varþa messufall um sunnudag<sup>715</sup> eþa annan helgan dag, þa skal prestr byta proasti iii markr, ok aprar þriar markr sokninni. Þa en messufall kan varþa um friadag eþa annan messudag þan sum niu lekkior lesas eþa hafas,<sup>716</sup> þa byti  
 20 prestr xii oyra proasti ok <apra<sup>717</sup> tolf><sup>718</sup> sokninni.<sup>719</sup>

[61] **80 Af dufli**

Dufl<sup>720</sup> ier aftakit. Huer sum duflar, þa vari sakr at þrim oyrum viþr sokn. Vil ai sokn sykia, þa byti sokn iii markr þingi.<sup>721</sup>

<sup>722</sup>Þet ir ok semp<sup>723</sup> [59] sik et þet iru lag sum hier ir<sup>724</sup> skrifat i. Þet skulu allir menn  
 25 halda. Þa en nequarar atbyrþir kunnu þar<sup>725</sup> verþa sum ai hittas hier i, þa skulu þar

slitas miþ domera tali ok [þair]<sup>726</sup> þet sueria et þet sein ret guta lag, ok siþan skrifas hier i.<sup>727</sup>

[62] *Hitta*<sup>710</sup> *ier þet sum nylast var takit um loyski*

<sup>728</sup>*Ier loyski maira en lofi hyll, þet bytis at mark silfs. Ier huart har af, þa bytis at*  
5 *<tuaim>*<sup>164</sup> *markum silfs.*

[63] **82 Um skoga**

Huar sum hagr i manz skogum, innan staurs eþa utan, ok akr til, byti þriar markr penninga ok gieri hait atr. Huer sum rifr manz garþ so et aka ma ginum, þa byti iii markr penninga. Huer sum far oloyfis yfir manz aigu, byti iii oyra. Rifr mann<sup>729</sup> gluggu a garþi manz, byti  
10 samulund.<sup>730</sup>

Um <sup>[60]</sup>festuaigur allar,<sup>731</sup> þa<sup>732</sup> loysins eþa virþins i sama <lyktryggum><sup>733</sup> eþa festins þar sum þar kunnar ieru. Huer sum firigier<sup>734</sup> þriggia marka laigi at þranglausu, hafi firigart sinum halsi ok kuna hans kirkiurumi sinu<sup>735</sup> ok standi atr i stapli.<sup>736</sup>

<sup>737</sup>*Magum ok vagniklum skenkis ai maira en þry minni ok engti kar maira en half skal gangi*  
15 *i at mestu. Ok huer sum þaim misfirmir, byti tuibyt ok tolf markr landi.*<sup>738</sup>

<sup>739</sup> [61] [65] **35 Af quinna ret**

Um quinna ret ier ok <semp sik><sup>740</sup> et nautabo skulu taka til femta banz, rus ok lamb so sum þar þet i garþ <flyttu>.<sup>741</sup> All gylning ier aftakin, utan tassala. Gyltan kupar skal brenna, hur sum hann hittis. <Gullap><sup>742</sup> ok silkisband, annur þan slungin, iru all<sup>743</sup> aftakin. Gylt *kar*  
20 *ok belti gamul ier lufat at hafa, <slíkt>*<sup>744</sup> *sum þet ier, ok engun*<sup>745</sup> *til auka. Tuar markr gulz skal haimfylgi vara, ok ai maira ok ai ma maira giefu ok ai maira baiþas. Bladragning ier all aftakin ok pell, ok ma ai*<sup>746</sup> *gipta garþa millan utan meþ huitum lereptum. Skarlap ieru ok aftakin.*<sup>747</sup> Engin ma skarlap kaupa, *huarki nyt eþa gamalt*, ok engin *ma þet meþ giptu giefu garþa millan utan hafa quert i garþi.*

25 *Silfrband ok kurtílbonapr ier ok aftakin.*

<sup>748</sup>*Burgan vípr byamenn ier ok firibúðin. Kaupi engin maira en hann þegar geldr eptir.*

*Hvar sum nequar<sup>749</sup> af þissum briautr, byti tolf markr landi.*



## ADDITIONS

1. (*B*: Chapter 4, Note 127. Cf. Pipping 1901, 9-11; *CIG*, 104: Additamenta 1, 2.)

[7a] En sípan framleydis alt þet som þar af kumbr,<sup>750</sup> bepi a quindi ok a <kerldi>,<sup>751</sup>

[8] þa fylgir e gutnisku kyni, utan þi at ains at han taki i verra ok nipri so byrþ sina, þa

5 ier ok hans retr slíkr som bonda ella bondabarna. Þa en <prestson><sup>752</sup> olerþr hittir<sup>753</sup> sakar at giera ella man at vega, þa siir han sielfr víþr sakum emíþan han lifr, huat som han <ier innan><sup>754</sup> lands ellar<sup>755</sup> utan.

Hittir maþr sakir giera lerþr<sup>756</sup> ella olerþr, þa byti engin frammar, þa en hans kustr vindr at.<sup>757</sup> Þa en han döyr<sup>758</sup> ok liautr hin lerþi sakar, þa biauþi han bot þegar, fyr þy

10 at ai ma prestr víþr sakum sia, en hin sei oskemdr at taka þegar, en han vil, meþ þy at ai ier hinum ret lerþan man at vega, ella illan vilia víþr han at hafa. Þa en han vill ai bot at taka, þa skal biera a þing fyr alla lyþi. Taki þar en han vil, ellar rapin allir lyþir fyr bot, en sei maþr osakr. Þa en han <hemnat eyger so bupit>,<sup>759</sup> þa byti han man at fullu vereldi, ok allum landom xl markr.

15 Þa en tuair<sup>760</sup> bryþr liauta sakar, annar lerþr ok annar olerþr, ok vil hin lerþi byta, en olerþi vil ai, þa leggi hin lerþi fram hafuþlut sen taka i hendr som allir landar til nemna, ok hafi helg sípan, en hin sie víþr sakum som ai vildi bot biauþa. Þa en vereldi verþr bupit, þa bytir huar sen hafuþluta.

[9] Þa en hin lerþi liautr<sup>761</sup> at sakum sia, som ai ma hemna, þa skal han bot þegar  
20 taka som i bupi ier. Þa en han ai vil bot taka, utan vil heldr hemna, þa skal hin biera<sup>762</sup> a þing fyr alla lyþi. Taki en þar en han vil, ellar rapin þeir fyrir fe, ok maþr sei osakr. Þa en han vil ai lerþum manni bot i bupi hafa, þa skal han ganga a þing fyr alla lyþi ok kera þar sitt<sup>763</sup> mal segiandis, et iak ier lerþr maþr, ok til guz þianistu vigþr; iak ma ai <i><sup>764</sup> haggom standa, ella i oristu; bot vildi iak taka en i bupi vari, en  
25 skam vildi iak nauþugr þula. Þa skulu landar asia, noyþa ok man til hanum at byta iemvel som han var noyþr andrum at byta, fyr þy so et <huatki ma><sup>765</sup> prestr at sia sakum, ella víþr sia sakum utan kristindombr verþr spiltir.

2. (*B*: Chapter 17, Note 306. Cf. Pipping 1901, 23; *CIG*, 107: Additamentum 3.)

[21a] Naut<sup>766</sup> ok rus ok suin þa varpar maþr ai maira fyrir, þan þet sielft ier vert, en þet  
 ier manni at skapa. Þa en osoyþr ier ok verþr maþr varaþr at fyrri kirkiudurum ok fyrri  
 soknamannum, ok gier siþan meþ <ogoymslu>,<sup>767</sup> þa byti halfu maira þan <sak ir<sup>768</sup>  
 5 verþ>.<sup>769</sup> Þa en minni lastir varþa þan soyþir ier<sup>[22]</sup> verþr, þa byti halfu minna. Hundr  
 ier at fiarþa; hanum varpar e um alt til halfs vereldis, en han skapa gier, aigi þan som  
 vil. Hunss bit, þa byti tanna spur huart, at tuaim<sup>770</sup> oyrum til fiugura. Þa en han sar  
 gier ella limalyti, þa bytir at halfum mestu botum. Þet skal krefia ok ai hemna, lagryþia  
 til, som andra gelda.

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3. (*B*: Chapter 19, Note 350. Cf. Pipping 1901, 27; *CIG*, 39 note 50.)

[25a] Telgia i hendi ella foti bytis at ii markum penninga, en sundr ier. Riff huart bytis at  
 ii markum penninga, en sunder ier slagit.<sup>771</sup> Þa en limalastir fylgia, þa bytir ii markr  
 silfs. Slegir so mangir som synlikir varþa, bytis huar at half mark penninga.

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4. (*B*: Chapter 19, Note 359. Cf. Pipping 1901, 28; *CIG*, 41 note 63.)

[26a] En oyra verþr lyt þa bytir mark silfs.<sup>772</sup> Leggbain ella armleggir bytis at tuaim  
 markum silfs en sunder ier slagit. Slar þu manni tendr yr hafþi, þa bytir þu fremstu  
 tendr tua uppi ok tua niþri at mark silfs. Ok siþan <huarn><sup>773</sup> at ii markum penninga  
 20 meþ bitum ok allu.

5. (*B*: Chapter 20, Note 370. Cf. Pipping 1901, 28; *CIG*, 43 note 79.)

#### [27a] 20 Af loyski

Ier loyski maira þan lofi hyl, þet bytis at mark silfs. Ier huart har af þa bytis at ii  
 25 markum silfs.<sup>774</sup> Ier torfa manni hagginn, ier byt at mark silfs. Skegg mans bytis so  
 som annur hardrag.<sup>775</sup>

6. (*B*: Chapter 33, Notes 480, 737. Cf. Pipping 1901, 40; *CIG*, 60 note 41.)

[38a] Magum<sup>776</sup> ok vagniklum skenkis ai maira en þry minni ok enkti þeira styra þan half skal gangi i at mestu. Ok huar som þaim misfirmir, byti tuibyt ok xii markr landi.<sup>777</sup>

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7. (*B*: Chapter 49, Note 603. Cf. Pipping 1901, 51-52; *CIG*, 108: Additamentum 4.)

[47a] [32a] **49 Af manna kaupi**

Kaupir<sup>778</sup> þu mans man i garþ þen, þa royn han um vi daga en a siauanda geld þu verþ ella ater laip en þir ai at gies. Þa en hin vil ai ater taka som seldi, utan vil þik við halda meþ formala, en þu hafa skuldir ok [ai]<sup>779</sup> atr laipa, huat som þir at gatis ver ella betr; þa en þu hafr skiel skielum gin, þet et þu skuldir atr laipa at frestum, en þir ai at gatis, þa hafr þu vitorþ som atr <laipir>,<sup>780</sup> ok lagum fylgir. Þa en þu hafr man lengr, ok viltu siþan atr laipa, siþan frest ier utlipin, ok kallas þu hafa þan formala gart, þa hafr hin vitorþ som at lagum seldi: gelt þa verþ hinum, ok haf þet þu fikt. En siþan skal sali varpa fyrri þrim lastum: brutfalli, ok beþroytu, varþar om ny ok niþan, þa en fran beygni verkir, þa varþar till atmelis ok siþan fyrri brigsl allan alder. Þa en han verþr brigþr i heldi, þa huti þu sala þen ok laip hanum a hand; gieri han þa man þir heimulan, ella fai atr þir verþ so mikit som þu hanum fyrir gaft. Þa en idir<sup>[48]</sup> skil um, hin kallas miþ mala hafa selt, en þu <kallas><sup>781</sup> meþ fastu kaupi hafa kaupt, þa hafr ok þan vitorþ som meþ fastu kaupir, ok lagum fylgir.<sup>782</sup>

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8. (*B*: Chapter 55, Note 637. Cf. Pipping 1901, 55-57; *CIG*, 109: Additamentum 5.)

[50a] Stiel þrell mans<sup>783</sup> oyri ella oyri minna, þa byti huar drotin fyrri han iii oyra, en hin kumbr sielfr up þypti som þyptit a. [51] Þa en þypti ier maira þan <oyrir>,<sup>784</sup> þa hafi e han fyrsti set atr, ok þrigildi siþan so mikit som þar til biers som þypti var. Stiela flairin þrelar an oyri, þa byti huar drotin þrigildi fyrri sin þrell,<sup>785</sup> en han ai kumbr sielfr þypti

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- up. Þa en þiaufnaþr ier ai aldr til, þa skal vita þan som þiaufnaþin misti huru mikil han var, ok þau þi at ains et hus ella las vari til brutit. Þa en ai ier undir lasi takit, ok huaski ier til brutit hun ella hell, þa taki han þrelin ok fresti han, ok leggi engin víþrlag fram. Kumi bainhailum<sup>786</sup> ok brusthailum atr drotin til handa, ok byti als enkti fe fyrir,
- 5 þau en han enga sagu af hafi. Þa en agripr ier engin til, utan <vensl><sup>787</sup> ain, þa skal leggja fram víþrlag ofresta mans. <Kumi><sup>788</sup> ok hailum atr ok byti vi oyra fyri baug-band [...] <sup>789</sup>vi oyra. I <naup><sup>790</sup>segr naupugr, þet han ai valdr. Far maþr meþ agripi til gars, ok kennir þreli mans þypt, þa skal drotin ranzsaka lata ok sielfr þrell sin binda, ok ai fyri standa; þa þarf ai þrigildi gelda. Þa en maþr vill ai sielfr þrel sin binda,
- 10 ella ranzsaka lata, ok hittis þau þar <fuli><sup>791</sup> inni, þa geldi han þrigildi hinum som þyptit atti, [som]<sup>792</sup> han hafr þa upkumit. Ier þiaufnaþr so mikil et ai vindr þrigildi fyri guldit, þa skal hin hafa þrelin som þyptit atti. Ai ma han ok maira firistiela þan sielfum sir. Kumbr annar up þypti, ok takr þiauf ok bindr, ok ai han som þypti atti, þa skal han hafa fundarlaun,<sup>793</sup> attunda lut af bepi <sup>[52]</sup>af þiaufi ok alagi. Ier þrel a laupstigi, ok ier
- 15 lyst eptir at kirkiu, ella a þingi, þa ier þan muslegumaþr. Ok bytir engin þrigildi fyri þan som stiel mat at siir, utan sett skal huar atr hafa, en til ier. Þa en ietit <ier>,<sup>794</sup> þa fullar þet engin fyri musleguman. Þa en þrell verþr atr fangin, þa loys han atr fyri ii oyra a landi, ok fyri iii oyra en han a fluta kumbr, ok fyri half mark en yr landssyn kumbr. Þan<sup>795</sup> skal man atr loysa, som skipit atti, utan þi at ains at <lagrekit><sup>796</sup> vari.
- 20 Þa en han hafr handum kumit a gripi nequara, þa skal gripi atr loysa som þrelin atti. Þa en skip var lagrekit ella undir lasi takit, þa loysi þan skipit atr som þrelin atti, ok so gripi alla som han handum a quam ok þoygi frammar þan til iii marka. Þa en han bort laupr a skipi varþalaus, ella a hafi niþr sinkir, so et hin mistir þrel sen som atti, þa geldi þan þrell som skipit atti.
- 25 Verþr nequar maþr bundin agripslaus, þa skulu þet skupa þrir rapmen, ok hoyra hans orþ, huat han ier skyldr ella oskyldr. Þeir iii rapmenn skulu vara af hunderi

sama, ella sama siettungi. Þeir skulu vitna þet som þeir hoyra [huat]<sup>797</sup> han ier skyldr ella oskyldr. So ok en agripr ier.

9. (*B*: Chapter 81, Notes 721, 748. Cf. Pipping 1901, 64; *CIG*, 112: Additamentum 6.)

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### 81 Af burgan vípr byamen

<sup>798</sup> [59a] Burgan vípr byaman ier ok firibupin. Kaupi engin maira en han orkar betala.

Allar festuaigur skulu hafa frest um þry aar til gelda som mairin ieru en mark silfs.

Þa ma ai oyra virþa, en hin ai vill, utan aigu, ok hafi þau han frest um þry aar.

## Endnotes

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- <sup>1</sup> B: Amended from 3.  
<sup>2</sup> B: rethi.  
<sup>3</sup> B: mans helgh.  
<sup>4</sup> B: alla manna fridi.  
<sup>5</sup> B: Tinghs fridi.  
<sup>6</sup> B: heim fridi.  
<sup>7</sup> B: lutuar sakir. *Schlyter (CIG, 3 note 12) corrects this to lutnar.*  
<sup>8</sup> B: werildi.  
<sup>9</sup> A: banda wereldum; B: Bandu werildi. A: has –di (singular as opposed to plural ending) inserted by a later hand.  
<sup>10</sup> GU, 1. A: osoypom, amended from osoypum; B: osoydom.  
<sup>11</sup> GU, 1. A: cuna; B: Ber madr' Kuno. The apostrophe in B: is clearly misplaced.  
<sup>12</sup> B: sara farom.  
<sup>13</sup> GLGS, 1 note 8. A: Af manni vir inti turn tak; B: Aff intecht. Cf. CIG, 4 note 22. *Hadorph, on the first (unnumbered) page of the contents, reads vir intakti Barn.*  
<sup>14</sup> GLGS, Ordbok, 43. A: hor carllum; B: Aff hori.  
<sup>15</sup> CIG, 4. A: quinnia.  
<sup>16</sup> B: Ward'r kuna schemd a wegom.  
<sup>17</sup> B: Aff wagnickla ferdir.  
<sup>18</sup> B: Aff Gutnischki kuno.  
<sup>19</sup> CIG, 4. A: o gutniscum.  
<sup>20</sup> CIG, 5. A: mannz. A: misplaces the chapter. Cf. Commentary.  
<sup>21</sup> B: bregdan.  
<sup>22</sup> CIG, 5. B: gangu. Cf. 87/1 where A: has gagn.  
<sup>23</sup> B: Aff manna kaupi. A: omits chapter in the text. See Addition 7.  
<sup>24</sup> B: yxna kaupi.  
<sup>25</sup> B: Aff hesta kaupi.  
<sup>26</sup> B: Rid'r tu annan mans hest.  
<sup>27</sup> B: Gezlu.  
<sup>28</sup> B: Ransakan.  
<sup>29</sup> B: Rethi.  
<sup>30</sup> B: oqwedins ord.  
<sup>31</sup> B: sma filedi omercht.  
<sup>32</sup> B: Aff rofu akrom. *Pipping (GLGS, 2 note 1) suggests rofnakrum; 92/13-15 and endnote 673.*  
<sup>33</sup> A: broagerþ; B: Aff Broan.  
<sup>34</sup> A: byrgslufulki; B: Byrslu folcki.  
<sup>35</sup> B: harum.  
<sup>36</sup> B: messo fallom.  
<sup>37</sup> Table of contents in A: omits these, although the chapters themselves appear. Chapter 64 has been placed according to the table of contents, preceding Chapter 25.  
<sup>38</sup> B: Note these three numberings do not agree with the table of contents at the end of the manuscript.  
<sup>39</sup> B: Hier Byrias Gutha Lagh.  
<sup>40</sup> B: uphoff.  
<sup>41</sup> B: ath.  
<sup>42</sup> B: neytha.  
<sup>43</sup> Could possibly be read as iacta. See *Hadorph*, 1. B: iacta.  
<sup>44</sup> CIG, 7. A: aann; B: a an.  
<sup>45</sup> B: Alzwaldugan.  
<sup>46</sup> B: rette.  
<sup>47</sup> GU, 2 and Noreen 1892-1894, 36 read bygðu. A: bygdu, elsewhere bygðu(s); B: bygdu.  
<sup>48</sup> B: huar.  
<sup>49</sup> B: Eptir.  
<sup>50</sup> B: som Gudi syr tekkelighit, och war sy mest tarff Bade till liif och siell.  
<sup>51</sup> B: Thitta, i.e. from pissa rather than þann.  
<sup>52</sup> B: alas.  
<sup>53</sup> A: þann; B: tha En. Cf. endnotes 441, and A: 50 v, Peel 1999, 14/27.  
<sup>54</sup> A: haan hafi barni; B: haan hafdi barne.

- <sup>55</sup> B: kirkjun men.
- <sup>56</sup> B: haffui fyrí secht maal scriptat, bieri henne, *i.e. basically a difference in word order.*
- <sup>57</sup> B: eighir tar a saka. *This would appear to be an error.*
- <sup>58</sup> *The clause Tha en han dular oc kumb'r mal up fyrí tinghu menn is in the margin in B: with sochn being deleted before tinghu. This is not noted by Pipping as derived from manuscript Bx, and he reads tingnu menn. Neither of these forms appears to be correct.*
- <sup>59</sup> B: th'm.
- <sup>60</sup> GU, 60 suggests witir. B: berychtado.
- <sup>61</sup> B: man.
- <sup>62</sup> B: sochn, en sochnin wind'r sicht.
- <sup>63</sup> CIG, 9. A: pastí; B: proasti.
- <sup>64</sup> A: haan at san; B: haan ath sannu.
- <sup>65</sup> B: ward'r than en sidhan ath sannu.
- <sup>66</sup> B: M with a tilde above, which may be expanded as mark'r or markum, depending on the context.
- <sup>67</sup> B: land alt.
- <sup>68</sup> *Seems to have been altered from liggr. GLGS, 4 note 2. B: liggia.*
- <sup>69</sup> B: heynir for heymir.
- <sup>70</sup> GU, 2. A: hen; B: en.
- <sup>71</sup> B: than. *This, or alternatively tan are the forms used subsequently in all cases for þau. See Commentary.*
- <sup>72</sup> B: Gangha oc hinir ath'r mals.
- <sup>73</sup> B: sagdu.
- <sup>74</sup> GU, 2. A: moþr; B: mod'r.
- <sup>75</sup> GLGS, 45; GU, 2. A: callr; B: kallar.
- <sup>76</sup> B: hafu haan taar. *Pipping (1901a, 6) has hafn' haan taar. The 3rd person singular present subjunctive, haffui, could have been intended. There is no other instance of hafn.*
- <sup>77</sup> GU, 2. A: ambatuu; B: ambatn. *Schlyter (CIG, 10) rejects ambætnu (Hadorph, 2).*
- <sup>78</sup> *Thus four times in A: \*leggr does not occur; B: leggir.*
- <sup>79</sup> GLGS, 4 note 8; GU, 3. A: vintir; B: wintra.
- <sup>80</sup> B: sidhan mal.
- <sup>81</sup> GLGS, 4 note 9; GU, 3 has inntr. A: intir; B: wti.
- <sup>82</sup> A: han; B: han. *Masculine clearly intended. Pipping and Schlyter consider han to be an occasional variant of hann. Cf. endnotes 274 and 443.*
- <sup>83</sup> GLGS, 5 note 1; GU, 3 has waita. A: veita; B: weyta.
- <sup>84</sup> GU, 3 has wiþr. A: viþir; B: wið'r.
- <sup>85</sup> B: hwat som wið'r tarfar arla ella sidla. *It is possible that the form tarfar has arisen by haplogy from the following arla.*
- <sup>86</sup> *Pipping 1901a, 94. A: reida; B: reydda.*
- <sup>87</sup> GU, 3. A: tiþr, *although there could be both a stroke and an amendment; B: tidh'r, elsewhere also tid'r.*
- <sup>88</sup> GLGS, 5 note 5; GU, 3. A: sogna; B: sochna men.
- <sup>89</sup> GLGS, 5 note 6. GU, 3 has laigulendingr. A: laigulenningar; B: leygu lenningh'r.
- <sup>90</sup> B: burt.
- <sup>91</sup> B: o guldinne fram yr kyrckiu.
- <sup>92</sup> B: fyrí than en.
- <sup>93</sup> B: at meyra maki th'n han fyrra hafdi.
- <sup>94</sup> B: tha. A: omits.
- <sup>95</sup> B: siinnast.
- <sup>96</sup> B: sidan.
- <sup>97</sup> GU, 3. A: sielf; B: sieluer.
- <sup>98</sup> GLGS, 6 note 2. A: þhann; B: han. *Hadorph, 3 reads þaim.*
- <sup>99</sup> GLGS, 6 note 3. A: kirkimanna; B: kyrkiomanna.
- <sup>100</sup> B: prest'r si, *i.e. nominative plus subjunctive of vera for genitive and possessive pronoun.*
- <sup>101</sup> GLGS, 6 note 4. A: af fyda, *changed from fyra. CIG, 13 reads fyrþa. B: til fyrd.*
- <sup>102</sup> B: annar kyrkio man.
- <sup>103</sup> B: engh, *but an amendment makes the reading rather unclear; cf. Pipping 1901a, 8 note 1.*
- <sup>104</sup> B: annars, *i.e. genitive masculine singular for dative feminine.*
- <sup>105</sup> B: seda tions quarra leyffua.
- <sup>106</sup> GU, 3. A: eþa umbla; B: och humbla.

- <sup>107</sup> B: thinn. *Schlyter* (CIG, 13 note 58) suggests this is an error for them.
- <sup>108</sup> CIG, 13. A: sybir; B: sykir.
- <sup>109</sup> B: aff tak'r.
- <sup>110</sup> GU, 3. A: sitir; B: sitir.
- <sup>111</sup> GU, 4; *Söderberg* 1879, 27. A: blotir iru; B: bloot ier.
- <sup>112</sup> *Söderberg* 1879, 27. A: mier; B: mikitt. GU, 4 has imer.
- <sup>113</sup> The lack of a dot over the i explains why CIG, 14 has buþni. B: forbudit. GU, 4 note 1 suggests firibupnar.
- <sup>114</sup> CIG, 14. A: þaim; B: thaim. Probably an error in the original behind both A: and B:.
- <sup>115</sup> A: haita a; B: heyta.
- <sup>116</sup> GU, 4 suggests haipin, but see GLGS, 7 note 2. B: heydin.
- <sup>117</sup> CIG, 14 reads A: as having avi. B: a wi.
- <sup>118</sup> B: saa.
- <sup>119</sup> B: naqwar. This could be an instance of the tendency in B: for endings to be dropped or shortened, but there are no other comparable instances of the accusative singular feminine.
- <sup>120</sup> B: drykky sinom, i.e. masculine or plural for feminine. *Schlyter* (CIG, 14 note 11) suggests drykki, but y is used frequently for i in B:.
- <sup>121</sup> CIG, 14. GLGS, 7 note 4 suggests A: originally had fylgir critnum. B: fylgia chrisnom.
- <sup>122</sup> B: witna. As *Schlyter* (CIG, 14 note 17) suggests, this is an error. See endnote 558.
- <sup>123</sup> B: wers.
- <sup>124</sup> B: och prestbarnom.
- <sup>125</sup> A: þa; B: thaim. GLGS, *Ordbok*, 90 suggests thaun for the B: reading, where thaim is usual for þaun, but does not refer to the A: reading.
- <sup>126</sup> GU, 4. A: fulgin; B: fylgin.
- <sup>127</sup> See Addition 1, which also includes the following sentence.
- <sup>128</sup> A: leþr; B: lerd'r. Cf. Commentary and endnote 136.
- <sup>129</sup> B: Thet, i.e. personal for demonstrative pronoun.
- <sup>130</sup> A: gierra; B: giera. At 63/4 (97/8), conversely, A: has giera, B: gierra. Cf. the relationship bierra : biera. The text has been normalized to giera and biera.
- <sup>131</sup> B: sonndagh. Cf. endnotes 133, 149 and 715.
- <sup>132</sup> A: haua; B: fyra.
- <sup>133</sup> B: sonnodagh. Cf. endnotes 131, 149 and 715.
- <sup>134</sup> B: halfft.
- <sup>135</sup> B: naud synar.
- <sup>136</sup> A: leþr; B: lerd'r. Cf. endnote 128.
- <sup>137</sup> GLGS, *Ordbok*, 79. A: þreng; B: treng'r.
- <sup>138</sup> A: kirchriu sonch; B: kirckiu sochn.
- <sup>139</sup> GLGS, 10 note 2. Appears to be corrected by the scribe from lerpanr.
- <sup>140</sup> GU, 4. A: kirchriu socnninar a wal; B: sochn annar [read sochnannar] eygar wald.
- <sup>141</sup> GU, 5. A: maþnapi; B: madnadi.
- <sup>142</sup> B: andri.
- <sup>143</sup> GLGS, 10 note 6. A: taki; B: tak'r.
- <sup>144</sup> GU, 5. A: raipr; B: reyd'r.
- <sup>145</sup> A: burpi; B: byrdi.
- <sup>146</sup> A: giara; B: giera.
- <sup>147</sup> GU, 5. A: þear; B: thegar.
- <sup>148</sup> B: oyrar fyrir. The addition is not essential; cf. 65/17-18: tolf oyrar helgisbrut.
- <sup>149</sup> B: sondag. Cf. endnotes 131, 133 and 715.
- <sup>150</sup> B: byti, i.e. subjunctive for indicative.
- <sup>151</sup> B: III with tria in the margin; cf. endnotes 187 and 189.
- <sup>152</sup> B: yrkin fyr thaim, with the last two words in the margin.
- <sup>153</sup> GLGS, 11 note 2; GU, 5: inntr. A: intir; B: eptir leygu malit ier int.
- <sup>154</sup> B: riethi.
- <sup>155</sup> GLGS, 11 note 5. A: nequan main gierir; B: naqwat meyn gier. Cf. endnotes 305, 338 and 749.
- <sup>156</sup> GLGS, 11 note 6. A: þairar aigur; B: wid Eygnir theira.
- <sup>157</sup> GU, 5. A: liggir; B: ligg'r.
- <sup>158</sup> B: meyra. This form would appear to be neuter rather than the masculine or feminine of A:.
- <sup>159</sup> B: hannom. The dative probably refers back to liggia wider.
- <sup>160</sup> GU, 5. A: vipir.



- <sup>161</sup> B: barnalaus, *i.e. nominative for accusative.*  
<sup>162</sup> Cf. GU, 60.  
<sup>163</sup> CIG, 19. A: prinpiungr or priupiungr; B: tridiung'r.  
<sup>164</sup> GLGS, 11 note 11. A: tueir, tueim; B: tweir, tweim.  
<sup>165</sup> GLGS, 11 note 12. A: hafut luth; B: hafud lut.  
<sup>166</sup> B: mans helgh; mans helg.  
<sup>167</sup> B: fiugurtan.  
<sup>168</sup> GU, 5. A: gangdahar; B: gangdagar.  
<sup>169</sup> B: byter thu, *i.e. 2nd person indicative for imperative.*  
<sup>170</sup> B: Rycker thu mand, *i.e. accusative for dative.*  
<sup>171</sup> GLGS, 12 note 4. A: nefha; B: neffua.  
<sup>172</sup> B: hur witna. *The t in hurvitna in A: is simply clarified by a later hand; the original scribe has already added it above the line.*  
<sup>173</sup> CIG, 20. A: cumbir; B: kumb'r. GLGS, 12 note 9 considers the abbreviation mark in A: to be an addition by Bilefeld. Cf. endnote 87.  
<sup>174</sup> B: ward'r, *i.e. 3rd person singular past indicative for subjunctive.*  
<sup>175</sup> B: thar. *Note the reverse substitution at endnotes 188 and 210.*  
<sup>176</sup> B: pastir.  
<sup>177</sup> CIG, 21. A: marcir; B: M with an abbreviation mark. See endnote 173.  
<sup>178</sup> B: Bans maal.  
<sup>179</sup> CIG, 21. A: vengin; B: wegin.  
<sup>180</sup> B: præstegardi.  
<sup>181</sup> A: fangin; B: wegin.  
<sup>182</sup> B: smieri.  
<sup>183</sup> B: kuma land sak i. *Schlyter (CIG, 21 note 49) notes the omission of ai in B: as an error.*  
<sup>184</sup> B: thar liggia wid'r vi m(ark'r).  
<sup>185</sup> B: skiuter thu man, *i.e. accusative for dative.*  
<sup>186</sup> B: ella med stanghu slaar i kirkiogardi.  
<sup>187</sup> B: III with thriar in the margin; cf. endnotes 151 and 189.  
<sup>188</sup> B: tha. *Note the reverse substitution at endnote 175 and cf. endnote 210.*  
<sup>189</sup> B: III with thrim in the margin; cf. endnotes 151 and 187.  
<sup>190</sup> B: alla.  
<sup>191</sup> B: ier, *i.e. 3rd singular present indicative for plural.*  
<sup>192</sup> GU, 60. A: friþr; B: frid'r.  
<sup>193</sup> B: manni helg.  
<sup>194</sup> B: Biscops.  
<sup>195</sup> GU, 6. A: laupar; B: laup'r.  
<sup>196</sup> GU, 6. A: miþssuumar; B: midsommar.  
<sup>197</sup> CIG, 22 note 6 omits as an error, as does Pipping, GLGS, 14 note 1.  
<sup>198</sup> B: a.  
<sup>199</sup> B: a och aff.  
<sup>200</sup> CIG, 22. A: Depr; B: Drep'r.  
<sup>201</sup> B: bytir thu, *i.e. 2nd singular present indicative for 2nd person imperative.*  
<sup>202</sup> CIG, 23. A: butr; B: Byt.  
<sup>203</sup> B: haffu.  
<sup>204</sup> B: fore spiella androm huaski.  
<sup>205</sup> *Schlyter (CIG, 23 note 20) suggests a possible reading lagryct. B: lag ryt.*  
<sup>206</sup> B: wirti annan, *i.e. 3rd singular present subjunctive for plural and masculine for neuter. The latter does not, however, agree with bo.*  
<sup>207</sup> GU, 7. A: soyipi; B: soydi.  
<sup>208</sup> B: ortan soydi.  
<sup>209</sup> B: Tinghs fridi and equivalents (tinghs frid'r, tings frid) subsequently.  
<sup>210</sup> B: Tha. See endnotes 175 and 188.  
<sup>211</sup> GU, 7. A: waitr; B: weit'r; waitir.  
<sup>212</sup> B: tha byt'r thu, *i.e. 2nd singular present indicative for 2nd person imperative.*  
<sup>213</sup> B: tha byt'r thu, *i.e. 2nd singular present indicative for 2nd person imperative.*  
<sup>214</sup> B: ward'r, *i.e. 3rd person singular present indicative for subjunctive.*  
<sup>215</sup> B: Tha ier sidan hwariom manni heim fridir.  
<sup>216</sup> GU, 7. A: veitr; B: weitir.

- 217 B: byt'r thu, *i.e.* 2nd singular present indicative for 2nd person imperative.
- 218 B: byt'r thu, *i.e.* 2nd singular present indicative for 2nd person imperative.
- 219 B: tak'r han sak fyri heim frid.
- 220 B: aat Biera. *In margin al: warda, indicating an alternative reading.*
- 221 GU, 7. A: hittr; B: hitter.
- 222 B: xl with fiauratighi in the margin.
- 223 B: kirckior teirir.
- 224 B: i helgh.
- 225 GU, 7. A: takkit; B: takit.
- 226 GLGS, 15 note 8. A: farpeim; B: fardem. GU, 7: Farphaim.
- 227 B: ella tingsstedi ella atlingabo, *but with al oc in the margin and oc above the line respectively.*
- 228 B: than, *according to Schlyter (CIG, 25 note 8), but it could be read as thar.*
- 229 B: iem well i præsta gardi.
- 230 B: langht.
- 231 GU, 7. A: annat vegscogs; B: annan wegh til schogs.
- 232 B: far loyfi.
- 233 A hole in the vellum obscures part of this word.
- 234 B: Haffin, *i.e.* 3rd plural present subjunctive for singular.
- 235 B: oc so wid'r han. *Schlyter (CIG, 26 notes 15 and 16) read this as originally oc sii wid'r annar.*
- 236 GLGS, 16. A: pascar þa; B: pascar. *In A: þa is in the margin.*
- 237 B: han ta drogh than han tha wandredana. *This is possibly the result of a misreading of the A- text.*
- 238 *Changed from synar. The scribe has also added dir in the margin as confirmation.*
- 239 B: at'r, *perhaps influenced by the other instances of atr in the passage.*
- 240 B: sinnar.
- 241 B: thau. *This is the only instance of this spelling in B:, all other instances being tan or than. Cf. endnote 71.*
- 242 B: och halfft liggi quart, *i.e.* neuter for feminine.
- 243 CIG, 27. A: gufniscr; B: gutnisch'r.
- 244 B: bellir.
- 245 B: lati e atmeli at millan. *This is rejected by Pipping (1904, 3) as an error.*
- 246 B: trysar.
- 247 B: than et. *Cf. endnote 273.*
- 248 B: tegan, *according to Schlyter (CIG, 28 note 47), but it could be read as tegar.*
- 249 B: wtgangur.
- 250 B: oschemd'r.
- 251 B: han. *Cf. endnotes 260, 502 and 526.*
- 252 B: skielom. *See also endnote 705.*
- 253 *Corrected by scribe from prysuar buþu. B: trysar.*
- 254 B: warin atmeli at millan, *i.e.* 3rd plural preterite subjunctive for singular.
- 255 CIG, 28. A: byta; B: Biauda.
- 256 GLGS, 17 note 10. A: frestr; B: frestir.
- 257 B: wt reyda.
- 258 B: gangir, *altered from gangi by a later hand.*
- 259 B: Aff lutuar sak'r; lutuar (sakir).
- 260 B: han.
- 261 B: wm atmeli.
- 262 B: oc Biera.
- 263 GLGS, 18 note 3. B: en.
- 264 B: haffui, *i.e.* singular for plural 3rd present subjunctive.
- 265 GLGS, 18 note 6. A: hheldr, *through a double correction.* B: huat som held'r.
- 266 CIG, 30. A: sum sum sum *through multiple correction;* B: som.
- 267 GU, 9. A: gu[s]tniskir; B: gutnisk'r.
- 268 B: bellir.
- 269 B: wegls. GU, 9 note 4 *suggests wegslar.*
- 270 GU, 9. A: o gutnischir; B: ogutnisker.
- 271 B: en.
- 272 B: bella.
- 273 GLGS, 19 note 2. A: en; B: at.

- <sup>274</sup> CIG, 31. A: han; B: han ey. Masculine (and negative) clearly intended. Cf. endnotes 82 and 443 for han as a variant of hann.
- <sup>275</sup> B: witni, i.e. from vitna rather than vita. Both verbs make sense in the context.
- <sup>276</sup> B: aff sami. The form sami would appear to be an error in B:, since it is the nominative form.
- <sup>277</sup> CIG, 31. A: bytis; B: Byt'r. Cf. on the other hand endnote 369 where A: also has bytis and B: byter.
- <sup>278</sup> B: bytas, i.e. plural for singular 3rd present passive.
- <sup>279</sup> CIG, 31. A: Tacer; B: Tak'r.
- <sup>280</sup> CIG, 31. A: gufniscr; B: gutnisch'r.
- <sup>281</sup> GLGS, Ordbok, 35. A: hann; B: haan. The feminine form is clearly correct from the context.
- <sup>282</sup> GLGS, 19 note 8. A: banda; B: Bandu.
- <sup>283</sup> GLGS, 19 note 9. A: banda; B: Banda.
- <sup>284</sup> B: en ogutnischs mans fem m(ark'r) sylffs. Cf. the opposite substitution in endnote 333.
- <sup>285</sup> CIG, 32. A: iero gutniscs; B: ier ogutnischs.
- <sup>286</sup> B: Budnan. Schlyter (CIG, 32 note 48) considers this to be an error.
- <sup>287</sup> CIG, 32. A: filfs; B: sylffs.
- <sup>288</sup> GLGS, 20 note 2. A: butnan; B: oc bana Bundnan i gard leida. Note Pipping (1901a, 22) reads Budnan. The form leida seems to be an error.
- <sup>289</sup> B: hanom, i.e. dative for accusative.
- <sup>290</sup> GU, 10. A: noytgat; B: neygat (read noygat).
- <sup>291</sup> CIG, 33. A: flelsi; B: frelsi.
- <sup>292</sup> GU, 10. Possibly varþi. A: varþr; B: wardi.
- <sup>293</sup> A: bierir; B: Bier. A: has bier six times. Note the relationships bierir : biera = gierir : giera.
- <sup>294</sup> B: schal man.
- <sup>295</sup> B: a.
- <sup>296</sup> GLGS, 20 note 9. A: fiuggur; B: fiughur.
- <sup>297</sup> B: mannerar.
- <sup>298</sup> B: galff ella bak weg.
- <sup>299</sup> B: a tan.
- <sup>300</sup> GLGS, Ordbok, 37; Söderberg, 5. A: hiin; B: hin.
- <sup>301</sup> GU, 10. A: al creifi a. The vellum has a hole between the i and the final a. B: schal kreffuia.
- <sup>302</sup> B: weit. This appears to be a 3rd person singular indicative form without an ending; cf. endnote 550.
- <sup>303</sup> CIG, 34. There is a fault in the vellum between by and tir. B: Byt'r than.
- <sup>304</sup> B: has simply fyr as a preposition preceding hund bit in the accusative rather than the nominative, but the entire phrase Fyri...fiugura is in fact deleted in B:.
- <sup>305</sup> A: huer; (B: hwart, deleted as noted previously). Cf. endnotes 155, 338 and 749.
- <sup>306</sup> See Addition 2.
- <sup>307</sup> B: halfft, i.e. accusative for dative.
- <sup>308</sup> GU, 10. A: vipnum; B: witnom.
- <sup>309</sup> GU, 10. A: hann; B: haan.
- <sup>310</sup> CIG, 35. A: scircscutapi, or possibly simply an indication of a transposition by the scribe; B: schirschutadi.
- <sup>311</sup> CIG, 35. A: ber; B: berd.
- <sup>312</sup> B: war, i.e. indicative for subjunctive.
- <sup>313</sup> B: wint'r barns.
- <sup>314</sup> GU, 11. A: veita; B: weita. Cf. endnote 83.
- <sup>315</sup> GU, 11. A: þairu; B: teiri.
- <sup>316</sup> CIG, 35. A: varþprlaust. Note that varþarlaust and varþalaust are regarded by Pipping as alternatives.
- <sup>317</sup> B: barnit, i.e. definite for indefinite.
- <sup>318</sup> B: barn, i.e. accusative for dative.
- <sup>319</sup> B: kumpnar.
- <sup>320</sup> B: Aff sara farom.
- <sup>321</sup> B: diupt.
- <sup>322</sup> B: hwaru, i.e. dative for accusative, although the u hook might be a scribal error.
- <sup>323</sup> B: meira, i.e. neuter for feminine. This seems to be an error.
- <sup>324</sup> GLGS, 23 note 1 notes that this is almost obliterated. Schlyter (CIG, 36 note 6) suggests it has been excised.
- <sup>325</sup> Bilefeld has altered C to K in A: B: kastar.

- <sup>326</sup> A u-hook inserted over the n has been partly erased. B: hwaru.
- <sup>327</sup> GLGS, 23 note 4. A: Vardir maþir Berþir ...slegh after alteration by a later hand.
- <sup>328</sup> B: nasar.
- <sup>329</sup> CIG, 37. A: verþa; B: wer, tha.
- <sup>330</sup> Hadorph, 16 has licvan.
- <sup>331</sup> B: uppit.
- <sup>332</sup> A: bytir, but with the i inserted above the line; B: byt'r. CIG, 37: bytr.
- <sup>333</sup> B: ta byt'r at ii M(arkum) pen(ninga), i.e. dative following at. The abbreviations are expanded by Schlyter (CIG, 37 note 21).
- <sup>334</sup> B: runnin. This is presumably an error.
- <sup>335</sup> B: synis. This form could be present indicative or subjunctive. In A: the i in sis has been altered and so the word may have originally been siis, the subjunctive.
- <sup>336</sup> Cf. Commentary and endnote 716.
- <sup>337</sup> B: fiugura. Both fygura and fiugura occur in A:, although not in B:, possibly simply as an orthographic variant. See endnotes 365, 377 and 378.
- <sup>338</sup> A: huer; B: huart.
- <sup>339</sup> GU, 11. A: huauga; B: hauga.
- <sup>340</sup> B: hwar, i.e. masculine for neuter, probably in error, since bain is neuter.
- <sup>341</sup> GU, 11. A: Fingir; B: Fing'r.
- <sup>342</sup> GLGS, 24 note 7. A: fengir at; B: fengrat.
- <sup>343</sup> See Commentary.
- <sup>344</sup> GU, 12. A: eþa a; B: ella.
- <sup>345</sup> B: ier Byt at xii M(arkum).
- <sup>346</sup> B: werias, i.e. passive or middle voice for active.
- <sup>347</sup> GU, 12. A: lestr; B: lest'r.
- <sup>348</sup> GLGS, 25 note 5. B: Alt.
- <sup>349</sup> GLGS, 25 note 8. A: Tielgia; B: Telgia (in Addition 3).
- <sup>350</sup> See Addition 3.
- <sup>351</sup> B: a hand, i.e. accusative for dative.
- <sup>352</sup> B: Eyd fyr. Schlyter (CIG, 40 note 54) considers this to be an error.
- <sup>353</sup> B: slegi, i.e. accusative plural for dative in error.
- <sup>354</sup> GU, 12. A: hanna; B: hana.
- <sup>355</sup> B: ta Byti ii M(ark'r) S(ilffs).
- <sup>356</sup> GU, 12. A: lyt lyt.
- <sup>357</sup> GU, 60. A: dyrir.
- <sup>358</sup> CIG, 41; GU, 13. A: halfru, by analogy with feminine declensions.
- <sup>359</sup> See Addition 4.
- <sup>360</sup> B: man, i.e. accusative for dative.
- <sup>361</sup> GU, 13. A: harr; B: har. See Commentary.
- <sup>362</sup> B: hand, i.e. accusative for dative, but in that case anni is incorrect and should be eyna.
- <sup>363</sup> B: man, i.e. accusative for dative.
- <sup>364</sup> B: haffuir, i.e. indicative for subjunctive.
- <sup>365</sup> B: fiaugura, changed from fiaura. The scribe clearly intended fiugura, forgetting to delete the a.
- <sup>366</sup> B: haffuer, i.e. 2nd person singular indicative for the imperative.
- <sup>367</sup> B: ier, i.e. singular for plural.
- <sup>368</sup> GU, 13. A: fingir; B: fing'r.
- <sup>369</sup> A: amended from þa bytis half marc. B: byter at viii ertaugom. Cf. endnote 277 and Commentary.
- <sup>370</sup> The clause Tha en loyski ier so mikít at lofa ma a leggja, tha iru ii m. pen. appears in the margin in B:. See Addition 5 for differences in B: in the following clauses. Although Pipping assumes that this clause derives from manuscript Bx, it is marked Nota defectum and may instead be a correction to an omission by Bilefeld. Cf. endnotes 403 and 585.
- <sup>371</sup> Possibly Turtíl. GLGS, 27 note 5. B: Kurtíl.
- <sup>372</sup> B: kalla.
- <sup>373</sup> B: oc broker.
- <sup>374</sup> B: byti, i.e. subjunctive for indicative.
- <sup>375</sup> B: fiugra.
- <sup>376</sup> B: byti, i.e. subjunctive for indicative.
- <sup>377</sup> The y is above an undeleted i. B: fiugura.
- <sup>378</sup> B: fiugura.

- <sup>379</sup> GLGS, 28 note 6. A: fara far; B: sara far. CIG, 45 reads A: as sara far.
- <sup>380</sup> B: engin, i.e. nominative in error for dative.
- <sup>381</sup> GU, 14. A: bytr; B: bytir.
- <sup>382</sup> The paragraph indicated in endnote 403 appears here in A; evidently misplaced, but in the correct place in B; where it is, however, inserted in the margin.
- <sup>383</sup> CIG, 46. A: takis (affected by noypas); B: taki.
- <sup>384</sup> B: schiauti, i.e. dative singular of \*schiauti (n.) for feminine dative singular of schiaupa.
- <sup>385</sup> GU, 14. A: liatar; B: leitar.
- <sup>386</sup> GU, 14. A: fyp yr; B: fydur.
- <sup>387</sup> CIG, 46. B: oc ey.
- <sup>388</sup> B: so.
- <sup>389</sup> GU, 14. A: ains ai; B: ains.
- <sup>390</sup> GU, 14. A: laifr; B: leiffu'r.
- <sup>391</sup> GLGS, 29 note 11 proposes dytr. A: dydir; B: dytrir. Cf. endnotes 392, 393; dydrum on A: 44 v, Peel 1999, 4/19.
- <sup>392</sup> GLGS, 30 note 1 proposes dytr. A: dydir; B: dytir.
- <sup>393</sup> GU, 14. A: sunna dytrir, amended from sunna dydir; B: sona dytrir.
- <sup>394</sup> B: erffilitia.
- <sup>395</sup> B: innan.
- <sup>396</sup> B: lut, i.e. accusative singular for plural.
- <sup>397</sup> B: ier, i.e. 3rd person singular for 3rd person plural. This seems to be an error following bapi, but is not indicated as such by Schlyter.
- <sup>398</sup> B: liauta, i.e. 3rd person plural indicative for 3rd person singular subjunctive. This assumes kerldi and quindi to be plural.
- <sup>399</sup> B: gang, possibly an error not noted by Schlyter.
- <sup>400</sup> CIG, 47. A: fystrir; B: systrir.
- <sup>401</sup> B: ogeptar, could possibly be read as ogiptar.
- <sup>402</sup> CIG, 48. A: sapur; B: fadur.
- <sup>403</sup> This paragraph should be here, as indicated by the reading of B; where it appears in the margin. It might be a correction to an omission by Bilefeld himself, rather than a reading from another manuscript, since it is marked: Nota defectum. In A: it appears at the point indicated by endnote 382.
- <sup>404</sup> CIG, 45; GLGS, 29 note 1 suggests the alternative senn. A: sum.
- <sup>405</sup> B: takin, i.e. 3rd person plural subjunctive for 3rd person singular.
- <sup>406</sup> GU, 14. A: hann i hafpi; B: thar i haffdu.
- <sup>407</sup> B: war a.
- <sup>408</sup> B: garthiur. This is in the margin at its proper place, but Pipping is uncertain of his own reading after the h and it could be garthinr.
- <sup>409</sup> B: rugar.
- <sup>410</sup> B: korn, possibly in error.
- <sup>411</sup> B: hwaru, i.e. dative for accusative. Since um only takes the latter, however, the u hook might be an error.
- <sup>412</sup> GLGS, 30 note 11. A: fylgir; B: fylgdi.
- <sup>413</sup> GLGS, 31 note 1. A: henni; B: haan i. CIG, 48: haan i.
- <sup>414</sup> B: ta, more usually taar.
- <sup>415</sup> B: gangit, i.e. active past participle for passive.
- <sup>416</sup> GU, 15. A: þaigin; B: thoyghin. Pipping (GLGS, 31 note 2) suggests that the A: reading might be an error. B: has och thoyghin qwindi lengra than a fiarda man. Iru badi iemner, tha liauti than kerldi. in the margin. See Commentary.
- <sup>417</sup> B: has the words Hogsl oc id in the margin at this point, as a side heading, clearly written before the insertion referred to in endnote 416.
- <sup>418</sup> B: liutir. This is presumably an error.
- <sup>419</sup> GU, 15. A: sitir; B: sithr.
- <sup>420</sup> B: standi, i.e. subjunctive for indicative.
- <sup>421</sup> B: lutu. GU, 15: lutu. Cf. Glossary.
- <sup>422</sup> B: wegi. An error not noted by Schlyter.
- <sup>423</sup> GLGS, 32 note 4; CIG, 50. A: brypium, possibly corrected; B: brydrom.
- <sup>424</sup> B: gutnisk; i.e. accusative neuter plural for singular.
- <sup>425</sup> GLGS, 32 note 6. A: þegar miþ skri; B: tegan med schriuan.
- <sup>426</sup> GU, 15. A: gufniscar; B: gutniskar.

- <sup>427</sup> GLGS, 32 note 8. A: þriggiu; B: tridio.
- <sup>428</sup> Schlyter (CIG, 51 note 60) suggests þan þriþia lut, but B: has teiri tridio luto.
- <sup>429</sup> B: leiffuir. Cf., however, loyfi at A 39.
- <sup>430</sup> B: taim. The form in A: is the neuter plural nominative. This is rendered elsewhere in B: by thaun. The form thaim is usually the dative plural, þaim or þeim in A:.
- <sup>431</sup> B: falling.
- <sup>432</sup> B: leguttu. Schlyter has not noted this probable error for leguitu.
- <sup>433</sup> GU, 16. A: cleis; B: kledi.
- <sup>434</sup> B: xviii ara ieru. Literally eighteen of years.
- <sup>435</sup> B: høgslí.
- <sup>436</sup> B: haffua, indicative for subjunctive, apparently, but the last letter has been altered.
- <sup>437</sup> B: fyrra war segd'r.
- <sup>438</sup> GU, 16. A: einloyptri; B: einlöptri.
- <sup>439</sup> CIG, 52. A: þama; B: tha ma.
- <sup>440</sup> GU, 60. A: en hann queþir; B: en seg'r han.
- <sup>441</sup> A: þan; B: ta en. Cf. endnote 53.
- <sup>442</sup> B: fyr thz (= thet) barn war fyt, i.e. indicative for subjunctive.
- <sup>443</sup> A: han; B: han. CIG, 53: han as a variant of hann. There is possibly a later nasal stroke in A:, giving hann. Cf. endnotes 82 and 274.
- <sup>444</sup> GU, 16. A: faldir; B: fald'r.
- <sup>445</sup> GU, 16. A: myþir; B: myd'r.
- <sup>446</sup> B: oc ey.
- <sup>447</sup> B: seg'r.
- <sup>448</sup> B: ella brod'r en han ogípter ier. That is, considering the brother to be unmarried, rather than the sister. The A: reading is preferable to the sense of the passage; cf. Commentary.
- <sup>449</sup> CIG, 54. A: gutniskr; B: ogutnisch'r.
- <sup>450</sup> B: Aff hori.
- <sup>451</sup> CIG, 54. B: lerd'r ella.
- <sup>452</sup> A: þaun. Cf. GLGS, Ordbok, 91.
- <sup>453</sup> A: had no title for this chapter originally, simply an enlarged initial letter. Af quinna skam has been inserted in the margin by a later hand, seventeenth century according to Schlyter (CIG, 55 note 13). B: has Wald: lib. 2. Tit. 16 in the margin.
- <sup>454</sup> B: ropi.
- <sup>455</sup> B: fulla schiel oc alla, i.e. masculine for neuter in both adjective (incorrectly) and pronoun (questionably).
- <sup>456</sup> GU, 17. A: hann; B: haan.
- <sup>457</sup> B: bier a than sama tima.
- <sup>458</sup> GLGS, 36 note 2. A: vindir; B: wind'r.
- <sup>459</sup> This rubric is in the margin. The initial letters of the first and last words are partially trimmed off. B: Aff qwinna gripom.
- <sup>460</sup> A: haft; B: halft. Cf. endnote 298.
- <sup>461</sup> GU, 18. A: witorþr; B: witord. Schlyter (CIG, 57 note 5) suggests that the reading in A: might be a compression of witorþ þar.
- <sup>462</sup> GU, 18. A: slitir; B: slit'r.
- <sup>463</sup> B: ii M(ark'r).
- <sup>464</sup> B: mesta. The ending -a is common for the genitive plural feminine in A: and B:; cf. endnote 489.
- <sup>465</sup> CIG, 58. A: Schiautir; B: schiaut'r. The indication of the second i in A: is from a later hand.
- <sup>466</sup> B: knibor.
- <sup>467</sup> GLGS, 37 note 1. A: lyndir; B: loyndir. The o above the line in A: is by a later hand.
- <sup>468</sup> GLGS, Ordbok, 35. A: hann; B: haan.
- <sup>469</sup> B: ankal.
- <sup>470</sup> GLGS, 37 note 4. A: haitr; B: heitir altered from heit'r.
- <sup>471</sup> B: til.
- <sup>472</sup> B: unnar; in the margin al: thula vel þula. Sävle (GU, xxxii) suggests correction to the plural unna. The note on the manuscript is a further indication that the scribe of B: was working from at least two originals.
- <sup>473</sup> B: byt, i.e. 2nd person imperative for indicative. Note the reverse difference at endnotes 169, 201, 212, 213, 217, 218, 615.
- <sup>474</sup> B: Aff wagnikla ferdir.

- <sup>475</sup> GLGS, 37 note 7. *A*: dRICTAS. *CIG*, 59 reads this as driccas. *B*: dryckas.
- <sup>476</sup> *GU*, 19. *A*: drigs; *B*: dricks. *GLGS*, 37 note 8 suggests drics.
- <sup>477</sup> *GU*, 19. *A*: af tacnir; *B*: aff tachnar.
- <sup>478</sup> *B*: drossiatel oc gierda mannom.
- <sup>479</sup> *B*: øøl biers.
- <sup>480</sup> See Addition 6 and Chapter 63 of *A*; last paragraph.
- <sup>481</sup> Schlyter (*CIG*, 60 note 43) considers *A*: reading might be fran. *B*: fram.
- <sup>482</sup> *B*: includes here the first nine sentences of the chapter af quinna ret from 95/17-24.
- <sup>483</sup> *GLGS*, 38 note 3. The scribe of *A*: has originally written ier and apparently commenced a correction to huer. He has then inserted the latter in the margin.
- <sup>484</sup> *B*: sliti hwar sum thz (= thet) till ier.
- <sup>485</sup> *B*: Initial letter of Reidkleði enlarged and in red, indicating a new sub-section.
- <sup>486</sup> *B*: smerá.
- <sup>487</sup> *B*: sempt sik.
- <sup>488</sup> *B*: hand. An error not noted by Schlyter.
- <sup>489</sup> *B*: sina nesta. It is possible that nesta is intended to be dative singular following miþ, influenced by the initial omission of the word skynian and the fact that the dative singular, as well as the genitive plural, of frendi would be frenda. The form sina is, however, incorrect for dative masculine singular.
- <sup>490</sup> *GU*, 19. *A*: huergi oratlica; *B*: hwargin oradlika.
- <sup>491</sup> *B*: En om oguthnisch folck in red, indicating a new sub-section.
- <sup>492</sup> *GU*, 19. *A*: gangir; *B*: gang'r.
- <sup>493</sup> *B*: nest, i.e. neuter for masculine.
- <sup>494</sup> This chapter is placed correctly here, following *B*: and the table of contents in *A*. In *A*: it appears following Chapter 63; cf. *GLGS*, 60 and 95/15 and endnote 738.
- <sup>495</sup> *A*: at vita at; *B*: wita a. The form of the adjective \*ypin suggests the accusative following the preposition a rather than dative following at.
- <sup>496</sup> *B*: tafast eig'r oc upni. The form tafast is neuter (cf. 83/19) and upni appears to be dative in error for accusative upna.
- <sup>497</sup> *B*: haffuer.
- <sup>498</sup> *B*: talaut.
- <sup>499</sup> *GU*, 30. *A*: laifha; *B*: leiffua.
- <sup>500</sup> *B*: gieri, i.e. 3rd person singular present subjunctive of giera ('make') for 3rd person singular present subjunctive of gierþa ('fence in'), perhaps because the scribe misunderstood gierþi as the 3rd person singular preterite of giera and thought that it was an error.
- <sup>501</sup> *B*: lad.
- <sup>502</sup> *B*: han.
- <sup>503</sup> *A*: brigzlum; *B*: bregdan.
- <sup>504</sup> *A*: ligs vitni; *B*: lichts vitni.
- <sup>505</sup> *GLGS*, 38 note 9. *A*: troþr; *B*: trod'r.
- <sup>506</sup> *B*: haff fallar.
- <sup>507</sup> *B*: ortat vitni full. The first word is probably an error, and full must also be an error for fult.
- <sup>508</sup> *A*: fysti; *B*: fyrsta. Probably an error for fyrsti.
- <sup>509</sup> *B*: dugi, i.e. indicative for subjunctive.
- <sup>510</sup> Pipping 1904, 6.
- <sup>511</sup> *B*: bierin.
- <sup>512</sup> *B*: eigu eygna fasta. Schlyter (*CIG*, 62 note 10) corrects this to eigu eyga fasta.
- <sup>513</sup> *GLGS*, 39 note 3. *A*: grigþir; *B*: Bregdar. Schlyter (*CIG*, 62) suggests brigþir.
- <sup>514</sup> *B*: witnom, i.e. dative plural of vitni for 3rd person present subjunctive of vitna.
- <sup>515</sup> *B*: nerar, i.e. adverb for adjective.
- <sup>516</sup> *B*: eyg'r.
- <sup>517</sup> The words oc skogr... luti are inserted in the margin, according to Schlyter (*CIG*, 62 note 15) by a sixteenth century hand.
- <sup>518</sup> *B*: taki, i.e. subjunctive for indicative.
- <sup>519</sup> *B*: daufi iord. Cf. Commentary.
- <sup>520</sup> *B*: myrom, i.e. plural for singular.
- <sup>521</sup> *B*: haffuir, i.e. indicative for subjunctive.
- <sup>522</sup> *B*: vitni. *CIG*, 62; *GU*, 20 vitni. Pipping (*GLGS*, 39 note 6) upholds the *A*: reading vitin against Schlyter and Sæve; cf. Commentary.
- <sup>523</sup> *B*: ransaka. Sæve (*GU*, 20) suggests rannsaka(a).

- <sup>524</sup> GLGS, 40 note 1. A: merki um; B: merkiom.
- <sup>525</sup> B: ta gard'r, i.e. *nominative for dative, probably in error*.
- <sup>526</sup> B: han.
- <sup>527</sup> B: a garda. *The first a has been inserted later by the scribe and the form garda may be an error for gard a.*
- <sup>528</sup> B: fleirin eyga with ella hafa in the margin, possibly an alternative reading.
- <sup>529</sup> B: ella eygir in the margin. *This should possibly be the 3rd person singular present subjunctive, eygi to match haffui.*
- <sup>530</sup> CIG, 63. A: gaþr; B: gard.
- <sup>531</sup> B: manni.
- <sup>532</sup> *The word (half)mark is here assumed to be an undeclined form. See Commentary.*
- <sup>533</sup> GLGS, 41 note 1. A: setr; B: set'r. Alternatively, settir.
- <sup>534</sup> B: eyn. *This seems to be an error in B:.*
- <sup>535</sup> B: forward'r, with alias werri in the margin.
- <sup>536</sup> GLGS, 41 note 2 rejects the correction in CIG, 65 to osoyp.
- <sup>537</sup> B: tan.
- <sup>538</sup> B: byt'r ey utan at gard'r.
- <sup>539</sup> B: ier, i.e. *indicative for subjunctive*.
- <sup>540</sup> B: fyrsta in the margin.
- <sup>541</sup> GU, 21. A: þeim; B: them. Cf. Pipping 1901a, 94.
- <sup>542</sup> B: oloyfis.
- <sup>543</sup> GU, 21. A: viiii; B: viii.
- <sup>544</sup> A: ertau. B: ertaug'r. CIG, 66 has ertair. Pipping (GLGS, 42) reads this as an abbreviation. See Commentary.
- <sup>545</sup> GLGS, 42 note 5 suggests that this should be xiiii, but this is rejected by Wessén (SL IV, 277-278).
- <sup>546</sup> B: ier, i.e. *indicative for subjunctive*.
- <sup>547</sup> B: e medan.
- <sup>548</sup> B: ier, i.e. *3rd person singular present indicative for plural*.
- <sup>549</sup> GU, 21. A: sandir; B: sand'r.
- <sup>550</sup> B: wit, possibly *indicative, without final r, for subjunctive*.
- <sup>551</sup> CIG, 67. A: liggia; B: liggi a.
- <sup>552</sup> CIG, 67. A: eþi; B: ella.
- <sup>553</sup> CIG, 67. A: faup; B: saud.
- <sup>554</sup> B: seg, i.e. *indicative without final r, for subjunctive*.
- <sup>555</sup> GLGS, Ordbok, 79. A: þrengir; B: trengir.
- <sup>556</sup> CIG, 68. A: caupta; B: kaup.
- <sup>557</sup> B: ieru, i.e. *indicative for subjunctive*.
- <sup>558</sup> B: witna. *This seems to be an error in B:; cf. CIG, 68 note 8 and endnote 122.*
- <sup>559</sup> GU, 22. A: seth; B: seght. Schlyter and Pipping (1901a, 125) follow the B: reading.
- <sup>560</sup> CIG, 68 A: ogugnischir; B: ogutnisch'r.
- <sup>561</sup> GU, 22. A: buti; B: Byti.
- <sup>562</sup> GLGS, 43 note 5. A: kerldi sum þet liautas a; B: kerldi som liauta agha. Cf. 86/1.
- <sup>563</sup> B: werd, i.e. *accusative instead of the dative normally following miþ*.
- <sup>564</sup> B: affrad, i.e. *the accusative rather than the nominative, possibly in error*.
- <sup>565</sup> B: affrad laus.
- <sup>566</sup> B: markleygi.
- <sup>567</sup> CIG, 69. A: amala þingi; B: a mala tingi.
- <sup>568</sup> B: bryllingiar.
- <sup>569</sup> A: fe fe, both inserted above the line; B: fe.
- <sup>570</sup> B: fadur.
- <sup>571</sup> B: triggia.
- <sup>572</sup> B: at schilia.
- <sup>573</sup> B: lutua. *There is a definite u-hook, but this may be an error.*
- <sup>574</sup> According to Schlyter (CIG, 70 note 43), A: could read aig. B: eigu.
- <sup>575</sup> B: gier, i.e. *indicative for subjunctive*.
- <sup>576</sup> B: mala. *This may be an error, using accusative singular of mali, m. rather than mal<sup>1</sup>, n.*
- <sup>577</sup> B: hendi, i.e. *dative singular rather than accusative plural*.
- <sup>578</sup> B: (in the margin) farer Bonde y kiöbfærd. Lib. 1.. cap. 12.iutorum., a reference to JL.
- <sup>579</sup> B: wardar hwart sinom werkom.



<sup>580</sup> B: (in the margin) Titulus hvad fadrer [fader] törff Barn giffue. Pipping (1901a, 49 note 2) rejects Schlyter's reading (CIG, 71 note 58) giffua as incorrect, but concedes that the final two characters of the word are unclear.

<sup>581</sup> B: eyg'r. B: frequently uses the accusative following aff; cf. endnotes 259, 276 and 684.

<sup>582</sup> B: than. CIG, 71 following this, but corrected to the A: form thau, suggests þau.

<sup>583</sup> CIG, 71. A: raipi; B: radi.

<sup>584</sup> B: fyr.

<sup>585</sup> The remainder of this section (Tha en thair hafa...orada mader.) appears in the margin in B: All but the final sentence might be a correction of an omission by Bilefeld, rather than a reading from another manuscript, since it is marked: Nota defectum and part of the wording is included in the main body of the text.

<sup>586</sup> B: rechnung om hand. This reading is probably an error.

<sup>587</sup> The remainder of this sentence (so frammarla sum fadir schynias ai orada mad'r.) appears in the body of the text in B:, as well as in the margin.

<sup>588</sup> GU, 23. A: feþir; B: fedr'.

<sup>589</sup> GU, 23; CIG, 72. A: skyni; B: schyni.

<sup>590</sup> A: gerir; B: gier.

<sup>591</sup> B: mad'r.

<sup>592</sup> B: sand geld deti.

<sup>593</sup> CIG, 72. A: þria iii; B: iii.

<sup>594</sup> CIG, 73. A: cumit; B: kumin.

<sup>595</sup> B: haucht.

<sup>596</sup> B: triggia.

<sup>597</sup> A: et; B: en.

<sup>598</sup> A: fystu; B: takin fyrstu stempno.

<sup>599</sup> B: halffuan.

<sup>600</sup> This text must be understood, by comparison with line 88/11. It is missing from both A: and B:. Cf. SL4, 282 note 5.

<sup>601</sup> B: minna tan til.

<sup>602</sup> B: vii. nata. This supports Sæve's argument (GU, xxvi) rejecting siaunata as one word; cf. Schlyter (CIG, 74) siaunata.

<sup>603</sup> See Addition 7.

<sup>604</sup> B: Aff yxna kaupi.

<sup>605</sup> B: Kaupir thu ko in red, indicating a new sub-section.

<sup>606</sup> B: Aff hesta kaupi.

<sup>607</sup> CIG, 274. A: laistir; B: lastir.

<sup>608</sup> B: hanom.

<sup>609</sup> CIG, 75. A: fembru; B: frembro.

<sup>610</sup> A: þaut; B: tan at. CIG, 75 suggests tau at, missing a u-hook, but tan or than are used throughout B: for þau, tan at for þau et on three other occasions.

<sup>611</sup> B: Rid'r tu annan mans hest.

<sup>612</sup> CIG, 75. A: abaki; B: a baki.

<sup>613</sup> GU, 24. A: laifr; B: leiffuir.

<sup>614</sup> B: engan.

<sup>615</sup> B: byt'r, i.e. 2nd person indicative for imperative.

<sup>616</sup> GU, 24. A: hafir; B: haffuer. A: has hafr 35 times, hafir only here.

<sup>617</sup> GU, 24. A: querrant; B: qwarra.

<sup>618</sup> GU, 24. A: stelkir; B: stelkir.

<sup>619</sup> CIG, 76. Hadorph, 37: recki. A: vecki; B: wecki.

<sup>620</sup> GU, 25. A: Bat; B: Batir.

<sup>621</sup> Nasal stroke missing. B: Ransakan.

<sup>622</sup> B: man oschiel giera.

<sup>623</sup> B: has lausgyrtir scal innat ganga in the margin.

<sup>624</sup> B: ransakan.

<sup>625</sup> B: fyli, in the margin al: fuli. See also Commentary.

<sup>626</sup> B: thz = thet, i.e. accusative rather than genitive.

<sup>627</sup> Originally segr, altered by a later hand to segir; B: seg'r.

<sup>628</sup> B: leysnom.

<sup>629</sup> B: Tha, in red, possibly to indicate the start of a new sub-section.

- <sup>630</sup> B: fyrrada.  
<sup>631</sup> B: bars.  
<sup>632</sup> GLGS, 50 note 2. A: þar til et; B: tar til, en.  
<sup>633</sup> B: rethi.  
<sup>634</sup> A: has an abbreviation. B: mark. Cf. endnote 532.  
<sup>635</sup> CIG, 79. A: þinfyra; B: ting fyra.  
<sup>636</sup> CIS XIII, 742 suggests þa.  
<sup>637</sup> See Addition 8.  
<sup>638</sup> B: Aff Oquedins ord. *The accusative frequently follows aff in B.*  
<sup>639</sup> B: En kuno ta ieru.  
<sup>640</sup> A: fordeþskiepr; B: fordenschap'r.  
<sup>641</sup> CIG, 79. A: sclicum; B: slikom.  
<sup>642</sup> B: han.  
<sup>643</sup> B: thz = thet.  
<sup>644</sup> B: stempna.  
<sup>645</sup> B: han. *Accusative for dative following stemna.*  
<sup>646</sup> B: i uff dryckiu. *This is probably an error.*  
<sup>647</sup> CIG, 80. A: þrim; B: trim.  
<sup>648</sup> GLGS, 53 note 2. A: Bregþar; B: Bregdar. Cf. endnote 513.  
<sup>649</sup> CIG, 80. A: aþingi; B: a tingi.  
<sup>650</sup> GU, 26. A: asannat; B: ey sannad. *Alternatively a sannat, GLGS, 70; ai sannan at, CIG, 80.*  
<sup>651</sup> GU, 26. A: syma; B: symi.  
<sup>652</sup> GLGS, 53 note 7. *The first i is trimmed away.*  
<sup>653</sup> B: tinga. *Genitive plural for singular; clearly an error.*  
<sup>654</sup> A: kiennis; B: kennis.  
<sup>655</sup> A: þing laun; B: tings laun. *Pipping (GLGS, 53 note 8, GLGS, 54 note 1) launs. Cf. laun at 91/10, launs, emended to laun at 91/14.*  
<sup>656</sup> CIG, 80 gives socnar menn, but GLGS, 53 note 9 rejects this amendment as unnecessary.  
<sup>657</sup> B: merchtir ella o merchtir.  
<sup>658</sup> B: fyri.  
<sup>659</sup> B: haffui. *Schlyter considers this to be an error, Pipping does not comment.*  
<sup>660</sup> B: haffi.  
<sup>661</sup> B: heptalaun. Cf. endnote 655 and Commentary.  
<sup>662</sup> A: launs; B: laun. Cf. endnote 655 and Commentary.  
<sup>663</sup> B: Aff kliptom weduri.  
<sup>664</sup> A: Symonismessu; B: Simonis messo.  
<sup>665</sup> B: loyst.  
<sup>666</sup> B: sielffuins, possibly altered from an earlier reading. *Schlyter (CIG, 82 note 42) marks this as an error.*  
<sup>667</sup> Part of the o is trimmed away as oc russum is in the margin. B: Naut oc Rus. *Nominative or accusative for dative in error.*  
<sup>668</sup> B: a.  
<sup>669</sup> GLGS, 54 note 6. A: pins; B: tings.  
<sup>670</sup> B: fierri mot stucka at magi sia. *This gives the translation so far from the assembly poles that one may see. This seems to make equal, if not better, sense.*  
<sup>671</sup> GLGS, 55 note 1. CIG, 83 suggests upp haitzlu-. A: upp hailzlu-; B: vp heislu-.  
<sup>672</sup> A: merki; B: amerki, which is clearly correct.  
<sup>673</sup> B: Rofu Akrom; rofu ak'rs; rofu ack'rs. *Pipping suggests these readings as alternatives in A. Schlyter (CIG, 84 notes 16 and 19) considers rofnakrum, etc. are errors for rofna akrum, etc. This change seems unnecessary.*  
<sup>674</sup> GU, 27. A: seþr; B: sed.  
<sup>675</sup> B: haffi.  
<sup>676</sup> B: oykin.  
<sup>677</sup> B: ak'r.  
<sup>678</sup> B: sak'r, wid'r sochn at iii oyrom.  
<sup>679</sup> GLGS, 55 note 3. A: afreki; B: haffreki.  
<sup>680</sup> GLGS, 55 note 4. *Could be alandi, afluti, but ahafs is marked to indicate a word break. B: a landi, a fluta, the latter amended, in error, from fluti.*  
<sup>681</sup> B: mad'r.

- <sup>682</sup> GLGS, 56 note 2 rejects kroks ok kexis (GU, 28). B: krok oc kexi. Cf. ok þau þarf lekisschep wiþr, 71/23.
- <sup>683</sup> B: fund. Cf. fundar laun and endnote 793.
- <sup>684</sup> B: thz = thet, i.e. the accusative. There is no instance in A: of af taking the accusative, although it occurs frequently in B.
- <sup>685</sup> B: giers.
- <sup>686</sup> B: scher.
- <sup>687</sup> The omission by B: of af is an error.
- <sup>688</sup> B: Aff Broan.
- <sup>689</sup> B: semt sick.
- <sup>690</sup> A: sempsik; B: sempt sick.
- <sup>691</sup> B: aff.
- <sup>692</sup> Amended from setia.
- <sup>693</sup> B: schuldom.
- <sup>694</sup> CIG, 86. A: socnsinna; B: sochninna.
- <sup>695</sup> B: sochninnar.
- <sup>696</sup> A: ful[k]c; B: folck.
- <sup>697</sup> A: br[i]aupi; B: Briaudi.
- <sup>698</sup> B: tan.
- <sup>699</sup> B: um hwarin dagh.
- <sup>700</sup> CIG, 87 has huerk. A: [h]uerk; B: wercki.
- <sup>701</sup> CIG, 87. A: fem fem; B: v.
- <sup>702</sup> B: Rygh.
- <sup>703</sup> B: sielfffuir. This is an error, since the subject is fulk (n.).
- <sup>704</sup> B: bondin.
- <sup>705</sup> B: schielom. See also endnote 252.
- <sup>706</sup> B: at iii oyrom wid'r bondan.
- <sup>707</sup> B: harum.
- <sup>708</sup> B: harom.
- <sup>709</sup> A: Symonismessu; B: Simonis messu.
- <sup>710</sup> CIG, 88 has Pitta (B: Thitta), which GLGS, 58 note 3 rejects as an unnecessary emendation.
- <sup>711</sup> B: semt.
- <sup>712</sup> B: Mariomessu, i.e. accusative for genitive following til.
- <sup>713</sup> GU, 29. B: som.
- <sup>714</sup> B: messo fallom.
- <sup>715</sup> B: Sondag.
- <sup>716</sup> Cf. Commentary and endnote 336.
- <sup>717</sup> GU, xxxii, 29. A: aþrar; B: adrar.
- <sup>718</sup> GU, 29. A: þolff, amended from a previous reading; B: xii.
- <sup>719</sup> B: sochn.
- <sup>720</sup> B: Duffli.
- <sup>721</sup> See Addition 9.
- <sup>722</sup> The remainder of this chapter constitutes the end of B, where it follows the chapter Vm schoga. The words Teth ier oc sempt sik: At are in red, with an enlarged initial T, indicating the start of a new sub-section.
- <sup>723</sup> B: sempt.
- <sup>724</sup> B: ieru, i.e. 3rd plural present indicative for singular.
- <sup>725</sup> B: at.
- <sup>726</sup> GU, 30. GLGS, 59 note 1 accepts the suggestion. B: oc thet.
- <sup>727</sup> B: ends here with the words Exaratum A° 1587. 14 calend: Junii, per Daudem Bilefeld Ecclesiaten Barlingboensem ac præpositum Borealis TERTIANÆ. iuxta Tenorem Beteris Exemplaris Anno MCD.LXX scripti: - followed by five pages containing the table of contents.
- <sup>728</sup> The following appears in Chapter 20 of B.; cf. 98/24-25.
- <sup>729</sup> B: man. Cf. Commentary.
- <sup>730</sup> B: byti iii oyra.
- <sup>731</sup> B: has the preceding words in red, indicating a new sub-section.
- <sup>732</sup> B: tar. Bilefeld has possibly read this as the npf of þann. Pipping has not noted this instance.
- <sup>733</sup> GLGS, 60 note 1. A: littryggum; B: lyctryggjom. Hadorph, 44 gives lictryggum.
- <sup>734</sup> A: has elsewhere frigerir or firigierir; B: fyri gier.

- <sup>735</sup> B: kirckiu stedi sinom.
- <sup>736</sup> In B: the closing words (94/24-95/2) follow here, together with details of Bilefeld's copy; cf. endnote 727.
- <sup>737</sup> B: See Addition 6. This clause belongs in the chapter Af bryllaupum; cf. endnote 480.
- <sup>738</sup> A: has the chapter af farweghum manz here. Cf. 82/12-20 and endnote 494.
- <sup>739</sup> The first nine sentences of this chapter form the start of Chapter 35 in B.; cf. 82/1-4 and endnote 482.
- <sup>740</sup> A: oc sempsic; B: thz (= thet) sempt sik.
- <sup>741</sup> CIG, 92. A (according to GLGS, 61 note 3): flyctu; B: flytto.
- <sup>742</sup> GU, 31. A: Gullat; B: Gullad.
- <sup>743</sup> B: oc.
- <sup>744</sup> GU, 31. A: slit; B: slicht. GLGS, 61 note 5, alternatively, slik.
- <sup>745</sup> B: engin ny.
- <sup>746</sup> B: ey ma.
- <sup>747</sup> B: Scharlad ier alt aff takit.
- <sup>748</sup> See Addition 9, first sentence.
- <sup>749</sup> CIG, 93 amends to nequat, but cf. endnotes 305 and 155.
- <sup>750</sup> B: komb'r. GLGS, 7 has kombir, CIG, 104 has komber; see Commentary.
- <sup>751</sup> CIG, 104. B: keldi, amended from keldr.
- <sup>752</sup> CIG, 105. B: prest som. This is an error.
- <sup>753</sup> GU, 36. B: hitter.
- <sup>754</sup> CIG, 105. B: er ier inna.
- <sup>755</sup> GLGS, 8. CIG, 105 and GU, 36 give eller. B: ell'r.
- <sup>756</sup> A: leþr.
- <sup>757</sup> The preceding sentence also appears in A. In B: at has been altered to aat.
- <sup>758</sup> See Commentary.
- <sup>759</sup> GLGS, 8 note 8. B: hempn at eyger so budit. Schlyter (CIG, 105 note 9) suggests hempnar tha so ier budit. See Commentary.
- <sup>760</sup> B: tweir. See endnote 164.
- <sup>761</sup> B: liauter altered from liut'r.
- <sup>762</sup> GLGS, 9 note 1. B: bierra. Cf. the relationship gierra : giera.
- <sup>763</sup> B: siit, perhaps a scribal error.
- <sup>764</sup> GU, 36. B: y.
- <sup>765</sup> B: hwat tima. Schlyter (CIG, 107 note 12) has et prester ei ma at sia. It is worth commenting that the form pst'r used here is one of a number of spellings of prestr in the B-text: prester, prestir, præstir, prest'r and præst'r being others.
- <sup>766</sup> The first letter of Naut is in red, possibly indicating a new sub-section, although earlier in the manuscript the initial letters of some paragraphs are indiscriminately in red.
- <sup>767</sup> GU, 37. B: ogömslu (CIG, 107: ogönislu).
- <sup>768</sup> GLGS, 21 note 9. B: sakir.
- <sup>769</sup> GLGS, 21 note 10. B: wird. Schlyter (CIG, 107) suggests warder.
- <sup>770</sup> B: tweim. See endnote 164.
- <sup>771</sup> The sentence Tha en limalastir fylgia, da byt'r ii m. sylffs appears in the margin of B:
- <sup>772</sup> The clause legbain ella armlegg'r bytis at twaim m. silffs en sunder ier slaghit. appears in the margin of B:
- <sup>773</sup> GLGS, Ordbok, 39. B: hwaru.
- <sup>774</sup> The sentence Ier torfa manni haggin, ier byt at m. sylffs appears in the margin of B:
- <sup>775</sup> The majority of these statutes occur at A: 41; cf. 95/4-5.
- <sup>776</sup> The first letter of Magum is enlarged and in red, indicating a new sub-section.
- <sup>777</sup> This statute occurs in A: at the end of Chapter 63.
- <sup>778</sup> GU, 37. CIG, 108 reads Kauper. B: Kaup'r.
- <sup>779</sup> CIG, 108.
- <sup>780</sup> GU, 37: laidir; CIG, 108 (incorrectly) leyder; B: leyd'r.
- <sup>781</sup> GU, 37. B: kalas.
- <sup>782</sup> CIG, 109, incorrectly: fylger.
- <sup>783</sup> These first three words in red to indicate a new sub-section.
- <sup>784</sup> GU, xxi. B: oyri.
- <sup>785</sup> Cf. Commentary on 70/16 and endnote 294.
- <sup>786</sup> GLGS, 51 note 3. B: Beinheilom amended to Bainheilom.

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<sup>787</sup> GU, 38. B: wesl, i.e. nasal stroke omitted. Cf. 62/20 and endnotes 288, 621.

<sup>788</sup> B: Kuma. See Commentary.

<sup>789</sup> Something is missing here. See Commentary.

<sup>790</sup> CIG, 110 note 25, alternatively naugan for naudgan. B: naug'r.

<sup>791</sup> GLGS, Ordbok, 26. B: fyli. See also Commentary to 89/23.

<sup>792</sup> GU, 38.

<sup>793</sup> GU, 38. B: fund'r laun. CIG, 111: funder, which Pipping rejects; cf. GLGS, 51 note 9.

<sup>794</sup> GU, 38. B: er.

<sup>795</sup> Schlyter (CIG, 111 note 27) considers that this initially read theim.

<sup>796</sup> GLGS, Ordbok, 64. B: lagrekat.

<sup>797</sup> CIG, 112 note 29.

<sup>798</sup> The start of this chapter occurs at A: 42 v; cf. 96/1-2 and endnote 748.

## List of regulated laws

- |   |  |
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| [1] <i>Here begins firstly.</i>                                 | [18] 18 Concerning battered women  |
| [2] 1 Concerning children                                       | [19] 19 Concerning wounds <sup>2</sup>   |
| [3] 2 Concerning tithes   | 20 Concerning bald patches   |
| 5 2 If you rent a field or meadow                               | 30 21 If you damage another's clothes  |
| [4] 3 Concerning sacrifice                                      | 22 Concerning open wounds  |
| [5] 4 Concerning priests and priests' children                  | 23 If a man blocks another's path  |
| [6] 5 Concerning holy days                                      | 24 If slaves fight   |
| 10 [7] 6 Concerning monks' property <sup>1</sup>                | [20] 25 Concerning all inheritance   |
| [8] 7 Concerning personal rights                                | 35 26 If the male line is broken   |
| [9] 8 Concerning universal sanctity                             | 27 Concerning women's inheritance  |
| [10] 9 Concerning springtime sanctity                           | 28 Concerning illegitimate children  |
| 15 [11] 10 Concerning assembly sanctity                         | [20a] 29 Concerning <i>men discovered in the act of</i> <sup>3</sup> illicit intercourse |
| [12] 11 Concerning homestead sanctity                           | 40 [21] 30 Concerning adulterers <sup>4</sup>  |
| [13] 12 Concerning manslaughter                                 | [22] 31 Concerning rape <sup>5</sup>   |
| 20 13 Concerning the offering of compensation for a man         | [23] 32 Concerning assaults on women   |
| [14] 14 Concerning inherited cases                              | [24] 33 Concerning weddings <sup>6</sup>   |
| [15] 15 Concerning men's wergilds                               | 45 [24a] 34 Concerning funeral feasts  |
| [16] 16 Concerning wergilds in connection with the peace circle | 35 Concerning women's rights <sup>7</sup>  |
| [17] 17 Concerning unruly animals                               | [24b] <i>Concerning fine woollen cloth</i>   |
|   | [24c] <i>Concerning riding clothes</i>   |
|   | [24d] 36 Concerning Gotlandic women  |
|   | [24e] <i>Concerning non-Gotlandic</i>  |

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	[25] 38 Concerning disputes over	30 thieves
5	woodland	[39] 56 Concerning insults
	[26] 39 Concerning shared fences	[40] 57 Concerning unbranded small
	40 Whoever cuts wood illegally	livestock
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10	43 If a man is taken hostage	[43] 60 Concerning entire <i>unshorn</i>
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	to the other	[44] 61 Concerning <i>entire</i> shorn
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	[29] 45 Concerning debts	40 [45] 62 Concerning billy- and nanny-
15	[30] 46 Concerning surety	goats
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25	horses	[53] 71 Concerning taxes
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|---|---|---|
| <p>[54] 72 Concerning the watch</p> <p>[55] 73 Concerning houses and household servants</p> <p>[56] 74 Concerning harvesters</p> <p>5 [56a] 75 Concerning those who have no arable land</p> <p>[57] 76 Concerning squirrels</p> <p>[58] 77 Concerning hares</p> <p>[59] 78 Concerning tree fruits</p> | <p>10</p> <p>mass</p> <p>[61] 80 Concerning gambling</p> <p>[62] [<i>This ... concerning bald patches</i>]<sup>10</sup></p> <p>15</p> <p>81 Concerning usury with townspeople</p> <p>[63] 82 Concerning woods and all land taken in pledge<sup>10</sup></p> <p>[65] [<i>Concerning women's rights</i>]<sup>10</sup></p> | <p>[60] 79 Concerning failure to read</p> |
|---|---|---|



[205] [1] 1<sup>11</sup> **Here begins the law of the Gotlanders and it says firstly this**

This is the first beginning of our law: that we should reject heathen ways and accept Christianity and all believe in one almighty God, and all pray to him that he grant us good harvests and peace, victory and health. And that we should uphold our  
5 Christianity and our proper faith and the province in which we live and that we should each day do, in our deeds and desires, those things that are to the honour of God and which most benefit us, both in body and soul.

[2] 2<sup>11</sup> **Concerning children**

It is now the next thing that each child born in our province should be raised by us  
10 and not thrown out. Every woman should know her own bed in which she is to lie in labour. She should call on two women to be witnesses with her, the midwife and a neighbour, to witness that the child was stillborn, and that she had no hand in its death.

If a free woman is found guilty of having killed a child, then she is fined three  
15 marks as soon as it comes before the parishioners, unless she has previously confessed her crime, and the priest bears full witness to it. Then she must complete her penance, and no one has a right to claim compensation. If she denies the case, and it comes before the assembly members, then if she is found innocent, she shall receive three marks from those who charged her, and an oath of rehabilitation from six men. If she  
20 is found guilty, she must pay three marks to the parish, if the parish can demand it. If the case comes before the assembly members, she pays three marks to the assembly, and another three marks to the rural dean, if she is found guilty. If the case comes before the general assembly, and if she is then found guilty, she incurs a fine of twelve marks to the general assembly. If she has no money to pay, then she must go  
25 into exile and every man is to be fined three marks who shelters or houses her, or

gives her food. If she will not take an <sup>[206]</sup>oath, she is nevertheless considered condemned in the case.

If those who have accused her abandon the case, and refuse to put down money, one should deem her to have no case to answer and clear her of the charge. The accusers  
5 should, however, confirm her honour by oath and remove the slander, which they laid on her. If she admits that she was the mother, and says that the child was stillborn, then they do not need to put down any money, if they disbelieve her, and if she did not have any female witnesses with her when she was in labour.

If such a case is brought against someone's female slave, no one lays any higher  
10 fine against her than six öre *in coin*. If she is found guilty, then her master is fined six öre *in coin* on her behalf and six years are added after her time of slavery is complete.

### [3] 3<sup>11</sup> Concerning tithes

The next thing is that everyone shall have services and pay tithes, where he *has* had a church built, and to which his farm was allocated from the outset. The priest must  
15 carry out all Christian office for him, whether he may demand them early or late. Thus all men are in agreement that every man should pay his tithe before the Feast of the Annunciation, both the part to the priest and the part to the church. Each man must pay his tithes by the stook. Thus no one is able to say that the tithe has not been threshed when Annunciation comes. And after Annunciation, the priest is to make a  
20 declaration for three Sundays, and lock the church door on the fourth Sunday and withhold services from the parishioners until such time as all the tithes are fully paid. And a three-mark fine is incurred by each man who was not willing to pay his tithe *previously*. All should be obliged to prosecute this and all should be party to it. The parishioners should be entitled to a third, the church a third and the priest a third. If a  
25 tenant goes from one parish to another with the tithe unpaid, then he is liable to three

marks to the priest, *the church* and the parishioners, and still to bring back his tithe, though it is late.

If someone wants to build himself a church for greater convenience than he had previously, he must do it from the remaining nine parts. And the church shall receive  
5 its tithe and the priest his, until the new one is consecrated. But afterwards, he is to pay the tithe where he most recently built *the church*. He may not later return to the previous church, if he has made another new one. And he may not go from the previous church to the new one later than the day on which the bishop consecrated it.

If disagreements arise between them in <sup>[207]</sup>the first or the second year, then he shall  
10 himself declare with an oath, and with two parishioners, whom his opponents wish to nominate, that he was involved in the *church*-building and the consecration, and in all things as other parishioners. When three years have passed or more than three, then he shall have both parishioners' witness that he was with them in the church-building and the priest's own witness that he had ever since paid him the tithe as every other  
15 parishioner.

If a man rents a field or a meadow from another parish, and there are no houses on it, he is to leave the corn-tithe in the place where the field was allocated, but take home hay or hops with him, and give tithes from them to the priest whom he visits for services, and from whom he receives all Christian offices. If there are houses there, he  
20 is to leave everything behind. The priest is to have tithes from it, who is at the church there, similarly the church has its portion, as the priest his.

#### [4] 3 Concerning sacrifice

It is now the next thing that sacrifice is strictly forbidden to all men, and all those old customs, which belong to paganism. No one may call upon either groves or howes  
25 or heathen gods, nor upon holy places or ancient sites. If someone is found guilty of

this and it is proved against him, and confirmed with witnesses that he has invoked something of this sort with his food or drink, which does not follow Christian practice, then he is to be fined three marks to the parishioners, if they win the case. All should also be obliged to prosecute this and *all should* take a share in it: priest and  
 5 church and parishioners. If suspicion falls on him, then he is to defend himself with a six-man oath. If the parishioners do not win the case and it comes before the assembly members, then he must defend himself again with a six-man oath, or pay a fine of three marks to the assembly. If it comes before the general assembly, then he pays a fine of twelve marks to the authorities, if he does not win with the defence of a  
 10 twelve-man oath.

**[5] 4 Concerning priests *and* priests' wives, and their children<sup>12</sup>**

It is now the next thing that priests and the wives of priests and their ordained children are equal in the matter of assault and manslaughter and in all respects to the children of farmers, but the lay children, they follow the family of their mother.<sup>13</sup>

15 <sup>[208a]</sup>If a man, whether ordained or not, commits a crime no one shall be fined more on behalf of another, than his {i.e. the wrongdoer's} resources can cover.

**[6] 5 Concerning holy days**

This is now the next thing that all *those* days that the bishops have declared holy, and which all *men* have accepted, should be considered sacred by men. <sup>[209]</sup>No one  
 20 must do other work on Sundays, or other holy days, but attend holy office, or hear God's service, and have permission to ride round his farm after mass has been sung, or the holy office has finished. No one may have more on his wagon on a Sunday than a lispound weight following a pair of oxen, or half that following a horse. If he has more, one may confiscate his load until he has paid six öre, and in addition he is to  
 25 pay six öre for Sabbath-breaking, unless an emergency arose and the priest was asked.

Then the latter may ascertain what is necessary and give permission that he may travel in his parish, so that he is not *blamed* or accused about it. If he wants to travel further, then he must always seek permission from the priest who has control of the church parish {i.e. that he wishes to pass through}, if he wants to be unchallenged about it.

- 5 One has permission to travel or ride to the marketplace with prepared food, cheese and butter, and all dairy produce, fish, fowl, or those beasts that one is to sell on the market square, with baked bread, but not with flour or barley, and not with other wares, without risking both the load and six öre. Half the fine goes to the one who apprehends him, and half to the priest and parishioners of the place where he was
- 10 when he was apprehended with the goods. If a man rides and carries a burden {on the horse}, one may not blame him or impose a fine on him for it, if he is sitting {on the horse} himself. If the draught horse is in a train, or he is leading him with a pack, that pack may legally be seized, if it is more than half a lispound, and in addition a six-öre fine for Sabbath-breaking is incurred. If a free man or free woman is found doing
- 15 work on a Sunday or other holy day, then all the work is to be seized, which is found in their hands, and they are in addition to be fined six öre for Sabbath-breaking. Half of this is to go to the man who apprehended them, and half to the priest and church and parishioners. If a male or female slave is caught working on a holy day, their master is fined three öre for them, and they are to have their time of slavery extended
- 20 by three years.

#### [7] 6 Concerning monks' property<sup>14</sup>

The next thing is that if someone is found guilty of felling in a wood belonging to monks, or knocking down boundary fences, or harming them, or their property, then he is to be excommunicated and pay a fine twice as much as that between farmers.

- 25 And he is to pay the fine before the first assembly next following. If he waits for the

assembly, he is to pay a fine of three marks to the general assembly, and he is *still* to pay the fine *to them* as laid down in the law, although it is later.

<sup>[210]</sup>If a man who is childless gives himself to the monastery, he retains authority over his property; he may neither sell nor transfer it during his lifetime. When he dies,  
5 one third remains with the monastery, but two thirds revert to his kinsmen. If he has children, he has command over his personal share. If any layman wishes to leave property to the monastery or to a church, then he may give a tenth of his property *in land*, but no more, unless his kinsmen permit it.

#### [8] 7 Concerning personal rights

10 The next thing is that an individual's right to peace and security is in force on all those days designated 'holy days', from the time of sunset on the eve of the day until dawn on the third day. Fourteen days at Christmas are days of peace and security, seven weeks in Lent, and all Holy Week, three Rogation days and all Whit week. If you kill a man during these periods of peace and security, the fine is three marks. If  
15 you wound a man, the fine is twelve öre. If you strike a man with a staff, or an axe hammer, the fine is six öre. If you manhandle someone, or push him, or take him by the hair, or punch him with your fist, the fine is three öre, if it is done in anger. If a slave is involved, the fine does not exceed three öre, if he is made to bleed. The fine is always to be paid where the deed was done, and not where the perpetrator lives. The  
20 priest shall withhold holy offices, and close the church door, to all those who have broken the sanctity of God, for excommunication always follows Sabbath-breaking. The ban shall subsequently be lifted immediately he pays the fine stipulated, and the parishioners consider it advisable. All are obliged to bring the action for the fines, and all should take a share in them. Parishioners are to have one third *of the fines*, the  
25 church another, and the priest a third, provided that fines are not payable to the

general assembly. But fines to the general assembly are not payable for Sabbath-breaking, unless a man is killed inside a church, in which case there is a fine of forty marks, or in a churchyard, in which case there is a fine of twelve marks. This fine is paid to the general assembly. The rural dean has three marks of this for pronouncing  
 5 excommunication.

All churches in the province are equally sacred, if a man is killed inside them. Three churchyards, however, are considered in law to be the most sanctified. In these a fugitive should have protection both in the rectory and in the churchyard. There is a fine of forty marks if a fugitive is killed in this sanctuary. But of all other fines, those  
 10 that are smaller, and those that are *not* payable to the general assembly, the parishioners are *always* due one third, and the church a second part, and the priest another part. If you strike a man in a <sup>[211]</sup>church with a staff or an axe hammer, or wound him in a churchyard, the fine for this is six marks. If you punch a man with your fist in a church or push a man or take him by the hair, or strike him in a  
 15 churchyard with a staff, or with an axe hammer, the fine is three marks. If you punch a man with your fist in a churchyard, or push a man, or take a man by the hair, the fine is twelve öre for Sabbath-breaking. The one who has desecrated the church shall always be liable for the re-consecration, and cleanse that which he has made unclean by a payment of three marks.

20 **[9] 8 Concerning the universal sanctity**

Now there are, moreover, two other periods of peace and security, which principally exist in order that one should observe an individual's right to protection. In these cases there is no excommunication and no fine to the bishop, unless the deed was done on a holy day. This is the universal sanctity. It runs from fourteen nights after  
 25 Easter and five nights after Midsummer and lasts for ten nights and ten days in each

case; it both starts and ends at sunrise. If you kill a man during these periods of peace and security, the fine to the general assembly is always as great a wergild as he whom you killed is worth. No peace circle will protect you before you have paid the fine. If you wound a man or strike him during these periods of peace and security, the fine is  
5 three marks. During these periods of peace and security no one may destroy another's house or boundary fence, without being liable for a fine of three marks.

**[10] 9 Concerning the springtime sanctity**

Now there is then, in addition, the springtime sanctity. It runs from a fortnight before the general sowing time, and lasts until a fortnight thereafter. During that  
10 period of peace and security no one may seize from another either horse or ox in payment of debt (since a farmer needs both these every day on his fields) without being liable for a fine of three marks. If a debt is {outstanding} between men and *it is* legally claimed, the one is to claim from the other his house, cattle or possessions, and not his working beasts, which he needs at the time.

**15 [11] 10 Concerning the assembly sanctity**

Next there is *still* men's assembly sanctity. The assembly men must prosecute the action for {breaking} the assembly sanctity. If you take a man by the hair, or punch him with your fist, at the assembly, the fine is three marks for breaking the assembly sanctity and in addition a legal fine {i.e. for the assault}. If you strike a man with a  
20 staff, or an axe hammer, or cause a man injury, the fine is three marks. If you kill a man, or maim him, the fine is <sup>[212]</sup>six marks, unless the man was killed in revenge. A criminal may not rely on the assembly sanctity, unless a universal sanctity is in force.

**[12] 11 Concerning the homestead sanctity**

Next there is *still* the sanctity of the homestead for all men. If you kill a man at  
25 home on his farm, or maim him, the fine is twelve marks to the general assembly, and



another twelve to him, and wergild in addition. If you strike a man with a staff or an axe hammer, or cause him injury, the fine is three marks to him, and three more to the community, and in addition the legal fine. If a householder is struck at home on his farm, or more people, only the one who is valued most highly takes the fine *for an*  
5 *attack in the home*, but no others. All should, however, receive legal fines.

[13] **12 Concerning manslaughter**

The next thing is that, if the misfortune should occur through the devil's agency that a man should happen to kill another, his father, son and brother shall flee with him. If none of these exist, then his nearest kinsmen should flee with him for forty days to a  
10 church that all men have taken as a sanctuary, that is Fardhem and Tingstäde and Atlingabo. There they shall have safety *and sanctuary*, both in the rectory and in the churchyard. And when that time has expired, he must ride to the place where he wants to draw up his peace circle, and draw it around three farms, and so far into the wood from the three homesteads that it lies equidistant from {these and the} other  
15 homesteads, which lie on the other side of the wood, if he {in any case} has permission from those who own *the property*. The circle may not be drawn around a place of assembly or a marketplace, nor around more than one church, the one in which he took refuge. Then he has sanctuary within his circle, and someone else may negotiate compensation {on his behalf}. And he is always to draw it during the period  
20 of peace and security that is next after Easter, but until that time the peace circle, which he drew up when he first put himself in danger, shall protect him. That is called the testified safety circle. Any peace circle, which remains for a year, no one may dispute when a year has expired. *But a man* has then freedom to remain in his circle or go abroad on a pilgrimage to a shrine,<sup>15</sup> to atone for his sins. He shall have eight  
25 days respite to take to his ship, and then travel in peace on his pilgrimage. And when

he comes back, he also has eight days to travel back to his circle in peace. If a man commits a crime {i.e. a killing} in his own home parish, he must flee from there, and draw his circle somewhere else, where neither mother nor daughter nor <sup>[213]</sup>sister {of the victim} live. Meanwhile he must take himself to another church, since they must  
5 not both visit the same church. Half the tithe is to go to the church he visits for services and half remains with the church to which *his* farm was allocated. If a man commits a crime at the homestead that he himself lives in, then he is to flee *immediately* from there and draw a peace circle elsewhere, if he wants peace and security, since they may not both live in the same farm. If a non-Gotlandic man kills  
10 another non-Gotlandic *man*, then he is to draw a circle in the same way as a Gotlander, if he lives on his own farm in Gotland.

### 13 Concerning the offering of compensation for a man

He is to offer compensation for the man, if he can afford it, when the year is past, and always leave a year between, and offer three times in three years. And *the other* is  
15 a man without dishonour if he accepts it the first *time* it was offered. If he does not wish to accept it the first *time* nor at the second, then he is to take it the third time, when three years have passed. If he will not accept it then, then they must be taken to the assembly, before all the people. He may still accept there, if he wishes. If he does not wish to, then all the people take counsel over {distribution of} the money, but he  
20 {i.e. the defendant} is then free from guilt. If the plaintiff says that the period had not expired, but the defendant who is offering the wergild says that it was, then the one who says that it had expired has the right to substantiate this, with the {supporting} evidence of three men who were at home with him at the farm and offered compensation three times in three years. And he is to confirm it with a twelve-man  
25 oath that there was always a year's grace allowed between each. If a man does not

wish to offer wergild and all the time limits have expired, the authorities shall deem him to be an outlaw, and liable to discharge the wergild on a specified day after a period of a month, and liable for six marks of silver to the plaintiff and another six to the authorities. The same fine applies to him who does not keep within his peace  
5 circle. There is no appeal against this: that not all the fine should be extracted.

[14] **14 Concerning inherited cases**

But concerning claims for {wergild} compensation inherited from father or brother or kinsmen, all shall negotiate compensation until such time as they are able to offer wergild. But the plaintiff can accept immediately, if he wishes, and not be  
10 dishonoured. If he does not *wish to* accept so quickly, then they must offer it three times before the same time the following year, and then take it to the assembly before all the people. He may [still], if he wishes, take the offer there, or else the whole assembly decides the sum of money, but they {i.e. the kinsmen} then become blameless.

15 <sup>[214]</sup>If two or more conspire together and kill one *man*, then they must all have the same peace circle until one of them admits to the killing.

A kinsman may take revenge, if he wishes, on behalf of a minor. All those who will inherit a portion with {him} and wish to do so {may} take revenge on behalf of a minor. Then it is avenged {lawfully} if any one of them takes revenge for him,  
20 whether male or female. That revenge is valid, just as if he himself took revenge. They shall also take the wergild, if the inheritor is young, when it has come to the time that the defendant who is involved in the case can make an offer of money, and free himself from it.

If a Gotlander kills a non-Gotlander and can afford to offer wergild, then he neither has to flee nor draw a peace circle. If a non-Gotlander kills a Gotlander, then he is not protected by a peace circle, unless he can afford to offer wergild.

If a minor causes the death of another, the fine is twelve marks of silver.

5 If a pregnant woman is killed and her child also dies and men can confirm with an oath that the child was alive in her womb, then her husband is to swear to it, if he is alive. If he is [not] alive, then the one most closely-related to her shall bear witness with three landowning Gotlanders from the same parish, and in addition so many as to make up twelve men, *all* of equal birth to her. Then the fine for the unborn child is  
10 twelve marks of silver, but for the woman a full wergild.

[15] **15 Concerning men's wergild**

Further, there are now men's wergilds. A Gotlandic man is to be compensated with a wergild of three marks in gold, if he is killed. All other men are to be compensated with ten marks of silver, except that a slave's wergild is to be paid at four and a half  
15 marks in coin. If a Gotlandic man marries a non-Gotlandic wife, her *full* wergild compensation is to be paid for her, but the children follow *their* father's family in the matter of compensation. If a non-Gotlandic man marries a Gotlandic woman, each keeps their own level of wergild compensation and the children follow their father's family *in the matter of compensation*.

20 [16] **16 Concerning wergild within the peace circle**

The wergild for a Gotlandic man within the peace circle is twelve marks of silver; that of a non-Gotlandic man *is* five marks of silver, and that of a slave is six öre in coin.

All are equal in the matter of fines, until maiming occurs. <sup>[215]</sup>If maiming occurs, then the hand or foot of a [non-]Gotlandic man is to be paid for with ten marks in coin, and similarly all other disfigurements, which are paid for with wergild.

If someone's slave kills a Gotlandic man, then the master is to take the killer bound  
 5 to {the claimant's} farm within forty days, and in addition nine marks of silver. If the  
 killer is not available, then he {i.e. the master} is to pay twelve marks of silver and no  
 more. If a slave kills a non-Gotlandic man, then his master is to pay two marks of  
 silver *for him* and lead the slave bound to the {claimant's} farm within forty days. If  
 the killer is not available, then he is to pay a fine of five marks of silver. And {in all  
 10 cases he is to} swear him a six-man oath that he neither advised nor caused the deed.  
 If the master cannot swear this oath, then he is to pay the full wergild, both for a  
 Gotlandic and a non-Gotlandic man. If a slave kills a slave, the master cannot be  
 compelled to give the killer in compensation, if he offers four and a half marks in  
 coin.

15 But a slave who has worked through his time of slavery is to embrace his freedom at  
 the church door with the witness of the parishioners and then the slave is himself  
 responsible for his actions.

#### [17] 17 Concerning unruly animals

A five-year-old entire ox also carries a liability for compensation of twelve marks  
 20 {of silver} on the farmer owing him, if he causes the death of a man. A horse must be  
 tied up, when one comes to visit a farmer, between the fourth pair of fence supports  
 from the entrance pillars, and four paces from the man's door. Then he {i.e. the  
 owner} is responsible for nothing except for the near fore {if he kicks out}, and his  
 teeth, if he bites. If you travel to a farm or to a storehouse, tie the horse to the gable  
 25 end or the back wall, then you will not be responsible for more than stated above. A

branded boar is the third, if he is over three years old and entire. A dog is the fourth. One is always responsible for everything, if he causes damage, whoever owns him. For these four dumb animals everyone is answerable on their own farm to the sum of twelve marks of silver {if they cause a death}.

- 5 If a dumb animal is the cause of the death of a man of lesser value than a Gotlander, then two thirds of his wergild is written off, but one third is paid by the owner of the beast. It is called 'wergild subject to claim' if a dumb animal causes the death of a man or maims him in the limb. One shall demand the wergild and not take revenge, lay a legal claim to it like other debts. If a dumb animal causes a man a wound or  
 10 maims him, then two thirds of the compensation is written off, but a third is paid by <sup>[216]</sup>the owner of the beast, *apart from a dog bite; then each tooth-mark, up to four, is paid with two öre.*<sup>16</sup>

[18] **18 If a man strikes a woman**

- If a man strikes a woman so that her unborn child is miscarried, and it was alive in  
 15 her womb, then the fine is half a wergild. If she accuses someone, but he denies it, then she is to prove it against him with three witnesses, those before whom she declared herself on the third day after she was struck, or those who were present, *and furthermore* landowning men, and the {supporting} evidence of two women that the child was stillborn after she had been struck. And herself bear witness to it, with a six-  
 20 person oath, that it had been alive.

- A woman must take care of her child at every feast, put it in its cradle and have it by her, or have it in her lap, or lay it on the bed and lie down herself. In that way every woman shall provide care for her child *for* three winters. If any man causes the death by misadventure of the child during this period of care, he is to pay the full wergild. If  
 25 a woman lays the child on the floor or *in* a chair unsupervised, or *lays it* on the bed,

*again unsupervised*, then no compensation is to be paid for the child come what may.

If a woman goes with a child into a bed in which drunken men are already lying and the child is smothered in the throng or by the bedclothes, then no compensation is to be paid for that child, even though the woman herself lay down.

**[19] 19 Concerning wounds<sup>17</sup>**

If a man wounds another, with one wound or several, a thumb-nail's breadth deep, then he is to pay half a mark for each thumb-nail's breadth, both in depth and in length, up to eight marks, and half less if it is not a thumb-nail's breadth deep, but still needs medical treatment. The man who received the wound shall get the witness of  
 10 two magistrates in the same hundred and one district judge from the same sixth and himself swear with six men, with their {i.e. the judges' supporting} evidence but not their oath, if the fine is more than three marks. If the fine is three marks or less, then it is a three-man oath. If he has more than one wound, then he may swear as he rather wishes, against one man or several, but to the same compensation. All wounds that  
 15 have penetrated the abdominal or breast cavity, are compensated with a mark of silver. If one man wounds another with a knife, he is to pay two marks of silver. If a man throws a stone or some other object at another and he is wounded as a result, he is to pay three marks. If a man is wounded with a blow, which does not cause blood to be spilt, so that the blow is visible, the compensation is half a mark <sup>[217]</sup>for each blow  
 20 up to four but with the same witness as for a {open} wound. If a man is wounded through his nose or lip, the compensation is two marks in coin and then for the facial defect if it has healed over. If it is open so that it cannot heal, then the highest compensation is paid in full. But for an ear, the compensation is halved. If one can see a scar or facial defect on the opposite side of the road and a hat or hood does not hide  
 25 it between beard and brow, the compensation is half a mark of silver. If it can be seen

right across the assembly, then the fine is a mark of silver and wound compensation in addition. A split scalp is paid for with one mark in coin. If the skull is visible, then the fine is two marks in coin. If the skull is indented or cracked, then it is a mark of silver. If the membrane is visible, the fine is two marks of silver.

- 5 For each bone, which rings in the bowl, there is a fine of a mark in coin for each up to four bones. Each larger bone splinter, which can carry an ell-long thread over a five ell-high beam, is subject to a fine of two marks in coin for each of up to four bones. Each finger, which is cut off, is subject to compensation of four marks in coin. A thumb is fined at two marks of silver. If a finger is so stiffened that it has no holding
- 10 power, then the fine is the same as if it were lost. If a man is damaged in one hand, but can still hold a sword or a sickle but cannot lift the weapon, then the fine is two marks [of silver. If a man is incapacitated so that he cannot walk or run, then the fine is two marks] of silver. If he is damaged in the sinew of the heel or neck, then the fine is *also* two marks [of silver. Each toe is fined at two marks] in coin, if it is lost. If a
- 15 hand or a foot is lost or an eye is out there is a fine of six marks of silver for each of them. If a man assaults another and cuts off both of his hands, or both of his feet, or pokes out both of his eyes, and the man *still* survives afterwards, the payment is twelve marks of silver for each. If a man has his nose cut off so that he cannot keep back his mucus or snot, the fine is also twelve marks of silver. If a man's tongue is
- 20 pulled out of his head and cut off, so that he cannot talk with it, then that also incurs a fine of twelve marks of silver. If a man is damaged in his genitals, so that he cannot father a child, then the fine is six marks of silver for each testicle. If both are damaged, then the fine is twelve marks of silver. If the [whole] penis is cut off, so that the man cannot satisfy a call of nature other than sitting like a woman, then the fine is
- 25 eighteen marks of silver.



*Each rib is to be fined at <sup>[218]</sup>two marks, up to four ribs. Cutting off or splitting a smaller bone in the hand or foot is fined at a mark in coin. If a larger bone is broken in either foot or hand, the fine is a mark of silver, if it heals without defect. If disability ensues, the fine is two marks of silver.*<sup>18</sup>

5 If a man has a visible blow on the hand, and says that he has lost the use of it, then he is to prove this with the same witnesses as for a wound. If there is no visible blow, then the defendant has the right to substantiate his denial. It is the least deformity in the hand, if one cannot tolerate heat or cold as previously. That is fined at a mark in coin and it is to be verified by self-witness.

10 If the hearing is struck out of a man's head with a visible blow so that he can neither hear a dog on its leash nor a cockerel on its perch, nor a man when he calls at the door, the fine for that is twelve marks of silver and he is to prove this himself with a six-man oath and with the same witnesses as for a wound. If a man's hearing is damaged in one ear so that he does not hear with it, if he covers the other, then the  
 15 fine is six marks of silver. If a man's ear is cut off, the fine is *one mark of silver*.<sup>19</sup> *But if the ear is damaged, then the fine is two marks in coin. If you strike a man's teeth from his head, then you pay a fine for each tooth according to its worth: the two upper front teeth are fined at two marks in coin each, the two next to them at one mark in coin each, and then each at a mark in coin including molars and all. But the*  
 20 *lower teeth are all valued at a half less from first to last.*<sup>20</sup>

If you take a man by the hair with one hand, you are fined two öre. If you use both hands, you are fined half a mark. If you shake a man, you are fined two öre. If you push a man you are fined two öre. If you throw ale in a man's eyes you are fined eight örtugar for the insult. *If you kick a man you are fined two öre.* If you punch someone  
 25 with your fist, you are fined two öre. If you admit to one blow then he has the right to

substantiate an accusation of four blows. If you do not confess, then you have the right to substantiate your denial as the defendant. If you strike a man with a staff the fine is half a mark for each blow up to two marks. A man is not fined more from his property for a blow, which does not cause blood to be spilt, unless disability ensues.

5 That is the law of the Gotlanders.

## 20 Concerning bald patches

*A man's beard is subject to the same fines as other hair pulling.* For a bald patch on which one can put a finger the fine is eight örtugar. If you can put two fingers in it, the fine is half a mark. If there is place for the thumb as a third, the fine is one mark in  
 10 coin. If the bald patch is so large that the flat of the hand can be put on it, then the fine is two marks in coin. <sup>21</sup>*If<sup>[219]</sup>all the hair is pulled off, the fine is one mark of silver, but one does not pay more even if each hair is pulled out. If a piece of scalp and hair is cut from a man's head the fine is one mark of silver.*

## 21 If you tear apart someone's clothing

15 If you tear apart a man's clothing, the fine for outer garments is one öre. The kirtle is two öre, undergarments eight örtugar, and all the man's clothes are to be repaired and as good as they were before. Undergarments are a man's vest and shirt, trousers and hat. All cost the same, whichever is torn. If the skin is involved and a wound is caused, you are fined both for the wound and the clothing.

## 20 22 Concerning open wounds and closed wounds

A man is to be answerable for open wounds for a year and a day. If a man is wounded with a blow, which does not cause blood to be spilt, and lies in the same bed and does not get up in the interim, but still has full use of his senses, then he is to take the witness of four landowning men and three district judges from the same sixth and  
 25 as many more as to make up twelve. If he does not have full use of his senses, then his heir has the right of substantiation of the case, with the same {supporting} evidence.

But if he gets up in the interim, the defendant has the right of substantiation of his denial.

### 23 If someone blocks another's way

If a man blocks another's way, grasps a *horseman's* bridle, or takes a pedestrian by the shoulders and turns him from his path, then he is fined eight örtugar for the insult. But if he does violence to him and forces him to go further with him {in the opposite direction}, then he is to pay him three marks for the violence and *another* three marks to the community.

### 24 If slaves fight

If someone's slave fights with a free man, then if *he* {i.e. the slave} always receives two blows to one {against the other}, then it is considered even between them. If the slave gets more blows than two against one, then each blow up to four is fined at two öre. If the free man gets more *blows* than one against two, then each *blow to him* up to four is fined at half a mark. If the slave gets a jerking or a shaking or a pushing, then the fines to him are always half those to the free man. If it comes to wounds, then the fines are the same as to a free man, up to three marks and no more. No one pays fines for insults to a slave and similarly a slave does not pay fines for insult to anyone.<sup>22</sup>

### [20] 25 Concerning all inheritances

If there are minors, who are young, after their father's death, and also sons who are grown men, then the eldest must not part from the youngest, although need may arise, before he is of age. They are all to have enjoyment of everything undivided until he is fifteen years of age. <sup>[220]</sup>Then he is to take his scrip and his scales and each have responsibility for himself, if they no longer wish to be together. If need arises, so that they have to part with land to buy food before they are all of age, an equal amount shall be taken in pledge from each, the eldest as well as the youngest, and [not] sell it

outright. Should someone take the young minor as a ward, however, whether a male or a female, and feed him until he is of age, then he {i.e. the minor} keeps his portion, although the others are forced to part with their land to buy food. If a father marries his son off and the son dies and leaves behind daughters, they shall remain in their grandfather's care and await their portion. If the head of the family dies and there are  
 5 no surviving sons, the daughters and sons' daughters divide the inheritance according to their numbers. If the man has other sons, the {deceased} son's daughters inherit their father's portion between them. In the same way inheritance is passed from the father's mother if she lives longer than her son. If an heiress has inherited land, then  
 10 the one inherits from the other however many generations there might be, whether male or female, while her descendants exist. When the line has run out and has included two male descendants but not a third, then the inheritance reverts to the farm from which it first came. If it has included a third and all three follow each other, then *it* remains with the farm to which it has come, even if the line has died out. If an  
 15 heiress has inherited her portion and leaves no sons, then the next of kin inherits. If both are equally close, a man and a woman, then the man inherits and not the woman.

### 26 If the male line is broken

If there are no sons on the farm, then the daughter inherits her maternal inheritance and her father's maternal inheritance after her father. If her paternal aunts survive,  
 20 married or single, then they take {a share in} her father's maternal inheritance. If some are unmarried, they take an eighth of the monetary value of the paternal inheritance {of their niece} after debts have been paid.

<sup>23</sup>If there are no sons in the farm, then the kinsmen each inherit *their* per capita share with the daughters to the fourth generation. If {the relationship} is more remote, then  
 25 they take an eighth part after debts are paid and the women's portions are discharged.

A woman, however, takes as much from the farm as she has put in, if it is written down in the first year. If it is not written down, *then* the farm has the right of substantiation of its case.

If there is no male heir and a widow remains at the farm, then she is to have, as keep  
5 at the farm for a year, a bushel of rye and another bushel of barley each month, if she  
does not die or marry away. But as to the property that she brought to the farm, she  
takes out of the farm that which she brought to it. If a woman marries into several  
[221]farms and has children in several, then children {in one} inherit their maternal  
inheritance {the same} as children {in another}, both land and movables. And  
10 brothers receive for their *full* sisters, whether they are married or unmarried. If a  
woman is married out of the farm with a dowry and has no male heir, then it {i.e. the  
dowry} reverts to the farm from which she married. If there are no male heirs to the  
farm then the next of kin inherits, whether male or female, but in the case of a woman  
no further than the fourth generation. If they are both of equal degree, however, the  
15 man inherits. It is also the law that a woman inherits consolation and provision from  
her husband. If she stays for a longer time on the farm with her sons and her sons die,  
leaving no male heir after them, before eight years have elapsed, she takes a mark in  
coin for each year while her sons lived. And if she marries again while her sons are  
still alive, she is to receive consolation and provision and no more. A widow who is  
20 childless is to have board and lodging, if she wishes, in the same farm into which she  
married. If she does not want this, she is to have half a mark in coin for each year up  
to sixteen years and receive it as the years go by.

### 27 Concerning women's inheritance

But in the case of female inheritance, a daughter or daughter's children inherit. *If*  
25 *there are none of these, then the sister or sister's children inherit.* If there are none of

these, then the father's sister or father's sister's children inherit. If there are none of these, then the next blood relatives down to the fourth generation inherit, but no further. If there are none of these, the female inheritance remains in the farm estate with the kinsmen. If there are no male heirs and it has passed to the female line, whether it is through a brother or a sister, and they are both equal in blood relationship, then they both inherit. Should both father and son be burned alive in the same house, or both drown in the same ship, or both fall in the same battle, then sisters are considered equal to daughters. If more than one son survives a man and the family grows from all of them, but {it happens that} one dies without sons, then all {the others} are equally near in inheritance down to the fourth generation. Anyone who sells his ancestral home and disposes of everything within the farmstead will be separated from inheriting with the kinsmen and brothers and will be assigned the wergild of a non-Gotlander. But his sons will remain within the line of inheritance and the legal rights of their kinsmen, if they obtain land again worth three marks in rent.

## 28 Concerning illegitimate children

No illegitimate son can obtain the right to inheritance unless *it is the case that* both his father and mother are trueborn Gotlanders, and he confirms it with what is written in a genealogical table, to the effect that three successive female ancestors are trueborn Gotlanders. Then the son of the third in line can inherit with the kinsmen. If a Gotlandic man begets an illegitimate child with a Gotlandic woman and he has no {legitimate} male heir and he is survived by illegitimate children, sons and daughters, then they divide their paternal movables according to their number with the legitimate daughters, <sup>[222]</sup>if there are any. If there are none, then *they* divide their father's movables amongst each other according to their number. But if a Gotlandic man

begets illegitimate sons with a non-Gotlandic woman, then he must support them until they are of age. If they do not wish to remain with their father any longer, then he is to give three marks in coin to each of them and battle weapons and bedclothes, bedcover and under-blanket and pillow and fifteen ells of broadcloth for walking-clothes. If he  
5 has illegitimate daughters, then he must support them until they are eighteen years of age; he has the right to give them in marriage if someone requests it. But if they remain unmarried and no longer wish to remain with their father when eighteen years have passed, then he must give a mark of silver to each, and bed- and walking clothes and a cow according to his means. The rights of illegitimate children must always be  
10 administered with the witness or corroboration of the parishioners.

If a Gotlandic man begets an illegitimate daughter with a non-Gotlandic woman and if someone is charged with violation of that illegitimate daughter, then he {i.e. the violator} is to give her as consolation four marks in coin, whether he [is] Gotlandic or non-Gotlandic. If a man is found *in flagrante delicto* with this daughter, then he must  
15 redeem his hand or foot with three marks of silver. If a Gotlandic woman gets an illegitimate daughter with a non-Gotlandic man, then she has the same rights as have just been laid out.

[20a] **29 Concerning the discovery of illicit intercourse**

If a man is discovered *in flagrante delicto* with an unmarried Gotlandic woman,  
20 then he may be placed in the stocks and be captive for three nights and send word to his kinsmen. They are then to redeem his hand or his foot with six marks of silver or {the wronged party can} have it cut off if he {i.e. the miscreant} cannot afford to redeem it. If he is not discovered *in flagrante delicto* with her, but if a child is born to him and the woman says that the child is his, but he denies it, then he is to take two  
25 resident men from the same parish as the woman was in when the child was

conceived and swear, with a six-man oath, that they never heard word or rumour of the matter before the child was born. Then the right to substantiate his denial is in his favour, if he enlists two resident men. If he fails and does not get the right to substantiate his denial, then the woman has the right to substantiate her accusation  
 5 with six men, *all* of equal birth with her, that he is father to the child. And he is then to adopt the child and take responsibility for the mother, if he is willing. If he does not wish to or cannot, then he is to give her full consolation if she is a Gotlander. If a Gotlandic man is discovered *in flagrante delicto* with a non-Gotlandic woman, then she is to have three marks from him <sup>[223]</sup>but only if he is discovered *in flagrante*  
 10 *delicto* where her bed and home are. If a non-Gotlandic man is discovered *in flagrante delicto* with a Gotlandic woman, then he is to pay the same fine as a trueborn Gotlander. If he is not discovered in the act but nevertheless begets a child with her, he is to give her eight marks in consolation and bring up the child himself. If the woman says the child is his but he denies it, then he is to defend himself with the  
 15 same {supporting} evidence as a Gotlander. But the child is to be raised by those who have the right to collect the consolation, father or brother, if she is unmarried. If a non-Gotlandic man begets a child with a non-Gotlandic woman, then he also is to give her consolation of three marks and raise his child. If he is discovered *in flagrante delicto with her*, then he is also to give her three marks, even if there is no child.

20 [21] **30 If a man commits adultery**<sup>24</sup>

If a man commits adultery, he pays three marks to the assembly and six marks to the complainant. If a man commits double adultery[, whether a priest or] a layman, then he pays twelve marks to the authorities and another twelve marks to the complainant. If a married man commits adultery with an unmarried woman, he is to pay her  
 25 consolation. If a lawfully married woman commits adultery with an unmarried man,



he is not to pay her consolation. If a man is discovered *in flagrante delicto* with another man's wife, priest or layman, then he is liable for forty marks or his life *and the complainant decides, however, which he would prefer, the money or his life*. If a man seduces another man's daughter or one of his wards into betrothal without the authority of her father or kinsmen, then he must pay forty marks to the complainant; of this the authorities take twelve marks. If a man takes a woman or maid {in marriage} by force or violence, without the authority of her father or kinsmen, then those who prosecute her case shall decide between his neck or wergild, if the woman is Gotlandic; of this the authorities take twelve marks. If the woman is not Gotlandic, then those who prosecute her case shall decide between his neck and ten marks of silver; of this the authorities take twelve marks {in coin}.

[22] **31 If a woman is dishonoured on the road**<sup>25</sup>

If a woman is dishonoured in a wood or elsewhere and forced into sexual intercourse, she must pursue the man with a shout, if she does not want to endure the shame, and follow him to where he goes. If someone hears her cry, <sup>[224]</sup>he must provide her with full and complete evidence, as if he had been present and was an eyewitness. If no one hears her cry, she must declare her case before witnesses immediately on the first day, in the place where she comes to habitation and say the name of the man. She can also benefit from their evidence, if their witness is valid. If she delays and does not make an accusation, then it is best to remain silent about it. The defendant has the right to substantiate his denial. If a man is found guilty of such an offence and there is evidence for the woman, then he is fined twelve marks of silver for a Gotlandic woman but for a non-Gotlandic *woman* five marks of silver and for a slave woman six öre in coin. If the case involves a lawfully married woman, Gotlandic or non-Gotlandic, then he forfeits his life or redeems himself with as much

wergild as the woman is worth. If the woman does not know the man, but declares her case before witnesses on the first day after she has come to habitation, and then claims to have known the man when a longer time has passed, he can then defend himself with a twelve-man oath if she is not pregnant. If she is pregnant and it happened at the time that she declared her rape before witnesses, she has the right to substantiate her accusation with a twelve-man oath and the witnesses before whom she declared her case. If a man's slave commits such a crime with a Gotlandic woman, it does not suffice that the master pays his wergild penalty, unless she would rather accept the wergild than his life.

[23] **32 Concerning attacks on women**

But concerning attacks on women, the law is as follows. If you strike the headdress or wimple from a woman's head so that it is not caused by accident and her head is half-bared, then you pay a mark in coin; if it is completely bared, you pay two marks in coin. She has the right to substantiate her accusation with the witnesses who saw it, to say whether her head was completely bared or half. An unfree woman, however, receives payment for blows, and no more. If you pull the buckle or clasp from a woman, you pay eight örtugar. If you pull both away, you pay half a mark. If it falls to the ground, *then* the fine is a mark. If you pull the laces from a woman, the fine is half a mark for each to the maximum fine. And you must give everything back to her. She is to confirm herself when all has been returned. If you push a woman so that her garments fly out of place, compared to how they were previously, the fine is eight örtugar. If they fly halfway up the shin, the fine is half a mark. If they fly up so high that one can see the kneecap, the fine is a mark in coin. If they fly up so high that one can see both loins and private parts, the fine is two marks. If you seize a woman by the wrist, you pay half a mark, if she wants <sup>[225]</sup>to lay a complaint. If you seize her by

the elbow, you pay eight örtugar. If you seize her by the shoulders, you pay five örtugar. If you seize her by the breast, you pay an öre. If you grasp her by the ankle, you pay half a mark. If you grasp her between the knee and calf, you pay eight örtugar. If you grasp her above the knee, you pay five örtugar. If you grasp her still  
5 higher up, that is an indecent grasp and it is called a madman's grasp; no cash compensation is payable for it; most will endure it when it has gone that far. If this happens to a non-Gotlandic woman, you pay her half the amount for all attacks compared to a Gotlandic woman, *if she is a free and freeborn woman*.

[24] **33 Concerning weddings**<sup>26</sup>

10 Concerning the procession of wagon-travellers, no more than two shall travel in each wagon; but the ride of the relatives is abolished. The nuptial mass is to be sung where the bridegroom is and the wedding breakfast is to be held. The bridegroom shall send three men to his bride and the chief bridal attendant shall wait where the nuptial mass is to be sung and the wedding breakfast held. And the wedding feast  
15 shall be held with drinking for two days with all the {invited} people and gifts are to be given by everyone who wants to according to their inclination. But contributions by the guests to the wedding feast have been abolished. On the third day they {i.e. the bridal couple} have the right to invite the wedding hosts and the masters of the feast and their closest kinsmen to stay. As many toasts as the householder wants shall be  
20 drunk prior to the toast to the Virgin Mary. But after the toast to the Virgin Mary, then everyone has permission to leave and further ale is not brought in. Everyone who breaks this rule must pay twelve marks to the authorities. And whoever comes uninvited to a wedding or feast is to pay three öre in coin.<sup>27</sup>

[24a] **34 Concerning funeral feasts**

All funeral feasts are abolished. But those who wish to may give clothes and footwear to the parishioners in memory of the deceased.

**35 Concerning women's rights**

5     <sup>28</sup>All fine woollen cloth and wall coverings of black cloth that exist are to be used, but no more are to be added to them once they are worn out, neither second-hand nor new.

Saddlecloths and riding cushions are not to be divided into smaller than quarters.

[24d] **36 Concerning Gotlandic women**

10     This is also stipulated concerning Gotlandic women: that each brother shall take responsibility for his sister's wedding. If he does not wish to do that, he must give *her* an eighth portion of his property to support herself under the supervision of his closest kinsmen and parishioners, so that she does not use her possession ill advisedly.

But concerning non-Gotlanders, then the stipulation is that two sisters should inherit  
15     the same as a brother. If the inheritance falls between siblings or the children of siblings, <sup>[226]</sup>they divide it like their paternal inheritance or their maternal inheritance. If it goes to more distant relatives, then those who are closest in blood inherit.

<sup>29</sup> [24f, 64] **37 Concerning travellers' pathways**

But this is the law concerning travellers' pathways: if a man owns land which  
20     nowhere borders a right of way, he shall have the right himself to cross {another's} open ground where the latter has a right of way. If he owns land bordering a right of way, that is open ground, he has no right of crossing over another's open ground. But if he has enclosed land, he has rights over another's open ground. If men wish to create grazing enclosures from grazing land by a road, they must leave a path  
25     {between the fences} fifteen paces in width. In that way they may protect their

enclosure, but not otherwise. If a man creates an enclosure across another's right of way, then he must create a gap for him and he is to have passage as before. If he fences across a path that is another man's lawful right of way, the one who owns the fence is to create the gap, but the one who owns the right of way is responsible for  
5 {the security of} the gap.

[25] **38 Concerning disputes over woodland**

If two men dispute about a wood, then one shall bring two types of evidence: the evidence of neighbours and evidence as to work. That one collected firewood in springtime, or cut fencing wood and laid it on stumps, or cut off branches and  
10 gathered them together and let them dry *there* until autumn, is sufficient evidence of work. He has the right to substantiate his case who has the stronger neighbours' evidence that work was done in the area. One of those who owns most shall present his oath first. If he does not wish to swear an oath, then his witness will not benefit either party. But concerning cultivated land one must also have two types of evidence:  
15 the evidence of {distant} kin and evidence as to work for three years. Those who own the neighbouring land shall provide the evidence as to work. If one owning neighbouring property disputes this, those shall bear witness, who own the property next nearest. Kin witness is not borne by anyone nearer related than the fourth generation.

20 If cultivated land and woodland and marshland meet, then {the settlement containing} the *cultivated* land takes two thirds and {that containing} the woodland and marshland a third {of the unclaimed land}. Woodland and marshland then take half each of infertile land where they meet between stump and tufts of sedge. And neither may *witness* concerning the other, not woodland with marshland and not  
25 marshland with woodland.

No man may give another leave to fell in shared woodland, or cut down fen sedge on shared marshland without being liable for a fine of three marks to <sup>[227]</sup>the injured party and another three to the community. No man may presume to work in another man's woodland or marshland without that which he travels with being legally taken  
5 from him, building material and draught animal. But if he says that the other has seized it illegally, he is to prove it with an eyewitness. Whoever gets an injury in a wood or other property, and if he wishes to suspect someone of something, then no one can decline another the right to conduct a search and inspection without a fine.

Anyone who damages boundary land inside or outside the enclosure is liable to a  
10 fine of three marks to the injured party and another three to the community. No man shall also presume to enclose shared property without being liable to three marks to the injured party and another three to the community. Everyone is responsible for the enclosure that he has fenced in; the one who owns the land bounding a road for the fence along the road. But the one that does not own land bounding a road is  
15 responsible for fences between fields or meadows. Everyone is to redress the damage caused by the fence for which he is responsible. If several own or keep a fence in a bad state, then all pay damages who do not have a lawfully acceptable fence. No one gets damages for his injury unless he himself keeps or owns a lawfully acceptable fence. No one may demonstrate damage on another's bad fence unless he himself has  
20 a good one.

### [26] 39 Concerning shared fences

If someone asks another for a shared fence, then he must tell him with a neighbour or parishioner as witness. And the parishioners shall decide each share within a week. You then take your share yourself with the neighbours as witness, if the other party  
25 does not wish to be present, and erect a fence in the place you are given your share.

And the other party *then* has a year's grace from the day of division. If {his} farm animals later get in, take them indoors and do not release them before the other pays for the damage and deposits half a mark towards the fence. He is to have the fence made good within a fortnight and then redeem his pledge. If he does not do this within  
5 a fortnight, then he loses his half mark and you take another half mark as pledge until the work is done. He must continue to pay for the damage as long as the fence is not made good. For 'good fences make good neighbours'.

Whoever takes a creature indoors is to answer for the creature until he has informed the one who owns it with the witness of neighbours. If he then does not wish to  
10 redeem the creature, then he must himself bear the damage if the creature is worse, or indeed dead. When all have been lawfully informed, the one <sup>[228]</sup>who has the bad fencing is answerable for the damage. If someone has an unruly animal and it breaks in through a lawfully acceptable fence, one must inform him with neighbours as witness and bid him tether his beast. If it subsequently does damage, then one must  
15 take the creature into the house, and he who owns the creature is to pay for the damage. If an ox breaks a fully tied fence, even if it is not lawfully acceptable, then you pay for the damage. If he jumps over it, you do not pay unless the fence is lawfully acceptable. An ox is lawfully tethered if it has a horn hobble around its hind foot and its horn. No fence is lawfully acceptable unless it is bound with two bands  
20 and is two and a half ells in height to the upper band, but this *nevertheless* applies to those creatures that jump over, and not to swine or those creatures that crawl underneath. Each must take care of geese and pigs themselves, provided that the {neighbour's} fence is lawfully acceptable.

**40 Whoever cuts wood illegally**

If a man cuts down wood illegally in enclosed woodland and travels there {to collect it}, then he is liable to three marks to the injured party and another three to the community. But if he carries it home from the wood, then he is liable to a fine of eight  
5 örtugar and complete restitution. If the wagon axel or other driving equipment breaks on the road, then a man may without penalty cut wood on another's land if he does not himself own land so near that he can see yoke and wagon, or draught horse and cart.

If you tear up another man's fence so that you break the upper tie, then you pay half  
10 a mark. But if you tear up a further fence section the fine is {a further} eight örtugar. If you tear up a third, the fine is {a further} four örtugar. If you tear a wide enough gap to drive through, *then* you are liable to a fine of two marks and no more. And you are to make good his fence again, equally good and long as it was before, and be responsible for any damage during the time it was down.

15 If you take a man's firewood or fencing wood or timber in his woodland, the fine is six öre. If the other has driven it to the road, then the fine is three marks, if one does not leave one's own behind. And you are to give the other all his own back, as good and as much, if you are found guilty of the crime. He is to confirm himself by oath when all has been returned.

**[27] 41 Concerning wells**

20 A well is the responsibility of the one on whose farm it is, unless a wheel or trapdoor covers it; then the one who goes away leaving it open is responsible. If you dig a well in your meadow or on another part of your land, you are to make the path and track equally good away from it as to it or you are responsible for a man's beast if  
25 it suffers injury.



<sup>[229]</sup> [28] **42 Concerning land purchase**

No one may sell land unless pressing need arises. Then he is to inform those kin most closely related and the parishioners and the family members, and they are to test the need. But whoever gives money for land without this test, they have forfeited their money and are to pay a fine of twelve marks to the authorities and another twelve to the close-related kin, who are invalidating the agreement. But property is never legally purchased without the discretion of the assembly members, and the kinsman's portion shall be offered for a year. With the same witnesses shall one pledge as purchase. If men divide property, they are to declare the division to the assembly, with both present. If someone disbelieves them, they are to investigate in the same year. When the close-related kin cannot purchase the property from the one who is forced to sell, then kinsmen from another branch of the family are to buy it, or {more distant} family members, with the same test as laid out above. But land may never be bought out of the family. If men, Gotlandic or non-Gotlandic, who are not in the same family, have land {in common} and are forced to sell, they are to sell to those who should inherit, if they are able. If they are not able, then the land must be bought by the men of the hundred in which the property lies. Whoever infringes against this, pays a fine of twelve marks to the authorities. When a man more distant than the nearest buys it, one must submit a kinsman's portion to the hundred assembly in which the land lies and, before one submits the portion, lawfully inform the one who is to take up the kinsman's portion, and who is outside the assembly area, in the presence of his own parishioners. If someone sells his land, then the kinsman's portion is to be taken up both by men and women who would inherit, but not those who share the use of the land with him. But {close} kinsmen, or men from another branch of the family are to buy the land. If they do not wish to, then the female

members are nearer than men outside the family. If, however, a man sells his land and buys other land of the same value to his benefit, then the kinsman's portion is not extracted. Land is {otherwise} never free of a kinsman's portion unless everyone makes a sale, or it is forfeited as wergild, or land bringing a mark in rent as a dowry is promised at the betrothal meeting, or it is forfeited as a fine for theft. If there are a number of brothers or brothers' children and they have divided their inheritance, or other close-related kin, and several sell their land, then none of them takes a kinsman's portion from the other, apart from the one most closely-related who retains his land.

#### 43 If someone is taken hostage

If someone is taken hostage and he ransoms himself with his land or property, then his kinsman is nearest to redeem it, if he wishes, and pay the money for it once the other comes home. If a farmer's son is captive, or a minor, no one may ransom him for more than three marks in <sup>[230]</sup>silver, unless authority exists from his father or kinsmen; and he is to receive {from them} a third for himself in addition to the sum he put down, in the same currency. But he does not have the right to more than three marks of silver if there is a dispute about it. But he who has inherited land and is not a minor is to take up his own case as best he may. What he does himself, stands. It is the law between countries that a foreigner never ransoms a Gotlander dearer than three marks of silver, unless he has the authority of his father or kinsmen, and he is to take a third in addition, in the same currency he has put down. If a brother travels abroad with undivided property and falls captive, then his brother is to ransom him {with money} from the undivided property. If he travels with divided goods then he is to ransom himself. A brother must ransom another from captivity as long as the property has not been divided between them.

If *some* profit falls to one {brother} more than to the other, or some find is made on his portion, then all should have a share, while {their property} is undivided. If brothers possess undivided property and one of them kills a man, then each is answerable for his actions: the one who killed pays the fine.

5

#### **44 Concerning the sons of Gotlanders**

No son of a Gotlandic father may have his property portion from his father, although he ask for it, unless his father is willing or he marries with his father's counsel and consent. If he wants to make division, then he takes his personal share in money after the drawing up of accounts, but his father is then to keep his farm undivided and he is  
 10 to give his son the land rent from it, as well as his personal share in money; and the son is himself to have the authority to go where he wishes. If they have several farms, then the son is to go to one of them at the drawing up of accounts, if he wishes, so long as the father does not prove to be unreasonable. If a non-Gotlandic man has married or unmarried sons, they are never to get a division of property from their  
 15 father, unless the father proves to be unreasonable.

#### **[29] 45 Concerning debts**

Whoever gets into debt ill advisedly forfeits his portion and no more. And no one is to pay out a debt after his death more than his own means can bear.

#### **[30] 46 Concerning surety**

20 If you take surety from a man for a true debt, then you are to summon him to the church or the assembly, and he is to redeem it at the legal time, otherwise the parishioners *or the men of the assembly* will make a valuation.

#### **<sup>[231]</sup> [31] 47 Concerning assemblies**

This is also agreed: that all assemblies shall commence before midday. Magistrates  
 25 shall judge at the hundred assemblies. Whichever of them does not arrive by midday

pays three öre to the assembly. If none of them has arrived by midday, they are liable to three marks to the first one to bring a case forward and another three to the community. But judgements may not be judged *longer* and oaths not taken later than sunset. Whoever infringes this pays a fine according to the level of the assembly. The  
5 sixth assembly may not impose a fine of more than three marks, and the riding assembly up to six marks and the general assembly up to twelve marks. If the cases concern ownership, then any one is lawfully dismissed who does not come at the same time that the assembly is held.

[32] **48 Concerning a money claim**

10 If a claim for money arises between men, then neither gets a higher oath from the other than from six men if disagreement arises between them. But {it may be} from up to eighteen men in respect of land disputes, if there is disagreement relating to {land to the value of} as much as a mark in gold, and similarly although more is involved. If they disagree {about the value involved}, then the hundred's magistrates  
15 shall decide without an oath, if the disagreement concerns a mark in gold, and he {i.e. the plaintiff} is *now* to take the initial summons with a month's grace from then. If he {i.e. the defendant} wishes to postpone this, he must postpone it within the first fortnight's [period and move it by another fortnight's period] forward to the third. When disputes concern {land to the value of} less than a mark in gold, then a six-man  
20 summons shall be taken out initially for a fortnight. If he {i.e. the defendant} wishes to postpone this, then he is to postpone it before a week is up, and move it by another week forward to the third. But summonses may not be moved by more without the agreement of both parties.

**[32a] 49 Concerning the purchase of slaves<sup>30</sup>****[232] [33] 50 If you buy an ox<sup>31</sup>**

If you buy an ox, then try him for three days. Two faults may be found with him {to warrant his return}. One is if he does not pull, the other if he breaks out.

5 If you buy a cow, *then* test her for three milkings. Two faults may be found with her. One is if she kicks so that she cannot be milked, the other if she is lacking in milk.

**[34] 51 If you buy a horse<sup>32</sup>**

10 If you buy a horse, then try him for three days and lead him back with the fault if you find one. Three faults may be found with a horse. One is if he is moonblind, the second is if he bites, the third if he kicks out with his forefeet. If you have him for longer, then the vendor is not to take him back, although faults are found, unless he himself wishes.

**[35] 52 Concerning horses<sup>33</sup>**

15 If you take a man's horse at pasture or elsewhere, without leave of him who owns it, and ride *it* or drive it, then you pay three marks to the complainant and another three to the community, if you are found guilty of being on the horse's back, and always return everything undamaged. If you take a man's horse tied to a fence and do not leave one behind, you also pay three marks to the complainant and another three to  
20 the community, unless you have made a mistake and left another one behind. If you have made a mistake, then you pay eight örtugar and bring him back home unharmed before the third day.

**[36] 53 Concerning the care of ships**

And concerning the care of ships, the law is as follows: merchant ships, those that  
25 have thirteen ribs in them and three crossbeams, these are to be cared for out on the

beach. <sup>[233]</sup>But a cargo vessel shall be fastened through a bollard or rib or through a plank to a house in which people are sleeping. There must be a padlock and a key, which the housewife or farmer carries. The chain is to be no more than three links in length and the fourth shall be an iron crosspiece. Each link shall weigh two marks or stretch over three ribs. And one is not responsible for the action of the sea. If someone finds an unattended small vessel out on the shore, then the one who has found it takes possession of it, if the other {i.e. the owner} is not so near that he hears his shout, if he has shouted three times. A boat is not to be without supervision, otherwise whoever wishes may take it. If someone takes a man's boat, which is at the landing-place, and takes it out, then he is to pay a fine as if he had ridden another man's horse.

[37] **54 Concerning house searches**

If men come to a man's farm and ask to search the house, then no one else can forbid the search. If he wishes to have his neighbours present, then they must wait for them, if they do not wish to do him an injustice. Each is to nominate a man to go inside. They are to go in loosely girded and coatless to perform the search. If someone denies another a search, then his door is not protected, and he receives no recompense {if someone forces their way in}, even if no stolen goods are found inside. If something is found inside of that which they have a suspicion about, they are to enquire about its acquisition. If he confesses at once and explains his acquisition, the warrant for ownership must be traced {to the assignor} and his acquisition tested. If he gets full corroboration from the person to whom he first referred {as assignor}, then he is innocent in the case. If he acquired the goods from another and did not know that they were acquired [illicitly] then, if the one to whom he has traced the goods {i.e. the assignor} takes responsibility, he himself is then free of suspicion. If the other denies it, then he has to take evidence from those who were there {at the

purchase or receipt}. This evidence will condemn him {i.e. the assignor} if he cannot lawfully defend himself. If someone carries stolen goods to a man's farm and house, which has a lock, and means in that way to betray him, then he is to forfeit everything that he carried in. And then he is to pay wergild to him, as much as he to whom he  
 5 took the goods is worth, and in addition three marks to the assembly. But if he did this to a Gotlandic man, then he pays a fine of twelve marks to the authorities.

[38] **55 Concerning the law of thieves**

And concerning the law of thieves the legislation is this: whoever steals two öre or less than two öre, pays a six-öre fine for petty larceny. If he steals between two öre  
 10 and a mark of silver, he will be taken before the assembly and marked <sup>[234]</sup>and be committed to pay {the victim's} wergild. If he steals again after he has been marked, although it be less, then he shall be hanged. *If he steals as much as a mark of silver or more, then he shall also hang.*<sup>34</sup>

<sup>[235a]</sup> [39] **56 Concerning insults**

15 There are four insults relating to a man: thief and murderer, violent robber and murdering arsonist. And of a woman there are five: thief and murderer, adultery and witchcraft and murdering arsonist. When someone is subjected to such insults, then he is to travel to the farm of the one who has spoken the insult and lawfully summon him to the church and request that he take back the words, which were spoken in the heat  
 20 of the moment, in a quarrel, or in drunkenness. If he denies it, he is to swear with three men before parishioners that he never said those words. If he cannot substantiate the oath, then he pays a fine of three öre and restores the man's honour with a three-man oath in church. If a man abuses another with *such* insults before the whole parish or at the assembly or at a summons and does not get their veracity proved, then he  
 25 pays a fine to the other of three marks and restores his honour with a six-man oath at

the assembly. This {type of case} shall be prosecuted at the lawful time in respect of women as well as men.

[40] **57 Concerning small unbranded livestock**

If unbranded small livestock come to someone, then he is to take it to church and to  
 5 one assembly. If it is not recognised, then he is to let it be valued and take an assembly fee in respect of it and the parishioners shall divide what is over.

[41] **58 Concerning swine**

If swine larger than piglets come to someone, branded or unbranded, he is to take them to two assemblies and the third time to the riding assembly, <sup>[236]</sup>and receive an  
 10 örtug for *each* assembly. If it is not recognised, then the parishioners shall value it and he takes an assembly fee from it, and the parishioners divide what is over.

[42] **59 Concerning tame sheep**

If tame sheep come to someone, he is to take them to two assemblies and the third time to the riding assembly and declare them for three years and claim a fee such as  
 15 has previously been the custom for the riding. But any offspring shall go to the one who has fed them.

[43] **60 Concerning entire *unshorn* rams**

If an unshorn entire ram comes to someone, he takes an örtug in redemption fine {from the owner}. If he is not identified, then he takes a fee as for other sheep.

20 [44] **61 Concerning *entire* shorn rams**

If a *shorn* entire ram gets loose after the feast of St Simon and St Jude, up to the time that it is usual to release them, then he has rendered himself forfeit by wandering. But one shall nevertheless offer him back to the one who released him with his parishioners as witness. If he does not wish to redeem him, then the one who



captured him can have him, and put his brand on him, with his own parishioners as witness.

[45] **62 Concerning nanny- and billy goats**

One must declare billy-goats and nanny-goats for two years, then they shall be  
 5 redeemed: a nanny for six pence for each assembly and a billy for an örtug.

[45a] **63 Concerning cattle and draught horses**

Cattle and horses must be declared at two assemblies and the third time at a riding  
 assembly for three years. If not identified at the first assembly, they must be valued  
 and then declared, and the finder is to have two örtugar for each assembly. Those  
 10 cattle or horses that can be worked, they may be with the knowledge of the  
 parishioners. But one is not to travel to Visby with them, but ride *with them* to the  
 assembly, or lead them, and remove their saddle and tie them up so far away that one  
 can see the assembly-site poles, with all the animals that are to be declared.

<sup>[237]</sup> [46] **64 Concerning [re-]brands<sup>35</sup>**

15 Whoever puts a brand [on] another's creature without having bought it or received it  
 as dowry and is found guilty, he is fined three marks.

[47] **65 Concerning fields**

If several men own a field between them and some wish to let it lie fallow and some  
 to sow it, the ones who own more of it have the say and are to declare, before the feast  
 20 of the Annunciation {March 25th}, which they would prefer to do, allow it to lie  
 fallow or sow it. If the tenants exchange farms, the one who moves away receives six  
 pence for each bushel-land from the one who comes in, for those fields that he may  
 not sow. And at haymaking time they are to make room, each for the other, space for  
 as many hay loads as the farmland is worth in marks.

**[48] 66 Concerning turnip fields**

Every farmer who has arable land is to leave a bushel-land for turnips every year. But those who have no arable land, but have a house, must have half a bushel-land for turnips, and the one who owns the land is to put it to the yoke. Everyone who does not  
5 adhere to this is liable to a fine of three öre to the parish. And every parish, which does not enforce this, is liable to a fine of three marks when it comes before the assembly.

**[49] 67 Concerning shipwrecks**

If a man finds jetsam on land, then he is to retain every eighth penny of the find. If  
10 he finds flotsam at sea and it needs boat and oars {to salvage it}, or he finds it on the seabed and it needs boat hook and grapnel, then he retains a third of his find. If he finds it out of sight of land, then he retains a half of what he has found.

**[50] 68 Concerning fire**

If the misfortune occurs that injury results from a fire, which is laid in the hearth or  
15 *in* the kitchen, and flies to another farm and does damage, the fine is three marks, if the damage is up to three marks. If several farms are damaged, then they must all be satisfied with those three marks.

**[51] 69 Concerning carried fire**

When injury results from carried fire, then the one who carried the fire pays half his  
20 own wergild. When this results from the actions of a minor, then the one who sent him pays.

**[238] [52] 70 Concerning road repair<sup>36</sup>**

It is also agreed that roads shall be made good every year in all parishes. Every parish, which does not make good its roads, pays a fine of three marks to the  
25 assembly.

**[53] 71 Concerning tax**

It is also agreed, if one must collect taxes for the requirements of the province, then they should be collected according to the value in marks, both from property and money and not of manufactured valuables.

**[54] 72 Concerning the watch**

Everyone who is twenty years old shall sit watch and he shall provide himself with a weapon, and answer for all expenses, and pay the watch-money in Holy Week.

**[55] 73 Concerning houses and household servants**

Anyone who raises a house without the permission of the parish is liable to a fine of three marks to the parish and is to pull it down the same year. Anyone who takes in household members, without the permission of the parish, is liable to a fine of three öre.

**[56] 74 Concerning harvesters**

Each harvester, who is in the pay of the farmer and who goes away from the farm on a working day without the permission of his employer, is to pay back an örtug for each day of his hire and complete the {missing} day's work.

**[56a] 75 Concerning those who have no arable land**

Each person that has no arable land in the parish has no excuse for not harvesting seed for the farmer. And they are to receive six pence for each bushel-land of corn and five pence for rye and oats, and they feed themselves. And the farmer instructs them with the right of law. Each one who refuses {to work} is liable to a fine of three öre.

**[57] 76 Concerning squirrels**

Anyone who catches a squirrel before the feast of St Simon and St Jude {28th October} and after the feast of the Annunciation {25th March} pays a fine of three

marks. And no one is to catch a squirrel within an enclosure without the owner's leave.

[239] [58] **77 Concerning hares**

No one is to catch hares with a gin after the feast of the Annunciation or before the  
5 feast of St Simon and St Jude without risking a fine of three marks.

[59] **78 Concerning tree-fruit**

This is also agreed that all tree-fruit shall be protected until the feast of the Birthday  
of the Blessed Virgin Mary {8th September}. Whoever infringes this pays three öre to  
the parishioners. Of this the one [who] brings the action takes half. If a minor  
10 infringes this, the fine is less by a half.

[60] **79 Concerning failure to say mass**

It is also an ancient law that for every failure to say mass on a Sunday or other  
Saint's day, the priest is liable to a fine of three marks to the rural dean, and another  
three marks to the parish. If the failure to say mass should be on Friday or other feast  
15 day on which nine lessons should be read or held, then the priest is liable to twelve  
öre to the dean and another twelve to the parish.

[61] **80 Concerning gambling**

Gambling is prohibited. Whoever gambles is liable to a fine of three öre to the  
parish. If the parish does not wish to prosecute, then the parish is liable to a fine of  
20 three marks to the assembly.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>38</sup>It is also agreed that it is the law, which is written here. All men should abide by  
this. If some occurrence should take place, which is not to be found herein, *then* it  
must be decided by the majority of judges, and [they] are to swear that these are  
proper laws of the Gotlanders, and then they are to be written down here.

[62] *Here is what was most recently taken concerning bald patches*

*If the bald patch is more than the flat of the hand will cover, then the liability is a mark of silver. If every hair is gone, then the liability is two marks of silver.*

[240] [63] **82 Concerning woodland**

5     Whoever cuts wood in another man's woodland, within an enclosure or without, and travels there, is liable to three marks in coin and makes full restitution. Whoever pulls down another's fence in order to pass through it, is liable to three marks in coin. Whoever passes illegally over another's property, is liable to three öre. If someone tears an opening in another's fence, he is liable to the same.

10    Concerning all land held in pledge: {it is laid down that} it is to be redeemed or taken in payment {of the debt} in the same expiry period, or be pledged again then. Whoever misappropriates land valued at three marks rent, without coercion, has forfeited his neck and his wife her place in church and she must stand at the back, in the belfry.

<sup>39</sup>*To in-laws and wagon-riders no more than three toasts are to be drunk, and no vessel*  
 15 *larger than at the most a half bowl goes in it. And whoever abuses this, is liable to a double fine and twelve marks to the authorities.*<sup>40</sup>

<sup>41</sup> [240a] [65] **35 Concerning women's rights**

Concerning the rights of women it is also agreed that they should take cattle up to five pair, draught horses and sheep as many as they brought to the farm {at their wedding}. All gilding  
 20 is abolished except on buckles. Gilded copper shall be melted down where it is found. Golden headdresses and satin ribbons, other than plaited laces, are all abolished. Old gilded vessels and belts are permissible, such as are there, but {one is} not to add to them {i.e. by purchasing more}. The dowry shall be two marks in gold, and no more: no more may be given and no more requested. Wall coverings of blue cloth are abolished and wedding  
 25 canopies, and nothing may be given between farms except in white linen. Fine woollen cloth is also abolished. No one may buy fine woollen cloth, *neither new nor old*, and no one may at the time of the marriage exchange it between farms, but keep it at the original farm.<sup>42</sup>

*Silver bands and underskirt decorations are also abolished.*

<sup>43</sup>*Buying on credit from town-dwellers is also forbidden. No one is to buy more than he can afford to pay for. Whoever infringes any of this is liable to a fine of twelve marks to the authorities.*

## ADDITIONS

1. (*B*: Chapter 4, Note 13. Cf. Pipping 1901, 9-11; *CIG*, 104: Additamenta 1, 2.)

[207a] And then furthermore all the subsequent generations, both female and male, they are always treated as Gotlandic families, unless he marries beneath him and so  
 5 [208] debases his birth {i.e. by marrying a slave}; and his rights are also the same as farmers or the children of farmers. If the lay son of a priest commits a crime or commits manslaughter, he must defend the claim for compensation himself while he lives, whether he is at home or abroad.

If a man commits a crime, whether ordained or not, no one shall be fined more on  
 10 another's behalf, than his {i.e. the wrongdoer's} resources can cover.<sup>44</sup> If he {i.e. the wrongdoer} dies and an ordained man inherits the claim for {wergild} compensation after him, he is to offer compensation immediately, since no priest may negotiate compensation in a case, and the other may accept this at once without shame, if he wishes, since it is not right for him to kill an ordained man, or to bear him ill-will. If he  
 15 does not wish to accept compensation, {the priest} must take the claim to the general assembly, where the other may accept it if he wishes; otherwise all the people decide on the compensation, but he {i.e. the priest} shall then be free of guilt. If he {i.e. the claimant} should take revenge when it {i.e. compensation} has been offered, he is to pay the full wergild, and forty marks to the general assembly.

20 If two brothers inherit a claim for compensation, the one ordained and the other not, and the ordained brother wants to pay compensation, and the other does not, then the ordained brother is to leave his personal share with a surety man, whom the general assembly shall nominate, and then be protected, and the other, who did not wish to pay compensation, shall defend the claim. If wergild is offered, then each is to  
 25 pay his personal share.

If an ordained man, who may not take revenge, inherits a claim for {i.e. to receive} compensation, he must accept compensation immediately, when it is offered. If he

does not want to accept compensation, but prefers to take revenge, then the other {i.e. the defendant} must take it before all the people at the general assembly. There he can still accept it if he wishes, otherwise they {i.e. the assembly members} shall be responsible for the payment, and the {accused} man shall be guiltless. If he does  
 5 not want to offer the ordained man compensation, then the latter is to go before all the people at the general assembly and there plead his case, saying, 'I am a priest, and ordained to the service of God; I may not take part in blows or battle; I will take compensation if it is offered, but I will not be put to shame.' Then the people of the general assembly shall study {the case}, and compel the man to offer him  
 10 compensation, just as he {i.e. the priest} would be forced to pay compensation to others, since a priest can neither demand compensation, nor answer a demand for compensation, without Christianity falling into disrepute.

2. (*B*: Chapter 17, Note 16. Cf. Pipping 1901, 23; *CIG*, 107: Additamentum 3.)

[241] In respect of cattle and draught horses and swine, a man shall not be liable for  
 15 more than the animal is worth, if it causes injury to someone. If it is an unruly animal and someone {i.e. the owner} has been informed of this in front of the church door and before the parishioners, and it then does {damage} through carelessness, then the fine is twice as much as the case is worth. If the damage is less than the creature is worth, then the fine is half as much. Dogs are the fourth creatures: one is always  
 20 answerable for him for everything, if he does damage, up to half a wergild, whoever owns him. For a dog's bite, one pays a fine for each tooth-mark up to four, two öre each. If he causes a wound or maiming, then the fine is half the maximum fine. One must demand the fine and not take revenge, lay a legal claim to it like other debts.

25 3. (*B*: Chapter 19, Note 18. Cf. Pipping 1901, 27; *CIG*, 39 note 50.)

[218a] Cutting off or splitting a smaller bone in the hand or foot is fined at two marks in coin. Each rib is to be fined at two marks in coin, if it is broken. If disability ensues,



the fine is two marks of silver. As many blows as are visible are each fined at half a mark in coin.

4. (*B*: Chapter 19, Note 20. Cf. Pipping 1901, 28; *CIG*, 41 note 63.)

5 <sup>[218b]</sup>But if an ear is damaged, then the fine is a mark of silver. A shinbone or a forearm is fined at two marks of silver if it is broken. If you strike the teeth out of a man's head then you are fined for the two upper and lower front teeth at a mark of silver. And then each is fined at two marks in coin, including molars and all.

10 5. (*B*: Chapter 20, Note 21. Cf. Pipping 1901, 28; *CIG*, 43 note 79.)

<sup>[218c]</sup> **20 Concerning bald patches**

If the bald patch is more than the flat of the hand can cover, the fine is one mark of silver. If every hair is gone the fine is two marks of silver. If a man's scalp is cut, the fine is one mark of silver. A man's beard incurs fines as for other hair pulling.

15

6. (*B*: Chapter 33, Notes 27, 39, 42. Cf. Pipping 1901, 40; *CIG*, 60 note 41.)

<sup>[225a]</sup>To in-laws and wagon-riders no more than three toasts are to be drunk, and none of them larger than half a bowl goes into at the most. And whoever abuses this, is to pay a double fine and twelve marks to the authorities.

20

7. (*B*: Chapter 49, Note 30. Cf. Pipping 1901, 51-52; *CIG*, 108: Additamentum 4.)

<sup>[231a]</sup> <sup>[32a]</sup> **49 Concerning the purchase of slaves**

If you buy someone's slave on your farm, then test him for six days and on the seventh pay his purchase price or lead him back if he does not satisfy you. If the one  
25 who sold him will not take him back, but wants to hold you to the agreement that you should have him and [not] lead him back, whether he satisfy you less or more, and if you have a counter-claim that you were permitted to lead him back within a period of

grace, if he did not satisfy you, then you, who lead him back and follow the law, have the right to substantiate your accusation. If you have the man longer, and want to lead him back later, after the period of grace has expired, and you say that you <sup>[232]</sup>have made this agreement, then he {i.e. the vendor} has the right to substantiate

5 his case who made the legal sale: you must pay him, and keep what you bought. But the vendor must subsequently answer for three faults: epilepsy, and bed-wetting, for which he is responsible for a waxing and waning, and if his leg hurts, for which he is responsible for a year, and then for an ownership claim for all time. If he is claimed while in your possession, you call to the vendor and lead him {i.e. the slave} to him; 10 he is then to defend your right to the man, or give you back as much as you previously paid for him. If there is a dispute between you, he saying that he made the sale under conditions, you saying that you bought with a firm purchase, then he has the right to substantiate his case that buys with a firm purchase, and follows the law.

15 8. (*B*: Chapter 55, Note 34. Cf. Pipping 1901, 55-57; *CIG*, 109: Additamentum 5.)

<sup>[234a]</sup>If a man's slave steals an öre or less, then each owner pays a fine for him of three öre, if the owner of the stolen goods discovers the goods himself. If the stolen goods are worth more than an öre, then he is always to get his property back, then a fine three times as much as the value of the goods. If several slaves steal one öre, 20 then each master pays a threefold fine for his slave, if he does not discover the goods himself. If not all the stolen goods remain, then the one who has lost the goods must testify how much there was, but still only when house or lock was broken into. If it was not taken from somewhere locked, and neither bar nor bolt is broken, then he {i.e. the injured party} is to take the slave and torture him, and not pay any 25 compensation. He is to bring him back to his master whole in bone and breathing and not pay any money for him, even if he gets no admission from him. If there is no material evidence, but simply suspicion, then a deposit must be put down before the

slave is tortured. He is to bring him back uninjured and pay a fine of six öre for the wristbands<sup>45</sup> [if he does not confess. If he confesses, and there is no material evidence, then he still pays a fine for the wristbands of] six öre. In need someone forced says things he has not done. If someone goes with evidence to a farm, and

5 charges the man's {i.e. farmer's} slave with theft, then the master shall permit a house search and shall himself bind the slave, and not stand in the way; then he is not liable to the triple fine. If the man does not wish to bind his slave himself, or permit a house search, and the stolen goods are nevertheless found in the house, then he is to pay a triple fine to the owner of the stolen goods [that] he has now

10 discovered. If the goods are so valuable that he cannot afford to pay a triple fine, then the one who owns the stolen goods shall take the slave. He {i.e. the owner} cannot forfeit through theft more than his {i.e. the slave's} whole worth. If someone else, and not the one who owns the goods, discovers the stolen goods, and takes the thief and binds him, he is to have a reward, an eighth of the value, both of the thief

15 and the fine. If the slave is on the run, and has been proclaimed at the church, or at the assembly, then he is a fugitive. And no one pays a triple fine for anyone who steals food for themselves, but each shall have their own back, if it remains. If it has been eaten, then no one makes amends for the fugitive. If a slave is recaptured, redeem him again for two öre, if he is on {Got}land, and for three öre if he has got to

20 a boat, and for half a mark if he has come out of the sight of land. The one who owns the ship is to redeem the slave, <sup>[235]</sup>unless it was lawfully secured. If he has seized anything, then the slave's owner is to return the things he has taken. If the ship was lawfully secured, or locked up, then the one owning the slave redeems the ship, and similarly all the things that he seized, but not more than to the sum of three marks. If

25 he flees in a ship, which was not protected, or drowns in the sea, so that the owner of the slave loses him, then the one who owns the ship is to pay for the slave.

If a man is bound in the absence of material evidence, then three magistrates are to investigate, and hear his statement, whether he is guilty or innocent. These three magistrates should come from the same hundred, or the same sixth {as he does}. They shall witness what they hear, [whether] he is guilty or innocent. And the same  
5 thing applies if there is material evidence.

9. (*B*: Chapter 81, Notes 37, 43. Cf. Pipping 1901, 64; *CIG*, 112: Additamentum 6.)

[241a] **81 Concerning purchase on credit from town-dwellers**

<sup>46</sup>Purchase on credit from town-dwellers is also forbidden. No one is to buy more  
10 than he can afford to pay for. All property taken in pledge should have a period of grace of three years for debts more than a mark of silver {to be paid}. One is not to give the value in money, if the other does not wish, but in land, and he is still to have a period of grace of three years.

## Endnotes

- 
- <sup>1</sup> B: rights.
- <sup>2</sup> B: wounding.
- <sup>3</sup> B: discovery in the act of [illicit intercourse].
- <sup>4</sup> B: adultery.
- <sup>5</sup> B: If a woman is dishonoured on the road.
- <sup>6</sup> B: Concerning the wagon-riders' journey.
- <sup>7</sup> B: *This covers the following two entries.*
- <sup>8</sup> B: If you ride another man's horse.
- <sup>9</sup> B: Concerning roads.
- <sup>10</sup> *Table of contents in A: omits these.*
- <sup>11</sup> B: *Note these three numberings do not agree with the table of contents at the end of the manuscript.*
- <sup>12</sup> B: and priest's children.
- <sup>13</sup> *See Addition 1, which includes the following sentence.*
- <sup>14</sup> B: rights.
- <sup>15</sup> Literally 'to the saints'.
- <sup>16</sup> *See Addition 2.*
- <sup>17</sup> B: Concerning wounding.
- <sup>18</sup> *See Addition 3.*
- <sup>19</sup> B: two marks of silver.
- <sup>20</sup> *See Addition 4.*
- <sup>21</sup> *See Addition 5 for differences in the following clauses in B:*
- <sup>22</sup> *The paragraph indicated in endnote 23 appears here in A; evidently misplaced, but in the correct place in B; where it is, however, inserted in the margin.*
- <sup>23</sup> *This paragraph should be here, as indicated by the reading of B; where it appears in the margin. In A: it appears at the point indicated by endnote 22.*
- <sup>24</sup> B: Concerning adultery.
- <sup>25</sup> *A: had no title for this chapter originally, simply an enlarged initial letter. Concerning the shaming of women has been inserted in the margin.*
- <sup>26</sup> B: Concerning the wagon-riders' journey.
- <sup>27</sup> *See Addition 6 and Chapter 63 of A; last paragraph.*
- <sup>28</sup> *B: includes here the first nine sentences of the chapter af quinna ret from 95/17-24.*
- <sup>29</sup> *The chapter af farvegum manz, which in A: appears after Chapter 63, Um Schoga, should appear here, following B: and the table of contents in A: Cf. also CIG, 61, note 56.*
- <sup>30</sup> *See Addition 7.*
- <sup>31</sup> B: Concerning the purchase of oxen.
- <sup>32</sup> B: Concerning the purchase of horses.
- <sup>33</sup> B: If you ride another man's horse. *A: has hesti in the singular, but this does not translate as colloquial English.*
- <sup>34</sup> *See Addition 8.*
- <sup>35</sup> B: re-branding, which is clearly correct.
- <sup>36</sup> B: Concerning roads.
- <sup>37</sup> *See Addition 9.*
- <sup>38</sup> *The final sentences in this chapter constitute the end of B. They follow the chapter Vm schoga.*
- <sup>39</sup> B: *See Addition 6. This clause belongs in the chapter Af bryllaupum; cf. endnote 27.*
- <sup>40</sup> A: *has the chapter Af farweghum manz here.*
- <sup>41</sup> *See Endnote 28. Concerning the two last paragraphs, see following endnotes.*
- <sup>42</sup> *See Addition 6.*
- <sup>43</sup> *See Addition 9.*
- <sup>44</sup> *This sentence also appears in A.*
- <sup>45</sup> *Something is missing here. Cf. CIG, 110, note 24. The text in brackets is suggested by Wessén, SL IV, 284, note 10.*
- <sup>46</sup> *The start of this chapter occurs in A; see page 96/1-2.*

## COMMENTARY

The chapter numbers in this commentary are those used for the text of *B 64* in the present edition. They correspond largely to those used by Wessén in *SL IV* and earlier editors. Chapter breaks occurring only in the *B*-text are not noted here for the sake of simplicity. Note that *Gutnish* is used throughout of the medieval language of Gotland whereas *Gotlandic dialect* is used of the modern dialect(s) as recorded by the brothers Sæve, Herbert Gustavson and others. Quotations from medieval sources are in italics rather than within quotation marks.

## Table of contents

The table of contents in *B 64* originally lacked numbering, although numbers have been inserted by a later hand, beginning with *Af barnum* as Chapter 1. Schlyter (*CIG*, ii and 3 note 2) considers these numbers to be from the fifteenth century, but it seems more likely, as Pipping (*GLGS*, 1 note 1) suggests, that they are in Bilefeld's hand, as are other notes and numbers in the same manuscript. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 21 note 1) suggests that the table of contents is older than the edition of *GL* represented by the *A*-text. She reasons that (1) more chapters are listed and they are more logically arranged; (2) the chapter concerning the purchase of slaves is listed; (3) the chapter concerning paths is in its original place and (4) the three later chapters and *Guta saga* are not listed.

The numbers have, to a greater extent, been erased from *B 64* and a numbering system starting with the opening chapter has been adopted by most editors, although they all differ in minor respects. The chapter numbers adopted for this edition are shown in square brackets in Times New Roman in both the table of contents and the text.

The body of the text of *B 64* lacks contemporary chapter numbers but a sixteenth-century hand, probably Bilefeld's, has inserted them in the margin. The headings in

the table of contents not represented by separate chapters in the text are indicated by suffixed letters in the numbering system. The chapter (*Af farvegum manz*) that appears out of sequence in the text with respect to the table of contents has been put in its proper place in this edition. Chapters in *B 64* regarded as later additions and not listed in the table of contents have been given chapter numbers continuing the sequence established.

The table of contents in *AM 54 4°* appears at the end of the manuscript and is numbered. These numbers match those in the body of the text, apart from the first three chapters. Even where the content corresponds between the *A*- and *B*-texts, chapter divisions are not always the same. These differences have been shown in the text and translation. The chapter numbers (and additional chapter headings) in the *B*-text are shown in Arial in the table of contents and the text.

58/1. The heading of the table of contents in *AM 54 4°* is in Danish and probably does not represent a heading from Bilefeld's original.

58/19. Concerning the scribal amendment, see *GLGS*, 1 notes 4 and 5.

58/43. In *B 64* this chapter has been omitted either by the scribe or the writer of his original and appears following the later chapter *Um skoga*. In *AM 54 4°*, this chapter appears in its proper place and this has been followed in the present edition.

#### Chapter 1: Hier byrias lag guta ok segia so at fyrstum

60/2. The expression *fyrst upphaf* appears to be tautological.

60/2-3. An account of the acceptance of Christianity and the influence of St Olaf is to be found in Peel's edition of *Guta saga* (*GS*, xxxvi-xlvi, 8-10).

*hann þar biþia*. The *A*-text had *hial* preceding *þar*. Wessén (*SL IV*, 244 note 2),

rightly saying that *þar* adds nothing to the sense, suggests that the reading should be *hann hjalpar biþia*. He considers that *hial* has only been half erased and that the scribe of the *A*-text has misread *p* in his original for *þ*. The Danish translation *daGL* has *hielper* at this point, which Wessén argues must have come from the translator's original. On the subject of the breaking vowel (*ia* as opposed to the more usual *ie*), Wessén refers to Pipping (1901b, 47-48 and *GLGS*, xiv), which both support the occurrence of the former and in particular in the opening section of *GL*.

60/4. The phrase *ar ok friþr*, 'good harvest and peace', was a standard expression, which originated in the worship of Njǫrð and Freyr. It combined concepts of material and spiritual well-being and similar phrases are found in *Gull* 1 (*NGL* 1, 1) and in *SdmL* Mb 36 (cf. Wessén 1924, 178-181).

60/5. The word *land* has a number of different senses, but here 'province' seems to be a reasonable translation. It is clearly Gotland as an administrative area that is referred to and it offers proof that the writer was a resident, writing for islanders. Modern Swedish *land* in the sense 'country, realm' is rendered by *riki*.

60/5 and endnote 47. On the form *bygdu* (rather than *bygðu*), cf. Larsson 1891, 102, 109-110, 113; Ottelin 1900, 1904, 69, 74-75, 80-81; Noreen 1904, §§257.1.b, 258 note 2; Olson 1904, 97, 103-104; Noreen 1970, §246 note 2.

## Chapter 2: Af barnum

60/8. A child was considered to be a possession of his father, who thus had the right to dispose of it, and exposure of children (especially females) seems to have been common practice from the earliest times. Lis Jacobsen suggests, however, that child exposure was regarded as shameful in Scandinavian countries even before the advent of Christianity (see *GGD*, 23-24 note 4). Banning the practice was one of



the first changes in the law after the introduction of Christianity, but *GL* is the only Swedish-related provincial law to mention it explicitly. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 23 note 1) does not think that one can infer from the inclusion of this provision that parts of *GL* originated as early as the conversion. She considers that these customs took a considerable time to suppress and that an explicit prohibition could have been as relevant in the thirteenth century. In *DL* Kkb 6 there is an implicit assumption that deformed children might be disposed of and this is also reflected in some Norwegian laws (cf. *BorgL* I 3 (*NGL* 1, 339)). Swedish provincial laws that incorporate provisions forbidding any form of infanticide are *ÖgL* Kkb 26 and *DL* Kkb 12.

60/9. Beckman (1920, 13) suggests that *seng* should be changed to *sengfar*, and cites *EidsL* I §§1, 3 (*NGL* 1, 375): *Sina sæng for skal huær kona uita* and *Um sengfor kono*. He interprets this as referring to the date of confinement and a need to make preparations, and suggests that the passage in *GL* was an inaccurate borrowing from Norwegian law. This certainly makes more sense than Schlyter's interpretation (*CIG*, 8 note b) that a woman should 'know her own bed', with the implication that she should give birth there and not elsewhere, in secret. Beckman refers to *tyGL* to support his proposal, but admits that it appears that the amendment was made by the translator, while the original Gutnish text he was following had *seng* only. Jacobsen and Wessén in their notes have followed Schlyter. Both interpretations have attractions, but Schlyter's seems to match the context of the following provisions more closely.

60/10. The exact function of a *gripkuna* is not unambiguous; she was possibly a slave or a house servant, responsible for spinning hemp and washing (cf. Note to 61/5). The *B*-text has an obvious misreading, *gripkunu*. In Norwegian laws a *griðkona* is

a free woman without her own home, who has right of residence in another's home (presumably in return for work done) and sometimes to designate a witness, in company with a *griðmaðr* (cf. *Gull* 255 (NGL 1, 83-84); *BjarkR* 132 (NGL 1, 327-328)). In respect of the context in *GL*, one can compare *BorgL* I 3 (NGL 1, 340): *Griðkonor oc grankonor skulu vera við sengfor huerrar kono til barn er fœðt*. In the Danish and German translations of *GL*, words corresponding to midwife are used (*iordemoder* and *hebemuter* respectively) (see *SL* IV, 245 note 3). Axel Kock (1918, 361-363) suggests that the person referred to should be a freeborn woman living on the premises, as opposed to a neighbour (*grankuna*) living nearby, but outside the family. The translators of *GL* would probably not have known the word (which occurs nowhere else in East Norse). Kock conjectures that *griðkuna* acquired the sense 'midwife' by association with the Gutnish verb *graiða*, 'provide help during childbirth'. In *FrostL* II 10 (NGL 1, 134) the term *grið* is used, amongst other things, of the peace and security enjoyed during certain times of the year. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 24 note 2) states that *grið* is found in Old Danish, but not *griðkone*.

The *grankuna* was a female neighbour. In *BorgL* I 3 and III 1 (NGL 1, 340, 363-364) there are provisions similar to those in *GL* relating to childbirth and the necessity for witnesses that a child was safely suckling before they left. Neighbours as witnesses of each other's veracity were frequently important in the legal process.

The two female witnesses together were both expert witnesses and witnesses as to fact. They had to be present at the birth and be knowledgeable in the matter of childbirth so that their evidence was reliable if anything went wrong with the delivery. Females were often specifically excluded from bearing witness, so this

instance, which is the only one recorded in Swedish-related provincial laws, indicates a possible relationship between *GL* and the laws of Norway.

60/12. The expression *at þi san et* (*B-text ath thy san at*) was a common Scandinavian expression meaning ‘found unquestionably guilty of’. On the change of sense of *sannr* from ‘truth’ to ‘guilt’ in this context, see Jacobsen (*GGD*, 24 note 4 and references). Modern Swedish retains the meaning ‘truth’ in *sanning*.

Three marks in coin seems to have been a usual fine for church law transgressions. Elsewhere in *GL penningr* is used to classify a mark as ‘in coin’ rather than by weight, usually of silver. If no qualification is given, as here, a mark in coin is usually intended, an exception being at 70/15. A mark of silver seems to have been equivalent to four marks in coin. This assumption is based on the fines for loss of and damage to an ear respectively (73/18-19). The former is valued at one mark of silver and the latter at two marks in coin. The inference is that the latter was worth half of the former, since in most cases partial damage carries a compensation of one half of total loss (cf. *GGD*, 25 note 1; Wennström 1940, 239, 259-260; 287; *SL* IV, 245 note 4, 254 note 2 to Chapter 12). On the other hand a coining from Gotland in 1211 gave a norm of 4½ marks *penningar* to one mark of silver and King Hans of Denmark in his statute of 1492 suggests that there were 2⅔ marks in coin to a mark of silver (cf. Hauberg 1891, 9-10; *CIG*, 227). A mark in coin was presumably originally a silver coin with a weight of one mark, but a gradual debasement of the coinage occurred during and after the Viking period. The oldest evidence of difference between a *mark silfr* and a *mark penningar* is in *ÄVgL* Md 1 §3 where the phrase *hete þrer ok æru tuar* gives a relationship of 1:1½. The monetary system of *GL* is summarized in Appendix C.

60/13. The words *kirkiumenn* and *soknamenn* seem to have been used

interchangeably. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 25 note 2) points out that this is also the case in *SkL* 70 (*CISk* I 69), *SkKkL* A 3 (*CISk* III A 3) and *Eriks SjLl* Text 1 II §76, Text 2 IV §25.

The verb *skripta* carries the sense both of confessing and of submitting to punishment meted out by the church. It is related to English ‘shrive’, but that verb also refers to a priest’s function as confessor and in giving of penance and absolution.

60/15. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 26 note 4) assumes that the *pingsmenn* referred to here are the members of the local assembly, that is, all the mature men in the *hunderi*. This was the next level of jurisdiction above the parish, but the reference at 60/18 would suggest that the riding assembly was intended here as well, and that the case passed directly there from the parish.

The word *skir*, here meaning ‘found innocent’, is found as an element in Swedish *skärtorsdag* (Maundy Thursday). On this day, according to early Catholic rite, sinners who had undergone a course of penance during Lent were granted remission of their sins.

60/16 and endnote 60. The form *vitr* is supported by Kock (1882, 1886, 253), Rydqvist (1850-1883, I, 220) and Tamm (1892, 28).

60/16. A *symdaraipr* was an oath sworn by a group of people who had insulted another’s honour by accusing them of a crime. The concept occurs again in Chapter 39 (90/22). An analysis of the various types of oath sworn, and witnesses required appears as Appendix E.

Jacobsen (*GGD*, 26 note 7) points out that the six men (or women) swearing the oath were not witnesses as to fact, but character witnesses as to the trustworthiness of the one of their number who was the principal in the case (see Notes to 62/5-6,

70/12-13, 71/23-24). In this instance the principal was the one who had accused a woman of infanticide and who was now retracting and apologising.

60/17. A *sokn* was an area within which inhabitants had the right and duty to attend church services and receive ministrations from the priest attached to the church involved. Parishioners were on their part obliged to pay tithes and other dues to the church and priest in that parish. Not all of Gotland's ninety-seven parishes had their own priest, and how many churches were built on private initiative is unknown. Chapter 3 (61/22-23) mentions church building for the convenience of the lay people, and one can assume that there was at least some private input. Despite the fact that the term *soknþing* or the equivalent is not used in provincial laws, the concept is at least as old as those laws. It appears, however, that Gotland was the only province in which parishioners had judicial duties. Here the parish was able to pass judgements in a number of cases, including infanticide (Chapter 2), personal attack (Chapters 6, 8), fruit picking (Chapter 59), gambling (Chapter 61), unlawful house building or employment (Chapter 55). Road maintenance (Chapter 52) and oaths in respect of cases of dishonour (Chapter 39) were also parish matters. See Introduction, pp. 8, 28, 35.

Wessén (*SL* IV, 246 note 9) points out that the three-mark fine is a repetition of that recorded in 60/12, not in addition to it. The precise implication of the phrase *en sokn vindr sykt* does not appear to have been considered by other editors. Since the main clause is a repetition, it probably refers back to the situation in which 'no one has a right to compensation', that is the woman had confessed. In that case the parish (and presumably everyone else) lost their ability to demand a fine. Wessén also suggests that this fine was divided between priest, church and parishioners.

60/18. These *þingsmenn* must be the same as those referred to at 60/15, unless there is

some text missing from all surviving manuscripts. Wessén (*SL* IV, 246 note 10) assumes that the riding assembly is referred to here, since the rural dean or archdeacon (Latin *præpositus*), of whom there was one for each riding, is also mentioned. The riding assembly received three marks and the dean another three, in addition to the three that went to the parish. Similar additional fines, if a case were referred to a higher authority, are laid down in Chapters 4 and 7.

60/19. The fine for infanticide went to the rural dean rather than to the bishop, as did the excommunication fine for killing in a church (65/8) and that paid by a priest for failure in his duties (94/18, 20). Bishops are only mentioned in *GL* in relation to church consecration and the designation of church feasts, although excommunication for killing on a feast day is referred to indirectly as *biskup sak* (65/22). This suggests that rural deans performed at least some of the bishop's duties in Gotland for practical reasons.

The phrase *allir lyþir* is one of several used for (members of) the general assembly (*Gutnal þing*). Another phrase, *landar allir*, is used in the following clause, *allir menn* occurs in the following chapter (61/11) and elsewhere, whereas in Chapter 31 (88/1) the phrase used is *land alt*. Twelve marks appears to have been a common level of fine to the general assembly. Normally it seems to have been the severity of a case that determined whether it was heard first by the parish, the local (*hunderi*), the riding (*þriþiung*) or the general assemblies, but in this instance, there seems to have been an escalating appeals procedure.

60/20. Allocation of fines to the countrymen of the wrongdoer (*landar allir*) as compensation for the inconvenience caused by bringing a case is mentioned on a number of occasions in *GL* and also in mainland provincial laws and in the national law (cf. *ÖgL* Db 1, 2; *ÄVgL* Md 5; *MELL* Tjb 4). In these latter fines were

allocated to the crown, whereas in semi-independent Gotland the money was presumably used by the community.

The most frequent meaning of *fæ* in Scandinavian laws was ‘property in general’ and this seems to be the case in the laws of Iceland and Norway, the early Danish laws, *ÄVgL* and *GL* (see Ruthström 2002, 73-75). Jacobsen (*GGD*, 27 note 3) observes that the word, although used of money and other property, was never used specifically of livestock in *GL*, although it seems to have been on occasion in Danish and Norwegian laws. Ruthström (185-187), however, argues that the accepted etymology of *fæ* as deriving from a word for sheep is incorrect and that it derives from one meaning ‘money’ or ‘property’. There are a number of instances in *GL* where *fæ* is used unambiguously to refer to ‘property in general’, such as in the laws of inheritance (e. g. 86/23), and a number where it must be assumed that liquid assets are intended (as in this instance and elsewhere where fines and ransom are specified in terms of marks or other currency). There is also one instance in which there is an explicit distinction between *fæ* as a designation for liquid assets and *aign* as a designation of ‘real estate’ in relation to disputes about property (88/4-5). See Ruthström (2002, 65-70, 85-90, and 240).

60/21. Although a woman who could not pay the fine imposed was forced into exile, and could not be fed or harboured, it does not seem that she was to be treated as an outlaw. There is, for instance, no mention of her being open to being killed (cf. Hasselberg 1953, 253).

60/22-23. As Wessén (*SL* IV, 246 note 13) points out, it is neither clear how an accused woman could defend herself against a charge of infanticide, nor how the charge was to be proved. In some cases, an oath would possibly not have been sufficient.

60/22. Schlyter (*CIG*, xii and 9 note 57) notes the *B*-text reading *than* (or *tan*) for *pau* as a recurring error; it is so consistent that Pipping (1901a, 79) thinks that it may have resulted from a lack of distinction between *u* and *n* in Bilefeld's original.

60/24-61/1. The accusers had presumably to put down a deposit, equivalent to the compensation due to a woman wrongly accused, before they could pursue their case, unless the woman concerned had no witnesses. If they did not wish to do this, they had to declare her innocent. Much stress is put on this: it is repeated three times in different wording.

61/1 and endnote 74. On the forms *mopr* and *mopir*, cf. Hirt 1892, 212; Kock 1892, 383-384; Noreen 1892, 179; 1904, §438.1b.

61/5 and endnote 77. Pipping (1904, 4) remarks that neither Söderberg (1879, 5 note) nor Noreen (1904, §399 note 1) have taken account of Hadorph's correct reading of the *B* 64 manuscript as *ambatuu* (*Gothlandz-Laghen*, 2). He considers that what Schlyter (*CIG*, 10) has read as a hook (resulting in his reading *ambætnu*) is actually a foreign body embedded in the vellum and that there is no trace of any *æ* either here or elsewhere in the manuscript (cf. Rydqvist 1850-1883, II, 242). An *ambatn* (Old West Norse *ambátt*) was a female slave, who did indoor work on a farm, varying from driving the mill to washing and spinning hemp (cf. Note to 60/10). Despite their low status, there is evidence that they were given time off after childbirth (*ÄVgL* Gb 6 §3).

61/6. All but two instances of *oyrir* in *GL* refer to coin, either explicitly as here, or by implication. It was, however, a measurement of weight going back to the Early Iron Age, the Old West Norse equivalent being *eyrir*, plural *aurar*, related to Latin *aureus*. The standard weight given for an *öre* was 26.8 grams, very close to the Roman ounce (Latin *uncia*) of 27.29 grams and also closely equivalent to an



imperial ounce of 28.35 grams (see Jansson 1936, 12). The equivalence of eight *öre* to one mark (whether in coin or weight) was universal in Scandinavia (cf. Notes to 93/12-13, 101/8).

61/7. The word *mali* means ‘a fixed period of time’. As Jacobsen (*GGD*, 28 note 6) remarks, the fact that slavery was not for life indicates that the system was in the process of dissolving at the time *GL* was written down (cf. *SL* IV, 260-261 note 11). The arrangement seems to have been unique to Gotland, as opposed to the rest of Scandinavia (cf. Nevéus 1974, 65-67). The relationship between levels of fine paid by the slave master and the number of extra years added to the slave’s term suggest that slavery, in at least some cases, was a means for a defaulter to pay off a debt.

### Chapter 3: Af tiunt

The date when tithes were first introduced to mainland Sweden is unknown, but it seems probable that the tithe in Gotland was organized independently, possibly at an early stage, since the rules there were different. Exhortations to pay tithes issued in the bulls of 1171-1172 indicate that tithe payment was not at that date fully established in Sweden, but tithes were certainly being paid in Gotland by 1217 (Introduction, pp. 7-8). Jacobsen (*GGD*, 29 note 1) refers to this chapter as ‘af forholdsvis sen Oprindelse’, and suggests that it could postdate the introduction of tithes themselves.

61/9. The word *tipir* meaning religious services echoes the Latin *horæ canonicæ*, ‘canonical hours’. The monastic services were Matins, Lauds, Prime, Ters, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline; the non-monastic services differed slightly in detail, and were originally said privately by the parish priest; the laity only attended mass. A priest’s obligation to say holy office is mentioned in several provincial laws, e.g.

ÖgL Kkb 5, which records his duty to sing *ottu sanger* (matins and lauds), mass, *aptunsanger* (vespers) and all *típir*.

61/10. The word *bol* meant originally simply ‘a property on which someone lived’. It later came to mean a farm of a certain size, valued at twenty-four marks of silver and taxed at twenty-four *örtugar* (cf. *GGD*, 29 note 3; Notes to 77/18 and 86/9-10).

61/11 and endnote 83. The form of the diphthong (more usually written *ei*) in *vaita* and elsewhere is a feature of Gutnish referred to by Pipping in his editions and commentaries on *Guta lag* (see Pipping 1901a, 93-95).

61/11. The two main sacraments represented by the phrase *arla eþa sípla* were Holy Communion and Extreme Unction.

61/13. In Götaland, Skåne and Gotland (barley) sheaves were assembled into conical stooks (*röker* or *raukr*), one of a number of methods of stacking the harvest, perhaps after preliminary drying on racks (cf. *DL Bb* 22 §1). The number of sheaves in each stook varied; figures of thirty-two and forty are recorded, but in the beginning of the last century a *rauuk*, in certain parts of Gotland at least, consisted of thirty sheaves. Every tenth stook was to be paid in tithe, counted while it was still standing, but threshed before it was delivered. This was done during winter and the time limit set of the Feast of the Annunciation (25th March) was thus a reasonable one since by then all the grain should have been processed (cf. *SL IV*, 246-247 note 4). The loft above the west porch in Garde church is fitted for use as a tithe barn and the large towers characteristic of many churches in Gotland and Öland were also used for this purpose. For example, in Etelhem church, a hoist mechanism in an opening in the west face of the tower, enabled grain to be raised to the first floor. In Alskog and Lye churches there are partitions, clearly medieval in origin, on the first floor of the tower, designed for grain storage. The fixing and

payment of farm rents by Lady Day is clearly a remnant of this practice. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 29 note 6) suggests that the method of reckoning the tithe recorded here, which continued in Denmark until tenancy reforms, was very unfavourable to the farmer, but does not suggest why she thinks that this is the case .

61/14-16. A lesser punishment, called *interdictum locale*, involving exclusion from church sacraments, except baptism and extreme unction, seems to have been more frequently applied than full excommunication. From the context, this punishment was clearly temporary and was discharged after appropriate payments were made (cf. Note to 65/2-3).

61/18 and endnote 88. On the form *sognamenn* in the *A*-text, cf. Söderwall 1870, 56; Noreen 1904, §337.3.

Wessén (*SL* IV, 247 note 6) observes here that it is fines (rather than tithes) that are referred to in the threefold division.

61/19. A *laigulenningr* was someone who rented land. The word does not occur in Swedish or Danish sources, but is known from Norwegian and Icelandic sources (cf. Old West Norse *leiglendingr*). The sense is the same as *landboi*, ‘someone living on or using another’s land on payment of a lease’. Wessén (*SL* IV 247 note 7) considers that the word is derived from the combination *leigu-land*, ‘land put out to lease’, following the pattern *hvítvádungr* m., ‘child in white christening clothes’, derived from *hvítaváðir* f. pl., ‘white clothes, christening clothes’ (cf. Wessén 1932, 83-88). It is significant that the concept of legal moving days (*fardagar*), when a tenancy expired, does not occur in *GL*.

61/20. According to Jacobsen (*GGD*, 30 note 2) and Wessén (*SL* IV, 247 note 8) one mark of the fine went to each of the priest, church and parishioners.

61/22-62/7. From the content of this paragraph it seems that the building of private

chapels, equivalent to Old Norwegian *hægindiskirkjur*, was not wholly extinguished in Gotland, although it is not mentioned in Swedish provincial laws. The principle was that churches should be independent and self-supporting. Where new churches were built, ‘for greater convenience’, they seem to have been funded initially by a group of farmers and adopted in the sense that tithes were paid to them; they still had to be consecrated by the bishop. Only those who contributed to the building of a church could transfer their tithe duty to this new church and parish. As Wessén notes, there does not seem to have been an obligation on builders to apply first to the bishop (or the king) for permission, as was the case on the Swedish mainland (cf. *UL* Kkb 1 §1; *YVgL* Kkb 2; *ÖgL* Kkb 1-2). This is less surprising in view of the fact that the bishop was not readily available for such consultation and also that he was not party to the division of tithes. It could also be that by the time the law was written, parish boundaries were finalized (cf. *SL* I, *ÖgL*, 21 note 1, 34 note 4; *SL* IV, 247 note 13 and references).

62/2. The disagreements referred to would have been between the parishioner and the priest in his original parish who was claiming tithe payments.

62/5-6. The witness borne by parishioners in the case was witness as to fact and that borne by the priest was almost in the category of expert witness. Witness as to the truthfulness of a plaintiff or defendant, but not as to fact was more frequent and there was also official witness to an act, for reference in the future (cf. Notes to 60/16, 70/12-13, 71/23-24).

62/9. As well as the barley tithe, there was a tithe of hay and hops. No mention is made of a tithe of livestock. It is worth noting that rye is not specifically mentioned in this context. Hops were used for flavouring ale and were the subject of tithes in other provincial laws (cf. *UL* Kkb 7 §5).

## Chapter 4: Af blotan

62/14 and endnote 111. On the correction *blotir* to *blot*, see Rydqvist (1850-1883, II, 97 note, 113). The reference to sacrifice (*blot*) is unspecific, but seems to be an allusion to animal sacrifice followed by a pagan feast (62/17). There is no mention of human sacrifice in *GL*, although it is described in *Guta saga* (see *GS*, xxxii-xxxiii, 4/18-19 and notes).

62/14-16. Wessén (*SL* IV, 248-249 note 2) remarks on the rhythm and alliteration in the opening clauses of this chapter. Cf. also a similar passage in *Guta saga* (*GLGS*, 63 lines 20-23).

62/15. Legends and customs involving a *haugr*, ‘howe, cairn’, occur frequently in Old Norse literature. The practices referred to here can be compared to those in the first chapter of the *U* redaction of *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks*, which may refer to the public worship of heathen gods (cf. *Heidrek's saga*, 66-67).

62/16 and endnote 116. With reference to the form *hapin*, *Guta saga* (*GLGS*, 64 line 3) has *hapit* and Noreen (1904, §124.1 note 3) records the shortening of the expected *ai* to *a* in certain instances.

The context in which *vi* is used (as one of five objects of the verb *haita*) suggests that it might mean something more concrete and specific than simply a ‘holy place’, but no assumptions can be made from any archaeological finds (cf. Olsen 1965, 77-78, 84, 278-282). A summary of the theories surrounding the relationship between *vi* and the town name Visby is to be found in Christine Peel’s edition of *Guta saga* (*GS*, xlii-xliii, 43-45).

Prohibition of sacrifice, witchcraft and other heathen practices is laid down in *UL* Kkb 1, in *Gull* 29 (*NGL* 1, 18) and in *GulKrR* 3 (*NGL* 2, 307-308). It is forbidden in *EidsL* I §24 (*NGL* 1, 383) to have a *stafr* in one’s house and another version of

that law occurs in *Gull* Supplement (*NGL* 2, 495-496), referring to a *skaldstong*, a pole raised as a totem. Kock (1912, 205-206 note) records that Lithuanian and Latvian have similar words to *stafr* meaning ‘pillar’, or ‘image’. Sacrifice to a raised stone is described in *Kristnisaga*, Chapter 2. Whilst there are several instances of a *stafr* being forbidden by post-Christian laws, with the assumption that these were objects of worship, whether or not they were actually engraved with heathen images, the *staftarþr* seems to have been a uniquely Gotlandic phenomenon. A full study of *staftarþr* has been made by Olsson (1976; 1992) and a short résumé of his conclusions appears in *GS*, 28-29 note to 4/18.

62/18. The expression *sakr at* means here ‘is liable to a fine of’ and as Jacobsen (*GGD*, 32 note 3) observes *sak* is used in general in provincial laws to mean a fine, rather than a legal case (cf. its use in Modern Swedish) for which the word used is *mal*.

62/20. Although the translation ‘suspicion’ for *venzl* is not questioned, Hald (1975, 56-58) concludes that rather than deriving from Old Swedish *væna*, ‘suspect’, it is the Gutnish form of a derivative of the verb *vænda*, with a related meaning.

62/22. Cases such as this, in which a defendant’s provision of oaths was alone sufficient defence against a charge, still occurred when it was more usual to have an independent *edgärdsman*, who swore an oath as to the truthfulness of one of the parties (cf. *SdmL* Mb 5 §1; *UL* Mb 25 §1; *VmL* Mb 21 §1; Note to 68/10).

#### Chapter 5: Af prestum ok prestkunum, ok þaira barnum

63/1. The reference to the wives and children of priests, and its implications for the dating of *GL* are touched upon in the Introduction, pp. 46-47. The omission of the majority of the relevant provisions from the *A*-text (although they are referred to in the chapter title and in the opening paragraph) suggests a date for the original of

this manuscript later than for the original of the *B*-text. It could indicate (*GGD*, 32-33 note 4) that such children were not regarded as legitimate by the time that the former was written. Wessén (*SL* IV, 249 note 1) observes that *tyGL* and *daGL* follow the *A*-text.

63/3. Wessén (*SL* IV, 207, 249 note 2) initially translates *at allum lutum* as ‘i alla delar’, but then explains this as referring to ‘andra våldsgärningar’. It seems unnecessarily to narrow the scope of the equality with farmer’s families by limiting the sense in this way. A similar provision occurs in *ÄVgL* Md 5 §5.

63/3 and endnote 126. The form *fulgin*, instead of *fylgin*, is considered by Söderberg (1879, 5 note 1) to have been an orthographical peculiarity. Cf., however, Noreen 1904, §553.2 note 2 and Note to 89/23.

63/4 endnote 128. On the loss of *r* in medial position in *lerþr*, cf. Noreen 1889, 386; 1904, §320.2.

63/4-5. *byti engin frammar firi annan, þan hans kustr vindr at*. This provision, which occurs in both the *A*-text and the *B*-text, seems to be out of context. Its content may be compared to that of the provision in the *edsöreslag* (cf. Introduction, p. 46): that no one was to be fined for the crime of another (cf. *ÖgL* Eb 9). Wessén (*SL* IV, 249 note 9) links this with the provision at 97/17-18, that when compensation was offered, everyone was to pay his or her personal share. The *B*-text omits the phrase *firi annan*, which supports Wessén’s suggestion.

The word *kustr* is used in *GL* for both movable and immovable (82/8) property. Whilst it was a term that, in the time of the provincial laws, was in the process of being replaced in Danish and mainland Swedish by *eghn* and cognates, the reverse seems to have occurred in Gotland. Ruthström (2002, 97-98, 173-174) explains this by pointing to the relative timings of links to the See of Linköping (and the

Archbishop of Lund) and to Uppsala and the Swedish crown. Svealand retained *koster* longer than Götaland and Denmark, so having imported *eghn/aign* from the latter two areas during the conversion process, Gotland then appears to have imported *koster* or *kustr* during the political process. Alternatively, the two words might simply have been borrowed independently as functional terms.

#### Chapter 6: Af helgum dagum

63/8. Wessén (*SL* IV, 250 note 1) draws attention to the fact that the agreement of the population was to some extent sought in setting feast days.

63/9. The clause *tipir at hafa eþa guz þianistu at lyþa* is another instance of parallelism, which occurs quite frequently in *GL* (cf. *SL* IV, 250 note 2).

63/11. Schlyter and Pipping interpret *punz þungi*, ‘weight of a pound’, here as a *lispund*, but Jacobsen (*GGD*, 36 note 3) suggests that no such assumption can be made (cf. *CIG*, 287; *GLGS*, *Ordbok*). The *lispund* was a Baltic unit of weight, the Livonian pound. (Livonia extended roughly over modern Latvia and Estonia.) Although its actual weight varied from time to time and region to region, a *lispund* was usually between 6 and 9.5 kg, as opposed to a *skålpund* of 0.4154 kg (cf. Jansson 1936, 17-18, 23-24). This is a relatively moderate weight to be drawn by two oxen, even on a Sunday and Schlyter queries whether twenty of these units are intended. A *skeppund*, used for cargoes, was equal to 24 (later 20) *lispund* and there were twelve of these to a (ship) load (see Jansson 1936, 23, 36). The *pund* was also a unit of capacity rather than weight, equivalent to 8 *spann* of 72 litres (12 *spann* in northern Sweden where the latter was smaller) and thus 16 *laupr* (cf. Jansson 1936, 17-18, 26-28; Note to 76/18). There were again twelve of these *pund* to a load, and it is possible that the weight of goods of that capacity was intended, although this seems less likely. *DS* II, 54-55, no. 970 (9/8/1288) refers to a



*gotenense pondus*, which might indicate that a special *pund* was prevalent in Gotland. The lispund is recorded as a Scottish unit of weight, which was adopted in Orkney and Shetland for grain, malt and butter, varying from 12 to 30 pounds (5.44 to 13.60 kg) (cf. *SND* s. v. *lispund*).

The word *oykr* was apparently originally an adjective meaning ‘capable of being hitched to’, later developing into the noun for a pair of oxen (see Bugge 1877-1878, 274-275). Cf. Notes to 85/2 and 92/15.

63/12. It seems that the miscreant had to pay six *öre* to redeem his confiscated load and a further six for his crime, although as Wessén (*SL* IV, 250 notes 3 and 4) points out there is a certain ambiguity. See 63/23-25 and 63/25-64/2 for similar penalties.

63/13. Provisions relating to Sabbath-breaking (*helgisbrut*) varied considerably between the Scandinavian provincial laws. In Norwegian law, twenty-one feast days were subject to a six-*öre* fine if broken. In *YVgL* Kkb 52 the feast days especially mentioned number about twenty-four in all, in addition to all Sundays. The fine for breaking these was eight *örtugar* unless one presented a defence with a twelve-man oath. Exceptions were that one could transport hay and grain after the middle of the afternoon. *ÖgL* Kkb 22 has slightly different provisions, and more circumstantial descriptions of the times when holy periods started and ended. The penalty for striking anyone during these times was three marks (to the bishop) or again a defence with a twelve-man oath. *ÖgL* Kkb 23 records specific days that were subject to exceptional fines of forty marks if one struck or killed someone on the way to particular feasts. *UL* Kkb 16 (*VmL* Kkb 24) gives various exceptions, e.g. fishing was allowed on feast days that did not fall on Sundays in the season, and spring and autumn work could be done after mass on such days. *SdmL* Kkb 17

allowed work up to sundown on the afternoon of the eve of certain feast days during sowing and harvest seasons (otherwise the fine was three *öre*), but working on a feast day itself incurred a fine of three marks. All these fines fell to the bishop. *GL* seems to represent a more liberal (and possibly older) situation in which laymen had a right to suggest which days were to be included, and were allowed more latitude in what could be done. Cf. *GulL* 10, 15-18 (*NGL* 1, 7-8, 9-11), where there are similar dispensations.

63/14. *huat*, 'that which': cf. Noreen 1904, §524.I.

63/14 and endnote 138. On metathesis of *kn* to *nk* in *kirkiusonk* in the *A*-text, cf. Noreen 1904, §337.3.

63/16 and endnote 140. Although Pipping accepts Sävje's emendation, the form *soknninnar* with a double *n* following the *k* is recorded elsewhere (cf. Brate 1887, 73; M. Olsen 1906, 10). Loss of the final *d* in *val* occurs also in *Guta saga* (*GLGS*, 68 line 19) (see Noreen 1904, §340.2.a).

63/17. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 36 note 4) and Schlyter (*CIG*, 270) translate *kaupung* as 'by' rather than 'handelsplads', but these are rejected by Wessén (*SL* IV, 251 note 6 to Chapter 6), following Björkander (1898, 36 note 1). The word *kaupungr* for 'marketplace' is older than in the sense 'town' (*UL* Mb 8 pr). The only town in Gotland was Visby, but there were certainly more marketplaces, some possibly having a temporary existence. Under Magnus Ladulås, trade became concentrated in the town, although remote areas were permitted greater freedom. Conflict between the inhabitants of Visby and the farmers of rural Gotland, which culminated in 1288 with the building of Visby town wall, was possibly occasioned by this freedom (cf. Introduction, pp. 10-11). In *GL* *kaupung* more closely relates to a *marked*, a local market for produce and barter.

The goods that one was permitted to take to market on a Sunday were those that were perishable, or which had been prepared in some way.

63/18. The *torg* was the area where the market was actually held, the ‘market square’.

63/19. Barley (*korn*) was the most common bread grain and was also used for malting.

Gotland must sometimes have been short of grain because in 1276 Magnus Ladulås (*PRF* I,1) gave Gotlanders the right to import grain from Sweden except in years when there was a general export ban.

63/21. Säve (*GU*, 5 note 1) prefers *þar*, ‘where’ to *þair*.

63/24 and endnote 147. On the loss of *g* between two weak palatal vowels as in *A*-text *þear* for *þegar*, cf. Noreen 1904, §311 note 3 and 1890, 373.

64/4. *firi þaun þria oyra*. Pipping (1904, 12-13) defends the *A*-text reading against an emendation to *þaim* by Schlyter (*CIG*, 18) and argues that the preposition *firi* in all parallel instances in *GL* governs the accusative. Although *þaim* is the accusative plural of *þann* in *Guta saga*, and in this instance in the *B*-text, it is very rarely used in this way in *GL* (cf. *GU*, xxxii). The *B*-text has *tria* written in the left-hand margin, and *fyri thaim* in the right-hand margin. Schlyter (*CIG*, 18) considers the first to be an indication of what was present in Bilefeld’s original, rather than an addition and the second could be the same, as there is no insertion mark.

#### Chapter 7: Af munka aigum

64/7. The provision here is one of a number relating to cutting timber (cf. 83/10-15; 84/23-85/2; 85/7-9; 95/7-8).

64/8 and endnote 156. On the form *þairar* (rather than *þaira*) in the *A*-text, cf. Noreen 1904, §454 note 2; §508.13.

64/9. *liggr hanum viðr bann*. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 38 note 1) points out that *liggia viðr* originally referred only to fines and meant ‘be subject to (a fine)’. Here the sense

has been extended to excommunication as a punishment in respect of stealing or damaging monastery property.

Excommunication (*bann*) was not a punishment laid down in the earliest provincial laws, although it was later applied alongside other punishments. Fines to the bishop were the more common punishment for breaking church law. Elsewhere in *GL* the word *bann* is only used where the *interdictum locale* appears to be intended (cf. Notes to 65/2-3).

*halfu mairi*. Literally ‘half more’, but the actual sense was ‘twice as much’, the ‘half’ referring to the relation of the initial amount to the final amount (cf. 98/4).

64/11. Delay in paying the fine did not result in an additional penalty. See 61/21 in relation to tithes.

64/12. The strong noun *aign* is the one most commonly used in the *A*-text, although not in the *B*-text, for ‘property in the form of land’. The weak feminine *aiga* is used occasionally, whereas *land* and *iorþ* do not occur with this meaning (cf. Note to 83/14). Ruthström (2002, 77, 96, 97-98) provides evidence that *aign* was in the process of being replaced by *kustr* in the sense of possessions in general, as opposed to land (cf. Note to 63/4-5).

64/13 and endnote 162. The *A*-text has *lifr* three times, *\*lifir* never (cf. Tamm 1892, 28).

64/14. Pipping (1901a, 91-95) analyses the forms of the cardinal number two in various Gutnish texts. He comes to the conclusion that the normal diphthong in the *A*-text should be *ai*; i.e. *tuair* rather than *tueir*, and *tuaim* rather than *tueim*. Relevant changes have been made throughout this edition (cf. Note to 73/16).

64/14-15. Wessén (*SL* IV, 251 note 7 to Chapter 7) examines the significance of the inheritance arrangements following the death of a man who has entered a

monastery in adult years. If he divided his property with his sons, taking one per capita portion for himself, it is possible that on his death the whole of that could have been inherited by the monastery. This would seem to imply that a man with one son could give a half, and one with two sons one third of his property to the religious house. Wessén considers the former, at least, unlikely and that in that case the limit of one third still applied. Jacobsen, however, translates *þa valdi hafuþlut sinum* as ‘da raade de over deres Lod’, referring to the children. This gives no hint as to the division of the personal share of their father.

64/15. Wessén (*SL* IV, 250 note 21) defines *hafuþlutr* as ‘så stor del av ett arv, som uppkom, om det delades i lika delar efter huvuden (per capita)’. The same word is used in Chapters 4 (*B*-text only), 20 and 28, all in relation to inheritance (cf. Iuul 1941, 103, 106; Note to 76/13-14).

64/16. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 38) incorrectly gives ‘en Tredjedel’ for *tiunda lut*, obviously influenced by the previous paragraph. Wessén notes that Pope Gregory IX in a letter dated 23/1/1230 (*DS* I, 258, no. 257) confirmed a previously prescribed limit on donations to a religious house of one tenth of one’s liquid assets. *UL* Kkb 14 and *SdmL* Kkb 11 have similar limits, but *ÖgL* Kkb 24, *ÄVgL* Äb 9, *YVgL* Äb 13 and *SkL* 38 (*CISk* I 37) differ (cf. *SL* IV, 252 note 8 to Chapter 7 and references). Note that the *A*-text here, and here only, clarifies the property referred to by specifying *iorþaign* (see Ruthström 2002, 97).

#### Chapter 8: Af mannhelg

64/19. The concept of *mannhelg* is closely linked with that of *friþr*. The origins of the laws on ‘peace’ or ‘truce’ are not absolutely clear. It is possible that they developed from the periods during cult festivals when no one took up arms (cf. Tacitus 1914, 51) and were later connected with markets and trade. They might, on

the other hand, have originated in the twelfth century under the influence of Pope Nicholas Breakspeare. The word *mannhelg* occurs almost exclusively in law texts. It referred to the 'human rights' (a translation suggested in conversation by Helle Degnbol at Copenhagen University) of free men and women (but not slaves) under law. That is, the protection a citizen had for the personal rights of life, liberty and honour, particularly during periods when there was an enhanced respect for these rights (cf. Grønbech 1955, 2: 104-108). Mainland provincial laws have similar provisions (cf. *UL* Kkb 17 pr, 22 §1; *SdmL* Kkb 18 pr). Temporary loss of these rights, but short of actual outlawry, could be occasioned by certain infringements (cf. *FrostL* IV 7, (*NGL* 1, 159-160); *MLLL* IV 11, (*NGL* 2, 56-58)).

64/20. As Jacobsen (*GGD*, 38 note 7) points out, Holy days lasted for two nights and a day. Reckoning such days from sunset on the eve of the feast seems to have its origin in Jewish practice, when the Sabbath started at sunset on Friday. It was customary, in any event, to count days from one evening to the next.

64/21. Easter week is the week following Easter Sunday. According to Sæve (*GU*, xxii) *paskar* lacks a singular in medieval Scandinavian languages and the form following the preposition *eptir* indicates that the word is feminine rather than, as in mainland provincial laws, masculine.

64/21 and endnote 168. *Gangdagar* were Rogation days, on which penitential processions were held carrying crosses, icons and censers around the community, and prayers were said. The three principal Rogation days were the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday following the fifth Sunday after Easter, that is the days leading up to Ascension Day. These were called *síðari gangdagar* in Old West Norse, as opposed to *gangdagher litli* or *fyrri*, the feast of St Mark on 25th April (cf. *GullL* 18 (*NGL* 1, 10)). On the form *gangdahar* in the *A*-text, compare the 1328

manuscript of the runic calendar, which has the form *gangdhar* (cf. Lithberg and Wessén 1939, 5 note 1; Bugge 1878, 57 note; Wimmer 1887a, 257 note 2). In Ole Worm's *Fasti Danici* the usual spelling is *dahr*, although *kangdar* occurs in error in his second edition (1643, 131).

64/22. Although Schlyter (*CIG*, 264) thinks that *helgudagavika* is an error for *pingizdaga vika*, Wimmer (1887b, 63-64 note 3) points out that it was a specific Gotlandic dialect word for Whitsun, which also appears, albeit in a corrupt form, in the runic calendars (Lithberg and Wessén 1939, 15 note 20). Thomsen (1870, 135) draws parallels with Finnish-Lappish *heluntai* f., 'Pentecost', Swedish-Lappish *helutagh*, noting that *hela* f. was a pre-Christian Finnish festival.

The three mark fine, and subsequent ones in this chapter, were clearly additional to the normal wergild or other compensation payable.

64/24 and endnote 171. Lind (1881, 24 and note 2) suggests tentatively that *nefha* in the *A*-text for *nefa* might have been a corruption of an earlier form *hnefa*, giving alliteration.

The proviso that the action was done in anger (*i raipi*) rather than accidentally seems to have applied only to cases in which no weapon was involved.

64/25. The limit here on the compensation for injuring a slave contrasts with the provision in *Gull* 215 (*NGL* 1, 73) where a slave is to have board and lodging while wounded, be given leech treatment and his master is to have compensation for loss of labour. See also 75/9-11, where in certain cases a slave is paid half compensation and in other cases his compensation is limited.

64/25-65/01. The provision stated here is a general one and the reason for it becomes clear when one reads that the parishioners, church and priest of the injured party all shared the fines paid; (cf. Note to 65/4-5).

65/2-3. The *bann* referred to here is most probably an *interdictum locale*, as defined at 61/14-16. The provisions also seem to allow certain latitude and to permit the excommunication to be revoked as soon as the fine outstanding was paid to the satisfaction of the parishioners. This appears to be another example of the relative independence of parish priest in Gotland, since a fine was paid to him for the ban, rather than to the bishop (cf. *SL IV*, 252 notes 8 and 9 to Chapter 8). It is not clear if *e fylgir bann helgisbruti* refers only to violence during periods of church feasts recorded in this chapter, or if it also covers other forms of Sabbath-breaking listed in Chapter 6.

65/4-5. Division of fines in this threefold way was unique to Gotland. Wessén (*SL IV*, 252 note 10) refers to further examples in Chapters 3 and 4.

65/7. There are five occasions on which a fine of forty marks in coin is referred to in *GL*, apart from as wergild for a non-Gotlander. In three cases (1-3 below) the fine was payable to the general assembly (presumably in addition to the applicable wergild) and in the remaining two to the complainants: (1) for killing in a church as recorded here; (2) for killing a fugitive in sanctuary (65/11); (3) for killing a priest who had already offered compensation (97/14); (4) for discovered adultery with a married woman (79/15); (5) for forcing an unmarried girl into marriage without her parent or guardian's consent (79/18). There are two opposing theories relating to the origin of the forty-mark fine: Wennström (1931, 86-88; 1940, 294-300) and Schwerin (1941, 484) suggest that it was a later introduction, which came into being as a result of devaluation and the increased severity of fines, whereas Hjärne (1929, 102 note 4; 1947, 17, 18-21) and Hafström (1949, 190) contend that it was an old Swedish fine connected with the *ledung* (Gutnish *laipingr*). In defence of the latter theory can be mentioned that this level of fine occurs in



Article 1 of the old Russian law *Pravda Russkaia* (MRL, 26), which, it has been suggested, was subject to early Swedish influence. In any event, the forty-mark system eventually replaced the three-mark system in Swedish law (cf. *ÖgL* Db 1; *UL* Mb 9 §2; *VStL* I 9 pr, §1). Hasselberg (1953, 217-218) also considers the forty-mark system to be foreign to the Gotlandic system of justice (cf. Björling 1893, 113; Note to 66/13-14). Wessén (*SL* IV, 253 note 11) agrees that in the case of *GL* this level of fine was almost certainly imported from the Swedish mainland, where it was the standard wergild. In a similar situation in the following chapter (65/25-66/1) the extra fine to be paid to the assembly was the wergild value of the man killed. The question then arises whether these provisions have been inserted (or revised) at a later date than the first written edition of *GL*. The fact that one reference (3) occurs in a passage occurring only in the *B*-text (with its presumed earlier origin) would seem to argue against this supposition, in that particular case at least, although the *B*-text as it is preserved may itself have been subject to later influences. What links all instances of the forty-mark fine is the fact that an alternative punishment was explicitly, in case (4), or might originally have been, death, bearing in mind the severity of the crime and the element of betrayal involved (cf. Note to 79/14-16). A gradual move from capital punishment and revenge killing could have been accompanied by the importation of levels of fine from the mainland.

65/8. For the most serious crime in a church, killing, the rural dean rather than the priest received the excommunication fine.

65/8 and endnote 178. *banzmall*: cf. Noreen 1904, §298.

65/9. Wessén (*SL* IV, 253 notes 12 and 14) considers the first sentence of this paragraph to belong to the preceding paragraph, but this does not seem to be a

necessary amendment. The opening sentence seems simply to be an introduction to what immediately follows (an excursus relating to the killing of sanctuary seekers in sanctuary churches). The three churchyards are those of the parish churches of Fardhem (*Farþaim*), Tingstäde (*Þingsteþi*) and Atlingbo (*Atlingabo*), referred to in Chapter 13. The Old Swedish *kirkiugarþer* denoted both the area immediately surrounding the church and the fence that enclosed it. The area was used both for burials and as a place for preaching, marriages, meetings and trials.

65/10. The *prestgarþr* was the holding, the glebe, from which a priest fed himself (and his family). In some Swedish provincial laws the extent of it is defined in detail. In *GL* it was included within the compass of the sanctuary provided at the three sanctuary churches, in addition to the churchyard. The dimensions of several rectory grounds in Gotland have been preserved in parish records; some had an imposing entrance arch. Although *garþr* was originally a word for an enclosing fence, then the area enclosed (as here and at 67/6), it came to include all the buildings within a farm's fence. Both residential and working buildings lay within the enclosure. These might have included buildings for several families, but in Gotland and mainland provinces, farms were isolated and not situated in villages.

65/11 and endnote 181. The *A*-text reading given by Pipping is *fangin*, 'captured', but as the word has been almost obliterated other readings are possible. Schlyter (*CIG*, 21 note 43) gives *vengin*. The *B*-text reads *vegin*, 'killed', which Jacobsen (*GGD*, 40 note 2) points out must be the original reading, both from the context and from the fact that the German and Danish translations both have expressions meaning 'killed'.

65/12-13. The distribution of fines seems to be a repetition of the earlier provision at 65/4-5, as an introduction to additional punishments for assaults in churches and

churchyards (cf. *SL* IV, 252 note 10).

#### Chapter 9: Af aldra manna friði

65/22 and endnote 194. The form *biskup* where one would expect the genitive occurs in *Guta saga* (*GLGS*, 68 line 10). Schlyter (*CIG*, 22) emends this to *biscups*, but cf. Noreen 1904, §383.2.c.γ.

65/24. Söderberg (1879, 5) rejects *mipssuumar* as an error, since the vowel is short in Old West Norse.

65/25. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 41 note 1) notes that periods of universal sanctity run from morning to morning in contrast to the sanctity in force on holy days described in the previous chapter. That they had no association with the church is clear from the fact that penalties laid down in the previous chapter did not apply. Wessén (*SL* IV, 253 notes 1 and 2 to Chapter 9) suggests that these two periods of sanctity might have coincided with general assemblies, although the wording at 66/16-17 indicates that there was also a separate assembly sanctity. The timing of the first period, a fortnight after Easter, would have placed it at the time of the new moon, when small local assemblies might have been held. The timing of the second period of peace, five days after midsummer, places it immediately after the final day for sailing on the levy (*laipingr*), 29th June (see *GS*, 59 note to 14/8). Several interpretations might be placed on this timing: (1) that it would have provided ten days of protection for the families of those taking part in the levy from opportunists who had not been called up; (2) that if the levy did not get called out at the end of June, or no favourable wind came, the provision would offer protection from armed men who had become frustrated with waiting and might have been looking for trouble; (3) that any killing or assault done while the levy was out would inconvenience and endanger the province proportionally more than

at other times. It seems unlikely, despite Wessén's suggestion, that the general assembly would have been timed to coincide with the departure of the levy fleet. In *KrLL* Rb 8 it states that one of the assembly times must be between Walpurgis Night (30th April) and Midsummer Day.

66/1. The word *vereldi*, 'wergild', does not occur elsewhere in Scandinavian legal sources, but it is related to *wärold*, in *HL*, with the same sense. There are equivalents in other West Germanic languages and the first element of the word is related to Old West Norse *verr*, 'man'. The second element is related to Old West Norse *giald*, Old Swedish *giäld*, 'payment'. Wessén (*SL* IV, 250 note 20) suggests that both *vereldi* and *wärold* were loan words from a West Germanic language. The usual word in Swedish provincial laws is *manböter* (*ÄVgL*) and cognates, whereas Old West Norse has *vígsbætr*. It was a means by which a wronged family could obtain satisfaction from wrongdoers without resorting to a blood feud. Swedish provincial laws demonstrate how the latter was gradually replaced by a system of compensation. Levels of wergild are defined in Chapters 14 and 15. On the forty-mark fine, see Note to 65/7.

66/2-4. The additional provision relating to the destruction of property seems particularly to suggest that protection of the vulnerable was intended. This would apply both to times when people were absent at a local assembly and when their able-bodied men were away on the levy.

#### Chapter 10: Af varfripi

66/6. The *varfripr* might have had Christian origins. The 'general sowing time' in Gotland was St Urban's day on 25th May (Lithberg and Wessén 1939, 62), so the springtime sanctity lasted from 11th May until 8th June. It coincided with the period during which men might be making ready for the levy, but before the first

departure date (see *GS*, 59 note to 14/8). Similar arguments apply to those suggested in Note to 65/25 concerning its purpose. Other provincial laws have periods of sanctity in spring: *ÖgL* Bb 22, *UL* Rb 14, *VmL* Rb 24, *SdmL* Rb 11, *HL* Rb 14.

66/8. The word *bondi*, meaning both ‘husband’ and ‘farmer’ is the only one in *GL* used of a group of free farmers, apart from *landboi* (cf. Note to 92/10). *Bondar* owned their land and made up the majority of the population of Gotland outside Visby during the thirteenth century.

66/9. The word *giæld* is commonly used in provincial laws meaning a legal debt or contractual obligation between two parties. The party who was owed the goods could lay a legal claim (he could *lagrypia*), but the debtor also had protection (cf. Amira 1882-1895, I, 32-39).

66/10. A distinction is drawn here between stock kept for food (*soyþir*) and those for draught (*ortasoyþir*). The latter were not included in the property valuation for the purposes of settling a debt, since their confiscation would affect the ability of a farmer to run his business. Both oxen and horses were used for draught in Gotland.

#### Chapter 11: Af þingfriði

66/12. The *þingfriðr* was directly related to (heathen) cult and market and was ancient in origin. Assembly sanctity as described here applied at the place of the assembly and for its duration. Increased compensation for personal injury during an assembly is otherwise mentioned in *Grágás* I §56, *LEI* 1, 99 and the severity of breaking the sanctity is stressed in *ÄVgL* Urb §1 (cf. Almquist 1942, 61-62). A three-mark fine, in addition to the usual compensation, applied to insults offered at the assembly (Chapter 39).

66/13-14. *laga bytr*. These were the ‘legal fines’ for an offence, apart from the

additional fine for breaking the peace. According to Hemmer (1928, 67 and note 1, 74 and note 7, 247-249), *GL* shows a transitional stage in which movement from a system of wholly private compensation to one including community fines was starting to take place. There were still no fines to the crown. Fines were in marks of gold, of silver ( $\frac{1}{8}$  mark of gold) or in coin ( $\frac{1}{4}$  mark of silver). The original pattern of fines clearly had a three-mark basis and the occasional forty-mark fine lay outside the usual system (cf. Note to 65/7). Hasselberg (1953, 217 note 47) dismisses assumptions made by Wilda (1960, 445-446) and Amira (1882-1895, I, 372-373) that community fines were imposed in all cases where the fine was three marks or more, even if it was not stated explicitly. Delin (1926, 258-259) takes a similar view. German medieval laws seem to have included fines to the community either separately imposed, or as part of the total fine (see Hasselberg 1953, 218-226).

66/16-17. The exclusion of revenge killing, *hemd*, from this provision demonstrates that the substitution of compensation for blood revenge was not complete by this time (cf. Note to Chapter 13; *KL* s. v. *Hämnd*).

The final provision implies that certain assemblies were held during the periods of universal sanctity referred to in Chapter 9. These would possibly have been held after Easter, rather than after midsummer (cf. Notes to 65/25 and 66/6).

#### Chapter 12: Af haimfripi

66/19. The concept of *haim(a)friþr* seems to have originated in pre-Christian times and to have been connected with a homeowner's 'high-seat'. An attack on a man in his own home was deemed to be a *níðingr*-crime in Norway, punishable by outlawry and loss of all property (cf. *Gull* 178 (*NGL* 1, 66)). Such crimes were considered to be particularly shameful and could not be atoned for by

compensation to the victim. It was apparently regarded much less seriously in Gotland and mainland Sweden.

66/20-21. The householder received additional compensation for an attack in his home, while the remaining members of the household had to be content with their normal compensation (66/23-24) (see *GGD*, 42 note 6). The total fine payable for an attack on a Gotlandic man in his own home was ninety-six marks in coin (three marks of gold), plus twelve marks (to him) plus twelve marks (to the general assembly). This gives a total of 120 marks in coin, which was three times the usual Swedish wergild of forty marks. This triple fine was usual in Swedish provincial laws in such cases (cf. *UL* Mb 12 §1; *SdmL* Mb 27 pr; *VmL* Mb 11 §1). The equivalent for a non-Gotlandic free man was forty marks plus twelve marks plus twelve marks, giving a total of sixty-four marks in coin. Hemmer (1945, 235) suggests that community fines payable for injury to the householder were a later addition to the *laga bytr* payable to all injured parties. As Wessén (*SL* IV, 254 note 2 to Chapter 12) observes, similar additional fines were payable in cases of double adultery (Chapter 21) and selling land without going through the required procedures (Chapter 28). See also Björling (1893, 112-113) and Hemmer (1928, 74 and note 6).

66/22. In *GL*, Schlyter translates *mogi* as ‘hela (gotländska) folket’, and it seems always to be used in a similar context to the general assembly, otherwise called *land* (*alt*) or *þing firi alla lybi*. Hasselberg (1953, 217 note 48) agrees with Holmbäck (*SL* IV, xciii note 1), however, that it referred only to members of the relevant assembly. The translation ‘community’ has been chosen to distinguish this usage. Neither *alþing* nor *Gutnal þing* is used in *GL*.

66/23. *haimsokn*. Schlyter (*CIG*, 25) thinks that the *A*-text originally read *soin*.

Pipping (*GLGS*, 15 note 3) interprets the correction as replacing the first minim of the *m* with *c*, not an *i*, leaving the second and third minims to form *n*. *Haimsokn* covers only harm caused in a person's house or its immediate neighbourhood (in *GL* and *ÄVgL* Md 9 the house only), the crime thus being a specific form of attack on a person's *haimfriþr*. In the laws of Västergötland, anyone attacked in his or her own home could, without fear of penalty, kill the attacker in self-defence. The extent to which the original intent of the perpetrator had to be criminal in this instance is uncertain. In *ÖgL* Eb 1 §1-4, 6 there has to be criminal intent for the crime to come under the *edsöreslagstiftning*; if there were no intent, the milder provincial law applied (cf. Introduction, p. 46). Self-defence killing or wounding applied more widely in *ÖgL* than in *ÄVgL*. The crime was originally considered to have been a group crime, but in some provincial laws it was extended to include an attack by one person.

### Chapter 13: Af mandrapi

In the Early Middle Ages *drap*, 'killing', was seen not just as a crime against the person killed, but also as dishonour against the family of that person, one that could only be countered by blood revenge. Immediate right of revenge continued until there was a formal reconciliation, which formed the basis for attempts to replace personal revenge with a legal process. The concept of *drap* originated in circumstances of battle, but later expanded to include all situations resulting in the admitted death of another and incorporated special rules relating to involuntary killing and conspiracy. In *Gull* 156 (*NGL* 1, 61) and the oldest section of this chapter of *GL*, only two possible choices exist for the family of a victim: revenge or compensation. Norwegian provincial laws put a much heavier stress than



Swedish laws on revenge, which could be taken for a considerable number of crimes (cf. *GulL* 152, 171 (*NGL* 1, 60-61, 65); *FrostL* prologue 8 (*NGL* 1, 123)). In *GL* there is clearly an attempt to steer the wronged party away from taking revenge and towards a judicial solution. In this way it differs markedly from *SkL* 85-121 (*CISk* I 84-118) (see *SL* IV, 66-69). A number of scholars, principally Wilda (1960, 495) and Amira (1922, 27, 30), suggest that anyone committing a murder or other crime punishable by death automatically made himself an outlaw and thus unprotected from being killed himself. This view has been disputed by, for instance, Hemmer (1928, 39-45) who sees a clear distinction in later laws between crimes resulting in outlawry, which could be rescinded, and *orbotæ mal* (Old Swedish), indefensible crimes for which compensation could not be paid (cf. Wennström 1936, 274). The concept of charging a dead man with a crime that rendered the killing justified and thus not subject to compensation (*obytttr*) does not occur in *GL* (but see Note to 71/16-18) and was no longer in force by the time of *MELL* and *MESL* (see Wallén 1958, 246-249). To avoid being accused of *morb*, hidden murder, which was often punishable by death, the killer had to declare the act at the assembly (cf. *UL* Mb 19 §3). In *GL*, however, the term *morbingi* is only used in the provision relating to insults, and in *ÄVgL* the word does not occur at all. See Wessén (*SL* IV, 254-256 and references) for a summary; also Hasselberg (1953, 270-274); Note to 69/17.

67/3. A number of Swedish provincial laws, although not *GL*, gave the right to the relatives of a murdered man to charge a number of people in connection with the killing (cf. *ÄVgL* Md 1 §1, 3 §2 and notes). It is possible that this arrangement was a means of dividing responsibility in the same way as the responsibility of paying fines was shared between family members (cf. *YVgL* Db 8, where it is relationship

with the killer, rather than presence at the crime, that is the deciding factor). In *GL* this law might be reflected in the fact that, when a man who had committed a killing drew up his *banda*, he was to take his nearest available male relatives with him. From this one could infer that they might be considered to be at risk of accusation as well.

67/4 and endnote 223. *til þairi kirkiur*. On the *B*-text reading, *kirckior teirir*, cf. Säv (GU, xvii) and Noreen 1904, §454 note 2. Säv (GU, 7) accepts the reading *þairir*, but this occurs nowhere in the *A*-text. Pipping (1904, 14) points out that, contrary to Noreen's suggestion, *til* does not normally govern the dative in the *A*-text (see *GLGS*, 40 note 3).

67/5 and endnote 226. Pipping (1901a, 94) argues (on the basis of the other instances of the diphthong) that the form *Farþaim* is preferable to *Farþeim* as the more correct reading. Söderberg (1879, 36) points out that this should be *\*Farþhaim*, but that *h* was dropped when it was the initial letter of the second part of a combination, as well as elsewhere in initial position.

*Farþaim ok Þingsteþi ok Atlingabo*. Farþaim (now Fardhem) lies in the southern riding, Þingsteþi (now Tingstede) in the northern and Atlingabo in the middle riding. They were centrally situated in each third and therefore convenient places of asylum. The churches at Atlingabo and Farþaim are mentioned in *Guta saga* (*GLGS*, 66 lines 18-19) as respectively the second and third parish churches to be built in Gotland. Þingsteþi is not referred to in this context, either as a place or a parish. Wessén (*SL* IV, 256 note 2) thinks that the forty days for which a killer had to take refuge constituted the period of time during which blood revenge could be taken and that the case was subsequently subject to legal process. Chapter 16 (70/5) has a similar provision concerning killing by a slave. The concept of a holy

place as a refuge for criminals was at least as old as Graeco-Roman culture and is mentioned in the Pentateuch (cf. Exodus 21 v. 13; Num. 35 vv. 6-8, 11-15; Deut. 4 vv. 41-43, 19 vv. 2-4; Olsen 1965, 64-65). Mosaic asylum laws applied only to manslaughter (killing 'at unawares' of someone not previously an enemy, as clearly intended in this context) and not to premeditated killing. Medieval asylum rights were linked to church law, but their origin might have been predated the introduction of Christianity. The resemblance between provisions in *GL* and the later *VStL* might be as a result of a common concept, rather than a direct influence, but *GL* was certainly the most advanced of the laws of Götaland (cf. *VStL* I 36 §2; Wennström 1946, 188; Hasselberg 1953, 277). While a wrongdoer was in a prescribed holy place, he was under the protection of the church until it was decided whether he was to be handed over for lay justice or be dealt with by the church authorities.

67/6. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 43 note 5) considers *helg ok heli* to be an example of the parallelism common in the *A*-text, the phrase as a whole meaning 'a place of sanctuary'. Since the *B*-text, which it has been argued represents an earlier stage, omits the second half of the phrase, this seems a reasonable assumption. On the other hand, the *B*-text has parallel expressions not found in the *A*-text at 83/21, 22 (cf. Notes to 72/13, 94/19). The word *helg* originally meant 'that which brought luck', but the normal sense of the related Gutnish adjective *hailigr* is 'sacred, protected'. It is possible, considering the concept *pinghelgi* in Old West Norse, that *helgi* originally had religious connotations. De Vries (1957, I, §240-242) notes that *heil* means 'whole' and that *heilagr* and *helgi* are related concepts.

67/6-14. The singular provisions in *GL* relating to peace circles may find echoes on the Swedish mainland. There is evidence from a tenth-century runic inscription

that certain places in Östergötland had rights of asylum (cf. Holmbäck 1919, 10-11; Delin 1926, 258-264; Nordén 1931, 346-349; von Friesen 1933, 152-153). The procedures for drawing up a peace circle and the area that it could cover are not entirely clear in *GL*, but the boundary presumably lay equidistant between each of the farms included and those bordering them, in the uncultivated land between.

67/9 and endnote 231. The sense of the expression *annanveg skogs* is made clearer in the *B*-text (*annan wegh til schogs*), ‘on the other side of the wood’. Säve’s suggestion (*GU*, xxv), that *vegs* acts as an adverb (or preposition) even without the *til*, has been taken up silently by Pipping (*GLGS*, *Ordbok*) (cf. Schwartz 1875, 28-29).

67/9. The clause *en hann loyfi far af þaim sum aign aigu* refers to the preceding clause: *ok dragi um haimþorp þry*. That is, a killer had to obtain permission from farm owners to include their land in his circle at all, rather than just in respect of its precise limits.

67/10. Jacobsen again translates *kaupung* as *by*, ‘town’, but it seems likely that ‘marketplace’ was intended (cf. Note to 63/17). The intention behind the prohibition against including an assembly site, marketplace or more than one church in a peace circle was to avoid the possibility of the killer and the family of the victim meeting. Cf. the provision in *SkL* 97 (*CISk* I 96).

67/11-12. The *friþr sum nestr ier eptir paskar* was that referred to in Chapter 9 (66/6).

67/13. The *vatubanda* was a provisional ‘legally witnessed or testified safety circle’, later replaced by a more permanent one drawn up during the general period of peace following Easter. Of the provincial laws, this word occurs only in *GL*. Schlyter (*CISG*, 695) thinks that *vatu-* must be the genitive of *vatn* f., ‘water’, since this form appears in other combinations, but he does not suggest what its meaning

might be here. Wessén (*SL* IV, 256-257 note 9) agrees with Kock (1918, 364-368) in finding this derivation unlikely. Kock suggests a relationship with Norwegian *våtta*, ‘take notice of; suffice’, giving *vatubanda* as ‘a circle of safety that one took notice of’, or which ‘sufficed for the time being’. Wessén thinks that a more likely root is a Gutnish *vatta* or *vata* f. with a meaning related to Old Swedish *vat*, *vatt* f., ‘the twelve men collectively swearing an oath; the oath itself’ or *vatter*, *vætti* m., ‘one of the twelve witness; the witness statement itself’. Cf. *vattum minum* and *vattum sinum* in *ÄVgL* Md 1 §2, 3 pr; Gb 7 and *YVgL* Kkb 3; Tjb 1. The *vatubanda* was therefore a ‘witnessed safety-circle’ since the provisional circle would presumably have been confirmed by witnesses, pending the declaration at an assembly of an official peace circle, although this is not specifically stated. Amira (1913, 238) draws parallels between *GL*’s *vatubanda* and Icelandic *ffjorbaugsgarðr*, lesser outlawry, and there are certain similarities between the provisions. In the case of the latter, a miscreant had three years in which to arrange a passage abroad from Iceland, during which time he was confined to an area that offered a certain protection, provided he abided by certain rules (cf. *Grágás* I §§51-53, *LEI* 1, 92-95). In *GL*, however, a killer was not truly outlawed while he was in the peace circle, but was given three years in which to offer compensation and close the case. Only if he refused, or left the peace circle, was he outlawed.

67/14. The word *atmeli* meaning a period of a year does not occur elsewhere in the provincial laws. Schlyter (*CISG*, 51) thinks that it is possibly a contraction of *ater mali*, ‘the return of the time’, referring to the time elapsing between the same season one year and the next. The concept is similar to that in *iemlangi* (cf. Note to 68/20).

67/15. In 1171 Pope Alexander III issued a bull to the Swedish church prescribing

penance of a pilgrimage to Rome for patricide, amongst other crimes, but the pilgrimage suggested here seems to have been of a more general nature. From about the end of the seventh century, a pilgrimage was often prescribed as penance by a shriving priest for a grave crime, particularly a killing.

67/17-21. A killer must not attend the same church as the family of his victim, for obvious reasons. Wessén (*SL IV*, 257 note 11) queries whether the mother, daughter and sister mentioned are those of the killer or the victim, but it seems more likely that they are the latter, since the killer is elsewhere enjoined to take his family with him.

67/24-68/2. The non-Gotlandic man referred to is most likely Swedish, rather than German (cf. *GGD*, 45 note 1; Introduction, pp. 28, 30-31). Wessén (*SL IV*, 257 note 13) considers that this provision belongs more logically after that in the following chapter at 69/4-5.

68/4. *en hann orkar*. Wessén (*SL IV*, 257 note 16) rightly points out that there is no indication of what action was taken if a killer could not afford to pay compensation. It is probable that the killer was permanently subject to blood revenge in this case, but judging by the situation regarding a slave woman committing infanticide, exile seems to be another likely option (60/20-22). The circumstance where he did not wish to pay is covered at the end of the chapter (68/12-16). The *B*-text variant, *bella*, was current as the verb *bälla* in, e.g. the dialect of Jämtland, at least in the early part of the last century (cf. *ÍO* s. v. *bella*<sup>3</sup>). Pipping (1904, 3) argues that *ai* here means ‘always, each time’, rather than ‘not’. Schlyter (*CIG*, 27 and note 41) reads the word as *a*, but concedes it could read *ai*.

68/5. The statement that a person accepting the first offer of compensation is *oskemdr*, ‘without shame’, is evidence that there had previously been a certain stigma

attached to immediate acceptance and that blood money was still a doubtful form of compensation. In *VStL* I 36 §2 a similar phrase, *ane laster unde ane scande*, is used and the initial procedures involved are the same, although those subsequent are much simplified (cf. Hasselberg 1953, 274, 276-278). In other provincial laws, the killer has to swear an oath of parity (Swedish *likställighet*). Although in principle the provision of compensation took away the right of revenge, it seems that it was still possible for a wronged party to take revenge: in the laws of Götaland as an alternative to compensation, and in the laws of Svealand provided he paid the king's and province's part of the compensation himself.

68/8. The phrase *þa rapin allir lybir firi fe* is not unambiguous. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 45 note 5) translates: 'da skal Tingfolket træffe Bestemmelse om Bodens Fordeling'. Schlyter (*CIG*, 28) and Wessén (*SL* IV 213) both translate: 'råde allt folket över böten', without further comment. In Addition 1 (97/12-13), relating to priests, there is a similar phrase, which Schlyter expands as 'D. ä. folket tage boten'. It seems likely that the same provisions applied in the present case and that the fine rejected by the claimant was nonetheless collected and distributed by agreement.

68/9. *mandr osakr*. Delin (1926, 261-262 note 1) interprets the law in such a way that a killer always had the right to pay the community for his crime with wergild. He considers this to result in the strange concept that the community valued each of its members only at their wergild price, and that any killing could be compensated for simply by a standard payment. He thinks that this was unlikely to have been acceptable to the relatives of a victim and that the right to revenge must still have been retained. On the other hand, wergild must have been a significant deterrent to the farmers of Gotland, amongst whom there were probably none sufficiently rich and powerful for the sum to be inconsequential. Wessén (*SL* IV, 257 note 19)

comments that the three year movement restriction placed on a killer was also a form of punishment. He also thinks that Delin has missed the point that in all probability the provisions concerning circles of safety applied only to accidental killings or manslaughter, and not to premeditated murder.

68/10. The *vitord* was the ‘right of proof’, especially the right to bring forward witnesses to prove one’s case, whether as plaintiff or defendant. It was regarded thus, rather than as a ‘duty’ and only one of the parties had this right (see *GGD*, 45 note 8). If a case was more or less clear, the plaintiff had the right of proof, whereas in other cases it was the defendant. The defendant was found guilty if either the plaintiff brought sufficient witness or the defendant failed to do so. By the time most of the Scandinavian provincial laws came into being, this one-sidedness had disappeared. The system, known later as the *edgärdsed*, had led to criminals escaping justice by gathering like-minded witnesses. A papal letter of 1218 from Honorius III to the Archbishop of Lund (*DS* I, no. 176 ) refers to this situation as a ‘pestilence that militates against all justice’ (cf. *SL* I, xxv-xxxii). In *ÖgL* there is early evidence of oaths being taken by both opposing sides. Gradually, proof through means of a *nämnd*, ‘body of nominees’, replaced the *edgärdsed*, but it was several centuries before this was universal and there were a number of intermediate stages (cf. Note to 62/22). In *GL*, although the old system was clearly still current, *vitord* had also come to mean ‘right’ in a more general way, for example the right to return an unsatisfactory slave (99/12).

68/11. On the double consonant in *skiellum*, cf. Brate 1887, 72; Larsson 1891, 145; Noreen 1904, §296.1.

68/12-16. This is the only place in *GL* where being outlawed (*friplaus*) is mentioned as a punishment, although banishment is prescribed for an infanticide who cannot



pay her fine. A killer who failed to offer compensation within three years was given a month to pay the full wergild for the victim and, in addition, a further half wergild (twelve marks of silver), divided between the claimant and the community. The same additional penalty applied to anyone breaking the terms of his or her restriction of movement. There was no appeal against these fines and if they were not paid the outlawed person was more or less ostracised from society; revenge taken against him could not in turn be avenged by his relatives. It was, in fact, a means of putting a stop to family feuds and the purpose was to encourage the wrongdoer to offer compensation. *GL* does, however, still seem to recognise the right to self-judgement in certain ‘inherited’ cases (69/1-5).

68/14. Hasselberg (1953, 252-253 note 26) questions the generally accepted translation of *utretta* here as ‘claim, demand’, or ‘exempt’ (76/15). The verb is not known from Old Swedish law texts, or in the sense given by Schlyter elsewhere in Old Swedish. The Middle Low German verb *utrichten*, which occurs in the equivalent passage in *tyGL*, does not have either of these senses, but rather means ‘pay, discharge’. The *B*-text reading *wt reyda* suggests a connection to Old Swedish *repa*, which has the same meaning. Hasselberg suggests that this offers a more acceptable grammatical construction in which the verb *dyma* governs all three elements of the judgement, rather than the first and third only. It also follows the general rule in *GL* that wergild could not be demanded, but had to be offered. This suggestion has been followed in the present translation, although the alternatives appear in the Glossary.

Although the mark was a weight of silver (or gold), the means of paying was more frequently in other goods: homespun, cattle or other property up to the required value. It is difficult to be certain of the value of these in precious metal at any

particular time. In *ÖgL* (Db 16 §2; 21) ninety-six ells of ordinary homespun are equivalent to a mark of silver whereas in *Grágás* (I §78, *LEI* 1, 126) six ells of marketable homespun, new and unused, are equivalent to an ounce or *öre* ( $\frac{1}{8}$  mark). This implies either that Icelandic homespun was twice as good, or the mark half the value of the Swedish equivalent. The *öre* equivalent of homespun with russet stripes, clearly of better quality, was only five ells. Elsewhere (*Grágás* II §246, *LEI* 2, 207) two skins of old tomcats were worth one *öre*, six shorn wether skins were worth an *öre*, and so on. The concept of marketable means of payment is also laid down here. For a cow to satisfy the requirements it had, amongst other things, to be between three and ten years of age, capable of bearing a calf, in milk, horned and free from defects. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 25 note 1) thinks that these and similar conditions, although not stated in *GL*, would have been current throughout Scandinavia.

#### Chapter 14: Af lutnum sakum

As Jacobsen (*GGD*, 46 note 4) remarks this chapter refers specifically to cases in which wergild was due to be paid and where the killer died before the claim had been fulfilled. In this case the relatives (presumably those who fled to sanctuary with him) inherited the obligation to pay compensation, which was probably already being negotiated on his behalf (67/11). Responsibility both to pay and demand compensation was inherited (cf. *YVgL* Add 11 §4, 17-18). As is frequently the case in *GL*, information is limited and the full process involved is not clear. In fact only the first and third paragraphs refer to this situation. The remaining paragraphs belong either with the previous chapter or refer to particular instances of killing (see *SL* IV, 258 note 1).

68/18-19. The process for negotiating a settlement is not stated, but the implication

seems to be that relatives of the killer should not be forced to pay more in compensation than they could afford. Furthermore, they were to be given time to accumulate the money required. Again, the relatives of the victim could accept what was offered without shame. The fact that this is stressed on several occasions implies that it was not the customary attitude at the time.

68/20. *iemlangi*. Three offers were to be made within a year and a day (until the day was the same length as the one on which the first offer was made). Jacobsen (*GGD*, 46 note 7) observes that there is a similar expression (*dagh oc iamling*) in *JL1* I §9. This provision differs from that in Chapter 13 (68/4-5) where the killer was given three years to make his three offers of compensation.

68/23-24. This paragraph presents a difficulty, noted by Jacobsen and Wessén, in connection with the sense of the word *bani*, usually ‘killer’. Delin (1926, 267) suggests that the word here means ‘dråp’, giving a translation ‘until someone admits to the killing’. Schlyter (*CIG*, 29-30) originally translates the clause as ‘till dess att en (af dem) emottager dråparen’, which is the translation used by Jacobsen (*GGD*, 47). He concedes that this translation is obscure and refers in his glossary to Hadorph’s translation (*Gothlandz-Laghen*, 11), which broadly agrees with that of Delin. In his list of emendations Schlyter (*CIG*, 379) suggests the alternative reading, *bana sak*, and in his volume of glossary concordance he gives the translation ‘... en emottager anklagelse för dråpet’, a sense which seems also to occur in *SkL* (see *CISG* s. v. *bani*). In English the clause may be translated as ‘until one (of them) confesses to being the killer’. This is admittedly a different construction, but it retains the usual sense of *bani*. Elsewhere in *GL* there are several instances in which the literal translation of *bani* as ‘killer’ would result in clumsy English and an alternative has been used. It is worth noting in connection

with this provision that no mention is made of extra compensation for killing (or wounding, 72/2) by a group of people. This principle, common from Germanic law, distinguishes *GL* from Swedish provincial laws and from *VStL*. The difference is so marked that Westman (1902/1905, 50-51) thinks that *GL* must represent a different legal system in which the family as a whole was not held responsible for an act by one of its members (cf. Delin 1926, 291-294; Gædeken 1934, 105-107; Hasselberg 1953, 198-199; *SL* I, *UL*, 120-121 note 43; *SL* II, *DL*, 42-43 note 32; *SL* III, *SdmL*, 194 note 155; *SL* V, *ÄVgL*, 44 note 47, *YVgL*, 266 note 22).

69/1. The first sentence of this paragraph does not appear in the *A*-text, *tyGL*, or *daGL*.

A study by Bugge (1877-1878, 267-269) of the etymology and origin of *oformagi* concludes that Schlyter's interpretation of *ofor-* as a negative particle is incorrect and that the initial *o* is long, and was originally the negative particle *ó*. He argues that the root is a lost Swedish word *\*formaga* with a sense equivalent to German *vermögen*. He explains the Swedish form *ö(f)vermage*, normally 'presumptuous', as the result of an assumed derivation from *ö(f)ver*, which was not in fact the case. According to most Swedish laws, the age of majority was fifteen years (cf. *YVgL* Add 7 §29; *ÖgL* Eb 15 §1, Vb 15 §3; *UL* Kkb 19 §2, Mb 2 pr, Jb 4 §5; *SdmL* Mb 18 pr; *BjR* 14 §20; *GL* 20 pr; *MELL* Jb 8, Eb 32, Db (II) 13, Sb (I) 17 pr; *MESL* Db (II) 10, Sb (I) 19; *KrLL* Jb 8 §1). On the other hand, in *SdmL* Kkb 11 pr, it seems that children over the age of twelve, but who had not received their inheritance, were treated differently in some respects from those who were younger. Minors (and in certain circumstances women) had considerable protection from the full force of the law in many cases: they could not be outlawed or hanged and were subject to lower fines in cases of theft (cf. *KL* s. v.

*Myndighedsalder; Úmagi*). See also Note to 75/17.

- 69/1-3. Schlyter (*CIG*, 30 note f) interprets this passage as ‘om de som, jämte öfvermage, taga sådant arf, hvarom här är fråga, vilja hämnas å hans vägnar ...’. Wessén (*SL* IV, 258 note 9), following Delin (1926, 264), offers the interpretation ‘om någon av dem som, jämte omyndig närmaste arvinge, ha att taga del i arvet, vill hämnas på hans vägnar ...’. There seems to be little material difference between the two interpretations, although Wessén remarks upon it. This passage, together with Addition 1 (97), stresses the right to revenge more than is done elsewhere in *GL* (cf. Note to Chapter 13).
- 69/1-5. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 47 note 5) cites these sentences as an example of the more expansive style of later provisions in contrast to the earlier, terser style.
- 69/4-5. The relatives of a minor who was claiming compensation had to pursue his portion of the wergild, as well as their own, once the killer was able to pay the claim (i.e. after a year had passed) (see *GGD*, 47 note 6).
- 69/6-7. As Wessén (*SL* IV, 259 note 12) points out, this must refer to a non-Gotlander having property in Gotland of sufficient value to pay the wergild.
- 69/9. Killing by a minor was valued at a half of the standard wergild, the same as for death caused by a dumb animal (Chapter 17). Contrast this with damage by fire (Chapter 51) where payment was made by the responsible adult, presumably at the full price.
- 69/11. Säve (*GU*, xxiv) argues for a short consonant in *quikr* as opposed to the double consonant in Schlyter’s glossary. The expression *quikt i quipi* was the standard one for ‘alive in the womb’.
- 69/12. *nerkumnastr*. Pipping (*GLGS*, 19 note 4) proposes that this passage shows that the expression *kneum kumin* in *SmL* 13 §8 (*CIS* VI, 109 note 53; *SL* V, 431) is

correct and does not need emending (cf. Schwartz 1878, 84).

69/14. A pregnant woman was valued at 1½ standard wergilds. It is implicit that a Gotlandic woman is referred to here.

#### Chapter 15: Af vereldi manna

69/16-18. As in several other provincial laws (*ÄVgL* Äb 22, *JL1* III §12) one mark of gold is equivalent to eight marks of silver in *GL*. This is not stated explicitly, but may be inferred from parallels between 69/16-18, 69/23-24 and 80/8-11, where it is clear that twelve marks of silver are equivalent to 1½ marks of gold (half the wergild of a Gotlander). Here marks of gold, of silver and in coin are mentioned in the same context and this is the first instance of the qualification *markr penninga*, clearly inserted to avoid confusion, since even 4½ marks in silver would be less than the wergild of a non-Gotlander.

69/17. The phrase *at dauþum drepin* implies that the verb *drepa* might not mean ‘kill’ in every instance. The noun *döpsdrap*, ‘killing’, occurs in *UL* Mb 2 §1, *SdmL* Mb 2 §1, *VmL* Mb 2 §1, *Tjb* 15, *HL* Kgb 10, Mb 10, *BjR* 14 §16 (*CIS* VI, 123 note 6) and *MELL* Rb 21 §2. Hellquist (1980) notes that the original sense of the verb in other Germanic languages was ‘hit, strike, come up against’. He suggests that the uniquely Scandinavian meaning ‘kill’ developed from the original sense either directly, or via a form with a now lost prefix. Schlyter (*CISG* s. v. *Dræpa*) gives ‘strike’ as the first meaning and cites this instance in *GL* and those in *SdmL* and *VmL*. The Danish translation (*daGL*) reads *slagin tiil dödz* here.

The lower level of wergild for non-Gotlanders should be considered alongside the principle stated in *ÄVgL* *Tjb* 12 §2: *Þylik lagh ok ræt, sum utlænskir mæn göra os, þylikæn vilium vir þæm göræ*. Gotlanders could not therefore expect their own higher levels of wergild in Sweden.

69/18-21. There seems to be an ambiguity over the wergild to be paid for a non-Gotlandic woman married to a Gotlandic man. The expression *at vereldi sinu* most probably refers to the ten silver marks she would have been worth if unmarried, but the addition of *fullu*, which occurs only in the *A*-text, could mean that three marks of gold is intended, under the assumption that marriage had given the woman the status of a Gotlander. The principle that the male partner in a marriage could raise the status of his wife, but not vice versa, is common. On the other hand, the fact that a Gotlandic woman married a non-Gotlander did not prejudice her own status, although her children were treated as non-Gotlandic. The equal rating of men and women so far as compensation is concerned corresponds to concepts of gender equality elsewhere in Scandinavia, although these did not extend as far as laws of inheritance (cf. *SL* IV, 259 notes 3 and 4).

#### Chapter 16: Af banduvereldi

69/23-24. The wergild payable for a man killed within his peace circle was, for both Gotlander and non-Gotlander, half that normally payable. For a slave, only six *öre* in coin was payable. This was one sixth of the normal wergild payable (4½ marks in coin, i.e. 36 *öre*). In respect of the element *banda* in *banduvereldi* Pipping (*GLGS*, *Ordbok*, 9) refers to Old West Norse *véþond* n. pl., ‘ropes surrounding the assembly or court’. Details of how the assembly area was set up and the fines for trespass within it are listed in *Gull* 91 (*NGL* 1, 44-45). The fines were: three marks to the king, twelve *öre* to a jarl, six to a baron, three to a *hauldr* (landowner of a class slightly higher than that of a freeman), 1½ to a freeman, one to the son of a freedman and to a freedman (cf. *FrostL* I 2 (*NGL* 1, 127-128); *MLLL* III, 2 (*NGL* 2, 34-35)).

70/1-3. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 49 note 4) remarks that this clause is obscure. The wergild

payment was frequently used as a unit of fine; half the standard wergild was a common level. She finds Schlyter's interpretation (that compensation was to be ten marks in coin for all occasions on which full wergild would normally have been paid) unsatisfactory, as the last phrase would then be misleading. Wessén agrees with this objection and notes that the rubric *Af banduvereldi* only refers to the first paragraph of the chapter. He thinks that the next paragraph refers to maiming (*lastr* or *lestr*) in general and that the purpose was to state that in all cases where compensation was based on a proportion of the wergild for a Gotlander, the same proportion applied for a non-Gotlander (he cites one quarter for a hand as an example). He points out that it is not clear what action was taken in cases where the fine in relation to a Gotlander was two marks or less of silver, i.e. one twelfth or less of the wergild. If maiming did not occur all (*allir*) were treated equally. The paragraph should form the end of Chapter 19 (cf. 72/22-73/6; *SL* IV, 260 note 4; Hasselberg 1953, 218 and references).

70/4 and endnote 286; 70/7 and endnote 288. The form *budnan* in the *B*-text is explained as a misreading by Bilefeld (see Pipping 1901a, 79 note 1). On the form *butnan* in the *A*-text, cf. Bugge 1878, 57.

70/5, 7. Säve (*GU*, 10 note 1) suggests *netr* as an alternative to *nata*, referring to Chapter 13 (67/4), and the preposition *firi* certainly takes the accusative in this sense. The construction using the genitive of *nat* could be 'forty of nights', but other prepositional phrases do not use this construction. Löffler (1878, 287) remarks upon a number of similar examples in *GL* and *GS*.

70/5-6, 6-8. If the slave in question had been killed or had fled then half the wergild was to be paid, both for a Gotlander and a non-Gotlander. This provision places a value on the slave himself of three marks of silver (twelve marks in coin), since



nine or two marks of silver respectively were to be paid if he could be handed over. This valuation must be compared with the wergild for a slave of 4½ marks in coin, only three eighths of that amount.

70/8. The oath was obviously to be taken in both the stated cases.

70/10, 13. On the spelling *þrell*, as opposed to *þrel*, for the nominative and accusative in a number of sources, cf. Kock 1882, 1886, 414-415; Brate 1887, 74; Siljestrand 1890-1893, I, 38; Noreen 1904, §38.1 note 1. They consider that if the consonant was not etymologically long, then the preceding vowel usually was. Siljestrand, however, suggests that these forms might be coincidental. See also 70/16 (*all*), 99/23 (*þrell* in the *B*-text).

70/12-13. This paragraph is not directly relevant to the chapter rubric. It makes clear that a slave usually had a limited period of slavery, after which he was publicly granted his freedom. The witness borne by the parishioners in this case was for use in the future (i.e. that the slave had been freed on such a date) rather than in connection with a past event or a person's truthfulness. The witnesses were acting in a more or less official capacity (cf. Notes to 60/16, 62/5-6, and 71/23-24).

#### Chapter 17: Af osoyþum

The prefix *o-* in *osoyþr*, literally 'a bad creature', is not the usual negation, but pejorative, as in Swedish *otyg*, 'witchcraft, nuisance' (cf. Note to 90/20). For related provisions, albeit less detailed, see *SkL* 102, 105 (*CISk* I 100, 103).

70/15. The word *fastr* in the sense 'entire, not castrated' is still used in Gotland (see *GO* s. v. *fast*). Jacobsen (*GGD*, 50 note 7) notes that, at the time she wrote, the word was used with this meaning in Jutland. The normal Old Swedish word for castrated is *snopr*, from a verb meaning originally 'insult'.

70/16. On the double consonant in *all* (third person singular present indicative of

*skulu*), cf. Kock 1882, 1886, 415; Noreen 1904, §38.1 note 1; §238.1b; §295. See also Note to 70/10, 13; 89/20.

The word *staurgulf* originally seems to have denoted the central space between the rows of supporting columns of a hall, as opposed to the aisles between these columns and the walls of a building. The word could also be used to denote the space between two of the columns, making room for a place to sit or a bed, the best being the ‘high seat’ (Old West Norse *stafgólfr*) (cf. *KL* s. v. *Skåle*). In *GL* the meaning is either the space between a pair of uprights in a fence, or else the pair of uprights themselves (cf. *CIG*, 33, 66; *GGD*, 50 note 9, 85 note 4; *SL* IV, 261 note 3 to Chapter 17). The former sense is still current in Gotland, with various dialect forms (see *GO* s. v. *stör*). Wennström (1936, 357-361) argues that in the context of *GL* the sense must be ‘the space between a pair of uprights’. A horse, certainly, would not be tied up to a pair of uprights, but rather to a horizontal rail between them (70/16). In provisions relating to damage to fences *staurgulf* denotes a section of fencing between uprights (85/4).

70/17. Wessén (*SL* IV, 261 note 3 to Chapter 17) suggests that *ok fiugur stig* could be an error for *epa fiugur stig*, making the inference that the average distance between the uprights in a fence was about a stride (one metre) and if no such fence existed, four strides would give the same safety margin. This would certainly be a reasonable practical assumption and would merely be another example of parallelisms common in *GL*. The distance between supports in a lawful fence in *FrostL* XIII 21 (*NGL* 1, 246) is three ells, about 1.5 metres.

70/17 and endnote 296. The form *fiuggur* that appears in the *A*-text is considered by Noreen (1904, §483 note 1) to be a scribal error for a neuter accusative *fiugur*, a form that occurs in the nominative elsewhere.

70/17-18. Horses were and are handled mainly from their left (or near) side. The owner was thus only responsible for his horse's reactions to the normal actions of tacking up and mounting when performed by others.

70/18. The word *kleti* for food store occurs only here in Scandinavian sources. Säv (GU, xxx-xxxi) considers it most likely to have been introduced to Gutnish by Swedes resident in Estonia. He assumes that they borrowed the word, not from the Finnish-speaking Estonians, but from Lithuanian or Latvian speakers and cites the forms *klėti* in Lithuanian and *klēts* in Latvian, meaning 'grain store'. The word might, however, be an error for *klefti*, for which there is an Old West Norse equivalent with a similar sense. Säv also cites several other words recorded amongst the nineteenth-century Swedish speakers in Estonia that have similarities with Gotlandic dialect ones.

70/19 and endnote 298. The form *galff* in the *B*-text is considered by Pipping to be an example of metathesis (cf. Noreen 1904, §337.1).

70/23-24. Although half the wergild was paid for a Gotlander killed by an animal (70/15 and 70/22), as if the creature were a minor, only one third was paid for a non-Gotlander (i.e. 3½ rather than five marks of silver). This discrepancy seems unusual in that the proportion of wergild payable for injury to a non-Gotlander was commonly the same as for a Gotlander (cf. Note to 70/1-3). In respect of wounds and maiming by animals, the proportion seems to have been the same for both classes, however, at one third of the ordinary rate (cf. 71/2).

70/24 and endnote 300. Pipping (*GLGS*, *Ordbok*, 37 note 1) suggests that the form *hiin* occurs by influence from the singular possessive pronoun, and it seems certain that the vowel was, in fact, short (cf. Söderberg 1879, 5).

70/25. Compensation demanded for death or injury that was to be pursued as a normal

debt and could not justify revenge was called *krafarvereldi*. Wessén (*SL* IV, 261 note 10) points out that the word is used both for killing and for maiming, implying that a proportion of the wergild was paid for injury (cf. Note to 70/1-3).

71/1. The word *gieldesti* appears only in *GL* and seems to refer to the responsibility for a debt (see Lidén 1911, 273-277).

71/3 and endnote 305. The word *spur*, ‘mark’, is neuter hence *huert* would be expected. Cf., however, the *A*-text’s *Huaifi bain huer* (72/15 and endnote 338).

#### Chapter 18: Ber maþr kuna

The title strictly refers only to the first part of the chapter, and then only to pregnant women who lose their children as a result. The content of the second half is, however, related in that it deals with the proper care of small children.

71/7. Half the standard wergild seems to have been the usual amount payable for an unborn child (cf. 60/20, 69/13-14). The amount would possibly have varied depending on whether the father was a Gotlander or not, although this is not stated. What is also not specifically stated is the level of wergild for a minor (under fifteen), although it seems that the full fine was paid from the time that they were born (71/15). Minors committing crimes, however, sometimes paid half the normal fine (cf. 69/9, 94/15).

71/8. This is the first use in the text of *vitni* without qualification referring to a personal witness as opposed to an abstract concept. Witnesses might, but did not need to be, eyewitnesses. In this case they were named as those who were to be called by a woman immediately after she had been the victim of an attack, in order to declare that she was telling the truth.

The verb *skirskuta* (Old West Norse *skírskota*, ‘appeal’, here literally *skuta*, ‘wipe away’ plus *skir*, ‘clean’) is used reflexively in *GL* in the context of either a plaintiff

or defendant calling witnesses, as opposed to an earlier usage in the context of a defendant attempting to prove innocence (cf. *GGD*, 52 note 7; *SL IV*, 262 note 4 to Chapter 18 and references, 272 note 2 to Chapter 22). The verb was common in Scandinavian laws (cf. *ÖgL* Eb 26; *SL I*, *ÖgL*, 51 note 39; *SdmL* Kgb 6 pr; *SL III*, *SdmL*, 58 note 28). It is also used in *GulL* 37, 40, 266 (*NGL* 1, 22-24, 24, 86-88) with the preposition *undir* to indicate the formal calling of witnesses.

71/9-11. This is the second occasion in *GL* on which two female witnesses are mentioned. As the evidence they were to give was in respect of a miscarriage, it seems likely that they were the same witnesses that the woman would have called to witness a birth (cf. Note to 60/10). It is also significant that the expression *þiaupa aiþr* rather than *manna aiþr* is used of the six witnesses confirming the woman's statement that the child was alive before the attack. This seems to imply that some at least of those witnesses could be female. These six oath takers were clearly neither the same as the two witnesses referred to at 71/08, nor the two female witnesses. A similar distinction is drawn in the case of a woman falling pregnant to a rapist (see 80/14-16).

71/14. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 53 note 4) takes *vapi* as meaning a deliberate act, but with unforeseen consequences, rather than an unintentional, accidental one, and the full compensation payable justifies this assumption. Swedish provincial laws clearly differentiate between *vådaverk* and *viljaverk*: the latter were acts of deliberate malice and the former more or less unintentional, although culpable. There is no mention of the former in *GL*, although reduced fines for killing by a minor (69/9) or a dumb animal (70/15; 70/22; 70/23-24) might be considered to reflect a view of these acts as accidental. Amira (1882-1895, I, 711) regards the lack of provisions for accidental acts as evidence that *GL* as preserved is incomplete (cf. Introduction,

pp. 25-29).

71/14 and endnote 315. *i þairi*. Noreen (1904, §454 note 2) thinks that *þairu* in the *A*-text instead of the expected dative singular feminine form is an example of attraction to the following *gezlu*, similar to instances in which the dative form appears after *til* instead of the expected genitive.

71/15. *þa bytir hann vereldi fullu*. It appears from this that the half wergild was only applicable in certain cases and that if the child itself were subject to (albeit unintentional) violence it would be apportioned full compensation, provided that the mother had taken all necessary precautions.

71/16-18. The concept of a dead person as *obyttir*, not subject to compensation, usually applied in cases in which they could be said to have committed a crime warranting their death (cf. Note to Chapter 13). In this instance, however, it is the mother who forfeits her right to a claim through her own negligence.

#### Chapter 19: Af sarum

Apart from the section on inheritance, this is the most complex section of *GL*. There are a certain number of inconsistencies, which are noted below, but otherwise *GL* is notable for the variety of levels of compensation and the absence of an explicit concept of Old Swedish *full sar* or *fullsæri*, i.e. a major wound requiring treatment and subject to full compensation. This concept appears in several Swedish provincial laws as well as in *VStL* and in Norwegian laws (cf. *ÄVgL* Sb 1; *GulL* 195 (*NGL* 1, 69-70)). There is, however, an implicit equivalent in *GL*, see following Note. Appendix D tabulates the various fines exacted for different acts of wounding.

71/21-23. The measurement of a *mundr*, a thumb's width or notional inch (2.54 cm), for the depth of a 'full wound' is used in *VStL* I 13 §1. It is not absolutely clear

how the calculation of compensation was made, but evidently two dimensions (depth and length) of each wound were taken into account and compensation paid in respect of the total, up to a maximum of eight marks in coin for sixteen *mundr* (or more) of wound at least a nail's breadth in depth. If the depth was less than a nail's breadth, but treatment was still needed, the maximum fine was four marks (cf. *GGD*, 54 note 2; *SL* IV, 262 note 2; Hasselberg 1953, 285-286). An analysis of fines that would have been payable based on the sum, as opposed to the product, of the two dimensions makes it seem more likely that the former would have been used. Using this formula only the very largest and deepest wounds would lie outside the eight-mark range and these would probably have resulted in permanent disability or been fatal, in which case other compensation provisions would apply. Eight marks in coin (two marks of silver) were equivalent to one twelfth of the *wergild* for a Gotlander. This was also the fine for any knife wound and for injuries resulting in four bone fragments of a certain size having to be removed (see Notes to 72/3, 72/15-16).

71/22. *halfu minna*. Literally 'half less', simply a half (see also 72/8-9, 81/10, 94/15, 98/5).

71/23-24. The choice of witnesses on this occasion, i.e. two *raþmenn* and a *lanzdomeri*, suggests that they were official witnesses of a legal process (cf. Notes to 60/16, 62/5-6, 70/12-13).

71/24. The *hunderi* (equivalent to *hundaren* in Svealand or *häräd* in Götaland) were entities for legal, defence and military activities, but *Guta saga*, where the levy is described, does not use the word and *GL* uses it only in respect of the *hunderis þing* as a legal entity. The term *raþmaþr* for a local judge at a *hunderis þing* is unique to Gotland (cf. *GGD*, 91 note 7; 87/20-21; 100/25-101/1). The structure of

the legislature and judiciary is further described in the Introduction, pp. 31-35.

71/25. As Wessén (*SL IV*, 262 notes 3 and 4) indicates, officials were only asked to bear witness to the nature and extent of the wound itself. The perpetrator was charged by the injured party and his peers.

72/2. The number of assailants did not affect the compensation payable, which depended on the wounds themselves (cf. Note to 68/23-24).

72/3. The maximum fine was always payable for knife-wounds. Several Swedish provincial laws prescribe increased fines for knife injuries (cf. *SL IV*, 262 note 7). Presumably the extent of the wound was in this case irrelevant, as in the case of a wound involving internal organs (*hulseri*).

72/4. The fine for throwing a stone at someone and wounding them was three marks in coin, equivalent to a wound of about six *mundr*. It is worth noting that Jacobsen (*GGD*, 54 §5) has ‘Kniv’ here in error for ‘Sten’.

72/5. Schlyter (*CIG*, 278 s. v. *lukahagg*) suggests that the first element is the same as Old West Norse *lúka*, the flat of the hand. In that case the meaning would be a slap, but this hardly seems to apply to the provision at 74/5. The provision is missing from *tyGL* and *daGL* (cf. *SL IV*, 262 note 9).

72/7 and endnote 330. The word *litvan*, ‘facial injury’, is known only from *GL*. Although Rydqvist (1850-1883, V, 243-244, VI, 272), following Hadorph (*Gothlandz-Laghen*, 16), has suggested *likvan*, ‘bodily disfigurement’, Tamm (1883-1884, 311) in his review of Rydqvist’s work considers that the form in the *A*-text can stand and that it refers to facial disfigurement, the element *lit* occurring in several words relating to the face. Wessén takes the first element as *litr* m., ‘colour, appearance’, and the second element as a noun derived from Old West Norse adjective *vanr*, ‘lacking’. The extra compensation to be paid for such



disfigurement is laid down at the end of the provision. If no healing took place, the full two marks of silver was paid for a nose or lip and half that for an ear.

72/9-10. The criteria given here for judging the severity of a facial disfigurement: whether it could be seen across the road or across the assembly and whether it could be masked by a hat or hood are similar to those in several Swedish provincial laws, the Old Danish laws and *VStL* (cf. *VmL* Mb 21 §1; *SdmL* Mb 5 pr; *SkL* 95 (*CISk* I 94); *JLl* III §29; *VStL* I 15 §6-7).

72/10-11. The clause *ok þau sara bytr*, indicating that compensation for the initial wound was additional, applies to both the preceding provisions (cf. *VStL* I 15 §§6-7; *SdmL* Mb 5 pr).

72/13 and endnote 336. Schlyter (*CIG*, 379; *CISG*, 274) considers *himin* to be a scribal error, corrected by the scribe to *epa hinna*, but Pipping (*GLGS*, 24 note 2) and Wessén (*SL* IV, 263 note 14) argue that the two expressions supplement each other. Cf. the parallelisms noted by Pipping at *GLGS*, 58 line 17 (94/19) and 68 line 5 (in *Guta saga*), which are also taken by Schlyter (*CISG*, 415 and 273) to be scribal amendments, and the Note to 67/6. There are further examples from *B-text* at 83/21, 22. Noreen (1970, §266 note 5) argues that *himin* is in fact not unexpected as an earlier form of *hinna*, based on other assimilations (cf. Lidén 1896, 107-111).

72/14. *sum i skalu skildr*. This singular method of measuring the size of a bone fragment seems to have been common in Scandinavia and also occurs in the Frisian laws (see *SL* IV, 263 note 15). Similar regulations appear in *ÖgL* Vb 19, *Eriks SjLl* Text 1 II §39, *Gull* 185 (*NGL* 1, 67-68) and *FrostL* IV 49 (*NGL* 1, 172). These last two read respectively: *Eyri firi bein hvert er ór leysir, ef skellr i skalom* and *er bein leysir or sári manns, þó at allítit se oc skellr á skilldi, þá scal*

*eyrer uppi*. Larson (1935, 139 and note 11) translates the first as ‘an *öre* for every [bit of] bone that has to be removed if the silver rings in the scales’ and interprets this as meaning that the ‘money is ready for payment’. This, however, seems to be a misunderstanding, since the word ‘silver’ does not appear in the original text. Similarly, in *FrostL*, Larson (1935, 277 and note 11) translates *oc skellr á skilldi* as ‘and [the coins] rattle on the shield’ with a footnote that this means that ‘the money is ready for payment’. Again, this does not seem to be the correct interpretation. Both instances seem to refer to the bones themselves rattling in a receptacle as a measure of their size.

72/15 and endnote 338. The neuter *huert* would appear to be the correct form but cf. also *tanna spur huer* in the *A*-text (71/3).

The form *eln* is recorded on a standard (half) ell measure found at the church at Stånga, a parish in the south-east of Gotland: *hitta ier ret gota eln*. This contradicts Schlyter’s view that the nominative singular form was *elin* (see *CIG*, 250; *GU*, xxii and 59 no. 204). The length of an ell varied from time to time and place to place, but the ell at Stånga is circa 55.36 cm. Two further ell measures from the same part of Gotland, at Havdhem and at Hemse Church, are similar in length, but there is evidence of a shorter ell (52.1 cm) in use in the twelfth century (see Jansson 1936, 44). In 1863 the last recorded Swedish ell measured 59.38 cm (circa 23½ inches). In England an ell was 114.3 cm (45 inches), approximately double that measurement.

72/15-16. This stipulation is obscure and may be corrupt. There is no record elsewhere of a similar method of measuring larger bone shards than those in the previous sentence. The German translation, *tyGL*, provides the interpretation that the shards had to be so large that with an ell-long thread attached, they could be

thrown over a five-ell (2.75 metre) high roof beam. Säve (*GU*, xxx) suggests that *ri*, ‘pillar’ or ‘beam’, is a loan from Estonian, transmitted to Gotland by the Swedish population of Estonia’s western seaboard and islands. See *SL* IV, 263 note 16 and references.

72/16-17. Wessén (*SL* IV, 263 note 17) points out that *iiii markum penninga* equates to a mark of silver and this is the fine quoted in *daGL*. In *tyGL*, which mistakenly gives one mark in coin as the fine for a finger, it states that a thumb is equal to all the other fingers, instead of counting it as equivalent to two fingers. If the fingers of both hands are included, valued at one mark in coin each, the total would be eight marks in coin, or two marks of silver as in *GL*. Loss of thumb was thus valued at one third of a hand, as opposed to a half in the majority of Swedish provincial laws (cf. *ÄVgL* Sb 4; *ÖgL* Vb 18 pr).

72/19. The verb *vega* in this context means ‘to weigh’ with a subsidiary sense of ‘to lift’ (see *GGD*, 56 note 5).

72/20-22. Pipping (1904, 10-12) provides detailed commentary on these lines. The thrust of his argument is that Schlyter (*CIG*, 38-39 and notes) has made an error in saying that the Gutnish for ‘toe’ is *ta* (written in error as *pa* on occasions). Pipping argues that neither is correct and that *tia* is the correct form. By a careful comparison of the *A*- and *B*-texts, Pipping shows convincingly that the scribe of the former has omitted two separate phrases, which are found in the latter (and so identified in this edition), by skipping from one occurrence of an abbreviation of *marcum* to the next. This supposition, supported by Wessén, removes any objection to the word *ok*, ‘also’, in line 21, since the fines concerned are both two marks of silver (cf. *GGD*, 56 note 9; *SL* IV, 263 notes 20 and 22). It also renders unnecessary Schlyter’s change of the preceding *pa* to *ta* in the disputed sense ‘toe’

and replaces the emendation that gave rise to it. The *B*-text form, *thia* follows a practice common in that manuscript of writing *th* for *t* as well as for *p*. Wessén points out, additionally, that although loss of use of a finger was considered as serious as its being cut off, only one third of the compensation was paid for disablement of a hand or foot as for its complete loss, for which one quarter of a wergild was due (cf. *SL* IV, 263 notes 20 and 23).

72/20. Säve (*GU*, xxvii) suggests that the second element of the words *gangfempni* and *runfempni* comes from an earlier *\*fimpni*, or preferably *\*fimni*, meaning ‘speed, haste’, the inserted *p* arising from Gutnish pronunciation. Wadstein (1894-1895, 2-3) defends this view against Söderberg’s objection (1879, 43). Cf. also Noreen 1904, §332. Pipping (*GLGS*, *Ordbok*, 28), however, notes that an Old West Norse *\*fimni* is not recorded (cf. Noreen 1970, §266 note 5).

72/21. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 56 note 8) points out the implied alliteration in *þan hels epa* (*h*)*nakka* and that this could date the phrase to the period prior to the loss of the initial *h* in the latter, i.e. circa 1100.

72/22-23. The six marks of silver that were payable for loss of hand, foot or eye was one quarter of a wergild, in contrast to the one half that was stipulated in *VStL* (I 24 §1, 28 §1, 18). The reduced level has parallels in German regional laws (cf. Brunner 1906-1928, II, 823 note 77; Wilda 1960, 762-763; Hasselberg 1953, 305 note 12 and references; Notes to 70/1-3 and 70/25).

72/23. The sense ‘assault’ for the verb *laika*, alongside ‘play’, is common in other Scandinavian languages, the most infamous example being *Håtunaleken* in 1306 when King Birger was imprisoned by his brothers at the estate in Håtuna (cf. *GGD*, 57 note 1).

72/24. Wessén (*SL* IV, 263 note 25) points out that the fine for the loss of two hands,

feet or eyes is ambiguous. The issue seems to be whether the fine is twelve marks for the two (i.e. simply twice the fine for one) or twelve marks each, giving the equivalent of a wergild for the loss of both hands, both feet or both eyes in one attack. Wessén thinks that the latter is the more likely, since otherwise there would have been no need to differentiate between this situation and that relating to the loss of one hand, foot or eye.

73/3. The plural of *skap* n., ‘shape’, is used for male genitals in Old West Norse and elsewhere in medieval Scandinavia (see *GGD*, 57 note 4).

73/4. Ólafur Halldórsson (1990, 115, 121-122, 130) notes that in a series of riddles in a sixteenth-century Icelandic manuscript *uígnyrum*, from *vígnýra* n., means ‘testicle’ and compares this to *vigniauri* m., ‘testicle’, in *GL*. He comments that these are the only instances of this word, but that *nýra* is recorded by Ivar Aasen in his *Norsk ordbog* in the sense ‘testicle’, as is *hvítanýra* in Faeroese, particularly of rams and bulls. There is a single instance in Icelandic of *nýra*, in *Máðilar rímur*, where the sense is obviously testicle.

The fine for the removal of both testicles (i.e. castration) is twelve marks of silver ( $\frac{1}{2}$  a wergild) and it is only if the penis is cut off that the fine rises to  $\frac{3}{4}$  wergild. For the crime of castration *ÄVgL* Sb 4 §6 sets nine marks of silver for the disfigurement and nine for the wound, two wergilds in total, while in *YVgL* Urb 2 §§7, 16 the act is regarded as a despicable act (*nípings værk*) and the fine is fifty-four marks of silver or six wergilds. In *ÖgL* Vb 5, the crime is considered to be the ‘most serious’ wound (as it is in the laws of Svealand) punishable with a forty-mark fine in coin for the wound and another forty for the disfigurement. This amount is doubled by the addition of forty marks for an unborn son and forty for an unborn daughter, giving a total of 160 marks in coin or four wergilds. The laws

of Svealand fall into two groups: *UL* Mb 30 pr and *HL* Mb 15 pr give self-judgement, and failure to pay results in the perpetrator losing both hands and helpers one hand as a retaliatory punishment. *SdmL*, *DL*, *VmL* follow *ÖgL*, with slight variations. The relatively lenient fine stipulated in *GL* might suggest that this provision belonged to an early form of the law.

73/6. Eighteen marks of silver equate to  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a wergild, a heavy fine (see *SL* IV, 263 note 27 for references to mainland Swedish provincial laws).

73/7 and endnote 349. Pipping's emendation from *tielgia* to *telgia* follows the *B*-text (see Addition 3). Noreen (1897, 26; 1904, §231 note) differs, however, and thinks that *tielgia* could be the correct form. He argues that *t(i)elgia* should not be translated as 'schnitt', English 'cut, score', related to Old West Norse *telgia*, as Schlyter (*CIG*, glossary) and Kock (*Låle* II, 348) do, but as 'glied', English 'split', related to Old West Norse *tialga*, 'branch'. From the context, relating to damage to bones, this seems to be justified. Note that the translation, which refers to a 'smaller bone', follows all previous editors, but is not explicit in the text.

73/10. The definition of *onytr* must be related to the use of sword and sickle as defined at 72/19 (see *SL* IV, 264 note 31).

73/11. The right (as well as the obligation) of proof fell to a defendant if there was no visible damage. The phrase *hafi þan vitorþ sum vers*, which occurs three times more, was a standard legal expression (see *GGD*, 58 note 4).

73/12-13. Swearing an oath on one's own behalf was unusual and an exception to the procedure set out at the start of the chapter (see *SL* IV, 264 note 34). It is the only instance of *ainsyri* in *GL* although there are a number of occasions on which only one person has to give witness: a priest supporting a woman's claim to have been shriven of infanticide (60/13-14), a man stating that he had witnessed a woman's

cry of ‘rape’ (80/4), a woman confirming that all the laces on her clothing had been restored (81/1), someone whose property has been stolen confirming how much had been taken (100/1).

73/14-18. Provisions relating to deafness caused by blows do not occur in Swedish provincial laws, but equivalents are to be found in *VStL* I 15 §§1-4.

73/15 and endnote 354. Pipping (1904, 15) thinks that in *hana* as elsewhere the scribe has indicated the *n* twice, once by a nasal stroke over the *a*, and again by writing it out (cf. Noreen 1904, §503 note 1). He thinks that Schlyter’s failure to indicate that he is expanding nasal strokes in his edition has led to unnecessary discussions concerning the form *hanna* (cf. Noreen 1894, 159 and 1904, §416 note 7).

This is the only reference to fowl in *GL*. In contrast to geese, they are mentioned infrequently in provincial laws, although a limit of a cockerel and two hens is set in *DL Tjb* 17.

73/16. The deleted *wi* preceding the phrase *siex manna aiþi* appears to be an example of the scribe deciding to substitute the word *siex*, having already written the Roman numeral. In another case (87/21), he has not noticed his error and has not deleted the latter. Pipping (1901a, 95 note 1) argues that the *A*-text possibly originally had Roman numerals throughout for numbers greater than one and the scribe of *B* 64, when he was substituting words for these, used his form of the diphthong *ai*, namely *ei*, e.g. in *tueir*. Elsewhere in this manuscript occurrences of *ei* are rare and occur mostly alongside forms with *ai* (cf. Note to 64/14).

73/18-23. Further differences in fines laid down between the *A*- and *B*-texts are in evidence here. The fine for loss of an ear is two marks of silver in all manuscripts of *GL* apart from *B* 64, and for damage to an ear without its loss is one mark in the *B*-text and in *daGL*. It is not clear why eye-teeth are singled out for mention, since

the fine for them was the same as for other teeth in the same jaw. It is possible that there was a time when they were valued differently. The *B*-text, incidentally, lacks the differentiation found in the *A*-text (and *tyGL*) with regard to upper and lower teeth. See also Addition 4, 98/18-20.

73/24 and endnote 361. All editors agree on an emendation from *harr* to *har*.

Similarly, Kock (1882, 1886, 415) thinks that *sarr*, which occurs in some Old Swedish texts, is an anomalous form, but also refers to Old West Norse adjective *sárr*.

74/1. The concept of a non-verbal insult (*punki*) occurs several times in *GL*, even if the word itself is not used in every instance. Apart from throwing ale in someone's face, insults included: manhandling a person riding or walking on the highway (75/3), making a minor attack on a man's beard or hair (74/7-8), damaging a man's inner clothing (74/15), knocking the clasp of a woman's clothing to the ground or displacing her clothing slightly (80/23-24, 81/1-2), grasping her elbow or knee (81/5-6, 81/7). The fine was eight *örtugar* in each case. Carrying off wood from another man's forest (84/24-85/1), breaking his fence (85/3-4) or taking his horse in error, leaving your own instead (89/6-7) incurred the same penalty, which gives an insight into the importance that was attached to these non-verbal insults (cf. *SL* IV, 264 note 38). Wennström (1936, 57 notes 66 and 67; 1940, 310-312) compares *punki* in *GL* with *pokki*, which he relates to the Old Swedish verb *pykkia*, 'think' (see *CISG* s. v. *pokka bot*, *pokki*).

*Ertaug* was the Gutnish equivalent of Old Swedish *örtugh* (Modern Swedish *örtug*). As a weight it was recorded from Viking times as 1/24 mark or 1/3 öre. The mark, öre and *örtug* had the same relationship all over Scandinavia, but the number of pennies (i.e. coin) to an *örtug*, and thus to a mark was variable over region and



time. A fine of eight *örtugar* is common in *GL*, although fines of a half, one, four and five also occur. Eight *örtugar* were equivalent to  $\frac{1}{3}$  mark in weight or coin (see *SL* IV, 264 notes 38 and 44). This is confirmed by the fact that the sum is greater than two *öre* ( $\frac{1}{4}$  mark), (cf. fines for damage to clothing, 74/14) and less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  mark (cf. fine for striking off a woman's buckle, 80/23-24). See Appendix C for further details of the monetary system in Gotland.

74/2-3. It is worth noting that admitting to one blow laid one open to an accusation of up to three further blows and gave the initiative to the plaintiff, whereas if one did not admit to an attack, one had the right to present one's defence.

74/3 and endnote 365. The form *fiaugura* for *fygura* in the *B*-text might not be a true variant, but the result of the scribe forgetting to delete the *a* when amending from *fiaura* (see *GLGS*, 27 note 1). Cf., however, Noreen 1904, §483 note 1.

74/5. From the context, *lukahagg* is clearly not a blow with the flat of the hand (cf. Note to 72/5), but presumably any blow that did not draw blood or leave the person disabled (cf. *GGD*, 59 note 6; *SL* IV, 264 note 40).

The words *Pet iru lag guta* must previously have signalled the end of a major section of the law. The *B*-text has the singular form of the verb (*ier*), which seems to be more correct grammatically.

74/6. Säve (*GU*, xxviii) offers a number of etymological suggestions for the origin of *loyski*, 'bald patch'. It might be related to a Gotlandic dialect word, *loysk(ur)*, meaning a treeless area in dense woodland, and could derive from the adjective *laus*, with umlaut to *loysa*, but this would refer more to loose hair than a resulting bald patch. Jacobsen, however, suggests that it refers to 'a place where the hair is loose' (*GGD*, 60 note 1). The detailed compensation relating to hair pulling is reflected only in *VStL* I 15 and not in Swedish provincial laws.

74/7-8 and endnote 369. A correction on the basis of the *B*-text to *bytis at atta ertaugum* might be justified.

74/7-12. It is possible that the stringent laws against pulling out hair were related to a belief that magic could be wrought using hair (cf. *BorgL* I 16 (*NGL* 1, 350-351)). Hair and nails were considered to have magic properties as they grew visibly and a bald person was regarded as a possible subject of black magic (cf. de Vries 1957, I, §202 and §239). Note additional references to pulling hair at 64/24, 65/15 and 17, 66/13, 73/24, and 95/4.

74/10-12. See Notes to Addition 5, 98/24-26.

74/14. The *yfirkleþi* was a cloak or cape, probably the same as the *gangkleþi* referred to at 78/4 and 78/7.

Although Pipping (*GLGS, Ordbok*, 46) translates *kurtil* as ‘kortel, underklädning’, it more properly referred to a gown worn over a *likvari*, but under any cloak or outer garment, the equivalent of modern ‘indoor clothing’ (cf. Falk 1919, 145).

74/15. Bugge (1877-1878, 267) derives *likvari* from *lik*, ‘body’, and *verja*, ‘to dress’.

The meaning is thus the clothes nearest the body.

74/16. It is not clear whether the author is distinguishing between *serkr* and *skyrta*, or if this is simply a synonymous alliteration. The two garments seem to have been similar, made of sheep wool, but Falk (1919, 141-145) believes that a *serkr* was possibly sleeveless, although longer than a *skyrta*, which had long sleeves. Pipping’s Swedish translations, ‘linne, lintyg’ and ‘skjorta’, ‘vest’ and ‘shirt’ respectively, might be anachronistic, but will serve as a distinction.

74/22. Witnesses were required only to confirm the veracity of the injured man’s story, not to give evidence of his injury.

For an account of the system of judges, see Introduction, pp. 29-30, 33-34.

75/7. Two *öre* is  $\frac{1}{4}$  mark, which is half the fine for extra blows to the free man in the fight.

75/10-11. It is worth noting that minor wounds to slaves, for example a blow with a stone, attracted the same compensation as to a free man.

75/11-12. A slave could neither give nor receive an insult, the latter because of his lack of status and the former because any adverse comment from such a person would presumably have been regarded as unworthy of consideration.

75/12. The paragraph that appears here in the *A*-text has been moved to its proper place in Chapter 20 (Chapter 26 in the *B*-text).

#### Chapter 20 Af allum lutum

The laws of inheritance in Gotland as recorded in *GL* are complex and to some extent contradictory. The most thorough analysis of them is to be found in Holmbäck (1919, 219-241), where previous studies by Pipping (1904), Delin (1909) and others are taken into account. The following notes relate to specific aspects in individual provisions.

75/16. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 63 note 1) suggests that the use of *ar* instead of *vintr* here might indicate that this provision is younger than others in the law.

75/17. The phrase *skiaupa ok skalar* might be a fixed expression for the possessions that a younger son took away from the farm. Schlyter (*CIG*, 46), referring to Schildener's German translation 'Pferd und Schaale', 'horse and cup' (*G-L*, 211), suggests the noun *sciaut* n., 'draught animal', should be substituted for *skiaupa* f. Säve (*GU*, 14) follows Schlyter. Bugge (1877-1878, 269) thinks that the latter is not an error but that the word's sense has been forgotten and that it was a leather bag for keeping one's possessions in, comparable to Old West Norse *skjóða*. The English word *scrip* has the same sense, but probably a different origin. In this

particular context, Wessén (*SL* IV, 265 note 2 and references) suggests that the bag could be one in which scale weights were stored. The implication is that when a young man attained his majority, he took charge of weighing out his portion. Although the age of majority appears to have been fifteen here for men, they were not liable to take part in the defence of the province, for which they had been provided with weapons (78/3), until they were twenty years of age (93/15). See also Note to 69/1.

75/18. The verb *selia* is used here to mean ‘transfer, make over, entrust’ since the context makes it clear that outright sale is not in question.

75/20. In the phrase *nequar taki ungan oformaga til sina* Jacobsen (*GGD*, 63) interprets *nequar* as referring to one of the heirs, but this does not seem to be a necessary assumption, and makes the following clause ambiguous (referring either to the guardian or the ward), whereas Wessén (*SL* IV, 266 note 4) argues that it was the minor who retained his full portion. Indeed, it would seem logical that the guardian must have been outside the farm, since his or her action would not otherwise have relieved the situation. Compare this action to that in respect of an illegitimate child by a non-Gotlandic (78/1, 78/4, 79/8) or a Gotlandic woman (79/4, 79/6), where the obligation seems only to be to raise the child and not to ‘take it as one’s own’.

75/22. Säve (*GU*, xli) corrects *Giftir* to *Giptir*.

75/23 and endnotes 391, 392 and 393. Pipping (1901a, 129) considers *dytir* to be the correct form, citing Säve’s reading of the Sjonhem stone II (*GU*, 45 no. 90), which already has the form *systir*, as well as further instances in *GL* (cf. *NIÆR1*, 27). The document known as *Katarina Gillestadga* (Spegel, 184, lines 27 and 28; 185 line 33; 186 line 3), however, has the nominative plural form *systir*.

75/23. *sitia i karls skauti*. Literally ‘sit in a man’s lap’. The word *karl* is used of the head of a family, in this case the paternal grandfather of the girl or girls. The action of taking a child into one’s lap signified adoption or acceptance (especially of an illegitimate child) and the granddaughters would have been treated as daughters of the household, as is clear from inheritance arrangements that immediately follow (cf. *GGD*, 63 note 6, 64 note 1; *SL* IV, 266 notes 5 and 6).

75/25 and endnote 393. Pipping (1904, 16) rejects Schlyter’s *sunna dytrir* (*CIG*, 46) in favour of *sunadytrir*. He thinks that the stroke over the *u* is simply a scribal error and does not denote a doubling of the following *n*.

If there were surviving sons (in addition to any who had predeceased their father) then division of the inheritance gave the daughters of each deceased son their father’s notional share between them (see *GGD*, 64 note 2).

76/1-2. The property referred to here is evidently the property that the deceased woman possessed in her own right.

76/2. *i hueria quisl sum þet kumbr*. All translators and commentators agree that this means ‘to whichever branch [i.e. generation] it has come’, that is, ‘however many branches [generations] there might be’.

76/3. *lindagyrt eþa gyrþlu-*. It is clear that one of these (feminine or neuter singular) participles refers to the male (line) and the other to the female. The taste for elaborate belts with metal clasps, which emerged in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, continued even after the shape of garments had become more fitted and girdles were no longer entirely functional. Around the beginning of the fourteenth century a new type of belt, called in Swedish a *ländbält* or *längördel*, which fitted lower down (literally around the loins) and was sewn to the garment, was introduced (see *KL* s. v. *Gördel och gördelmakare*). It is possible that this latter

type was more commonly used by women, and that the waist-fitting girdle was a male accessory, particularly as it would have been more useful for kilting garments for work. Both *lindi* and *gyrþla* have the sense ‘belt, girdle’, but neither is unambiguously used of female or male dress in medieval sources. Schlyter’s view (CISG, 396-397) is that the former was a woman’s girdle. He thus interprets *lindagyrt* as ‘female (line)’ and *tua lindagyrt* as ‘two male descendants of the female line’. Schlyter’s initial premise seems to be supported by examples cited by Söderwall (OSMS I, 531 s. v. *linde*) who gives three references, all of which contain *linde* in the sense of a female girdle. The first refers to the legend of St George, in which the dragon is bound with the princess’s girdle (MD, 192 ll. 219-222). The second refers to the nuns of St Birgitta sleeping in their kirtles, girdles and coifs (HBU V, 42). The third reference is from *Ett fornsvenskt legendarium* and again it seems that female clothing is involved (FL I-II, 501 ll. 15-19). Schlyter quotes Ihre (1769 s. v. *garland*) where he refers to a *linda* as any belt, especially one worn by a virgin. If this interpretation were followed, the translations ‘distaff side’ and ‘spear side’ for *lindagyrt* and *gyrþlugartr* respectively would be English equivalents. Pipping (1904, 7-10) offers counter-arguments, in particular that the male line would have been referred to first. He notes that Hadorph’s translation (*Gothlandz-Laghen*, 21), which he suspects influenced Schlyter, is inconsistent in that he translates *lindagyrt epa gyrþlu-* as ‘mankön eller qwinkön’ while giving ‘quinnkön’ (sic) for *lindagyrt* a few lines later. Pipping also notes that Fritzner (1891, 531) gives a number of instances in which *lindi* is used of male clothing and quotes Ihre (1769 s. v. *linda*), who gives a similar interpretation. A *lindakníf* was a knife attached to a belt, probably a single edged dagger. This provides support for the supposition that *lindi* was a male belt, since a woman would have keys on

her belt rather than a dagger. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 64-65 note 7), however, does not think that Pipping's arguments convincingly counter Schlyter's, since in *GL* the female is three times referred to first; she prefers to maintain the ambiguous reading of the original. Wessén on the other hand (*SL* IV, 266-267 note 12), finds that, since the grammatical form (*tua lindagyrt*) of the second reference (76/4) must refer to males, *lindagyrt* in this first reference must also refer to a male. He rejects the possibility that *lindagyrt* could mean 'a (male) descendant of a female heir' in the later reference and argues that the two instances of the word must mean the same. Pipping's interpretation also agrees with the German translation in *tyGL*, where *lindagyrt(a)* is translated *mannes namen* and *gyrþlu(gyrt)* as *vrouwen namen* and similarly in *MLBL*, VIII §8 (*NGL* 2, 271) where *lindi* is used of a male garment. In the present translation Pipping's argument has been accepted, although with some reluctance. The equivalents in Old West Norse were *bauggildismaðr*, 'agnatic kinsman' and *nefgildismaðr*, 'cognatic kinsman' (cf. *Gull* 37 (*NGL* 1, 22-24)).

The word *bloz* means direct heirs of the female in question, i.e. the bloodline. The genitive serves in this case as a nominative; cf. Old Swedish *goz*, Modern Swedish *gods*, 'estate; property'. Sävje (*GU*, xviii) considers the possibility that *boþs-kyn* or *bloþs-ett* was intended. Relatives not in the direct bloodline were given different designations (cf. Note to 85/22-24).

76/3-6. This provision may be summarized as stating that if there were three male heirs in successive generations, following inheritance from a female, before the direct line ran out, the property in question stayed in the farm where it now resided, following normal inheritance rules, otherwise it reverted to the farm from which it came (cf. *GGD*, 65 note 3; *SL* IV, 267 notes 13-17).

76/6-7. This provision could refer to property not in the form of land (*lutr* as opposed to *aign*), or it could simply refer to a situation in which an heiress leaves no male heirs, in which case *lutr* refers to all forms of inheritance (cf. *CIG*, 47; *SL* IV, 267 note 18). The latter seems more likely, since this situation is not otherwise provided for.

*þan sum bloþz ier nestr.* Sæve (*GU*, xviii) points out that the dative would be expected here, but see Note to 76/3.

76/9. *Þar sum gangs i garþi.* This and similar expressions are taken by Wessén (*SL* IV, 266 note 6) to refer to the end of the male line at a farm. Holmbäck (1919, 223-227) argues that this expression refers only to lack of surviving sons and that in these circumstances their sons and grandsons were included in the general division of inheritance.

76/11. As Wessén (*SL* IV, 267 note 21) points out, *sett faþurmyþrni* must mean their own (and their brother's) maternal inheritance.

76/12. The word *penningr* here means 'coin, currency, that which could be counted' as opposed to other property.

*af feþrni sinu.* This refers to the father of the daughters, that is, the brother of the unmarried aunts.

76/13-16 and endnote 403. Wessén (*SL* IV, 265 note 65) gives two circumstantial explanations for this paragraph appearing at the end of Chapter 19 (75/12, endnote 382), rather than in its proper place here. The more likely, in view of the fact that the *B*-text has this paragraph in the margin, is that the originals for the *A*- and *B*-texts (both assumed to derive from *v* on the stemma on p. 24) already had this paragraph misplaced. The scribe of the former presumably simply copied what he had in front of him, whereas Bilefeld (or the scribe of his immediate original)



observed the error. He then either decided to show the error in his original by means of a marginal note, or intended to insert the paragraph at the proper place but subsequently forgot to do so and had to insert it in the margin. The paragraph appears in its proper place in *tyGL* and *daGL*.

76/13-14. *nipiar ... a fiarþa mann*. From the context, Holmbäck (1919, 223-227) argues, this must refer to kin in the male line. He then considers what the last part of this phrase might mean, and comes to the conclusion that the deceased was included in the generation count, although this was not always the case in Swedish provincial laws. This means that the fourth remove from the deceased father was (1) amongst his ascendants his paternal grandfather; (2) amongst his descendants his great grandsons in the male line and (3) amongst collateral kin his brother's sons and father's brothers. These all inherited equally with the deceased's daughters (see following note) but how this division functioned in practice is not known. Diplomas show that during the thirteenth century farms were divided into small, barely supportable, holdings and occasionally it appears that the smaller of these, if sold, returned to the mother farm. The provision in Chapter 28 (87/7) relating to the division of property seems specifically to be limited to liquid assets. Concerning the form *burnum* in the *B*-text, Schlyter (*CIG*, 247) argues that this variant reading should be ignored, while Pipping suggests a nominative *\*burn* or *\*burin*. In connection with this he refers to Lars Neogard's collection of papers, *Gautau-Minning*, where *haimburn* is stated to mean 'host' or 'householder', although the more common form was apparently *haimbud* (*GO* s. v. *hem*). Pipping does not indicate how this suggestion relates to the passage in question, however. *GO*, based on the research of the brothers Sæve, gives *haimburen* as 'born on the farm', which suggests that the reference might be to a group of descendents. Valter

Jansson (1935, 7-8, 10-13) in a study of a runic inscription from Bro parish in Gotland, offers evidence from other inscriptions that *borna* means ‘daughter’ and rejects Schlyter’s dismissal of this reading as incorrect and Pipping’s reference to Neogard as irrelevant. Jansson cites the fact that *tyGL* has *myt den tochteren* and the Danish, *daGL*, *medt burne* in support of his suggestion and on this basis Wessén (*SL* IV, 267 note 23) accepts that *mip burnum* means ‘with the daughters’.

76/14-15. *ok quinna lutir iru ut rettadir*. Wessén (*SL* IV, 267 note 25) thinks that this clause was original, although it is missing from the *A*-text, since it relates to the immediately following provision. A widow’s claim was treated as a debt to the estate, payable before the inheritance was divided (cf. Note to 68/14).

76/15. *han*. The masculine form *hann* appears again at 80/12, also corrected by Säve in *GU* (cf. Pipping 1904, 15). The *B*-text continues with the plural here: *En qwindi takin slict yr gardj sum thar i haffdu*. The reference is to the widow of the owner of the farm and to the return of the dowry (*haimfylgi*) she brought to the marriage.

76/15-16. If a dowry claim was not properly laid out in the year immediately following her husband’s death, the estate had the right to withhold payment, or at least the right of proof if a case were brought (see *SL* IV, 268 note 27). Iuul (1941, 174-177) suggests that dowry provisions in *GL* represent an earlier situation than those in mainland provincial laws.

76/16. Säve (*GU*, 14 note 3) prefers *garprin* to *garpin*, or, presumably, the *B*-text version *garthinr*.

76/17-18. The widow of a family where the male line had expired received support for just one year, if she did not remarry. It seems to be tacitly assumed that she was free to do this if she wished, as she would have been in Svealand. In Götaland, she would have had to have agreement from her *giftoman* (the one who received her

bride-price). The provisions here seem to be less generous than those laid out at 77/4-6, but they may have been granted in addition to the latter.

76/18. Corn and other produce were normally measured by capacity rather than weight in the Middle Ages. A *laupr* was  $\frac{1}{4}$  barrel, roughly equivalent to a bushel (circa thirty-six litres). It has the same derivation as Old English *léap*, 'basket'. The word *laupr* for corn measure was apparently unique to Gotland and it is still current (cf. *GGD*, 105 note 4; *GO* s. v. *\*löp*<sup>1</sup>; Gustavson 1940-1942, 1948, 217; 1936, 300-301). The capacity measure normally in use, equivalent to half a barrel, was variously called a *skäppa* or a *spann*, depending on the part of Sweden (cf. Aakjær 1936, 211; Jansson 1936, 2, 5, 22). Neither is used in *GL*, but *spannamal* and variants are found in Gotlandic dialect.

Rye began, on the evidence of pollen analysis, to be cultivated in Scandinavia in the early Iron Age, but did not become a significant crop until the Viking Age. It was more resistant to drought and less demanding in terms of soil quality, and its good baking qualities caused it to advance over other types of grain in the sixteenth century. The oldest provincial laws all mention rye, it being the only seed crop referred to in *ÄVgL* (cf. *ÄVgL* Äb 81; *YVgL* Äb 33; *ÖgL* Kkb 2 pr). It also occurs in *UL* Kkb 7 §5, *SdmL* Kkb 5 pr; Bb 13 pr, *VmL* Kkb 6 §4. Rye seems to have been grown as an autumn crop and *MELL* Jb 29 refers to rye in such a context that winter rye must be intended. In southern Sweden rye seems to have been sown after 14th October (27th by the Gregorian calendar), that is at the start of winter. Rye was also the crop sown on newly cleared land (cf. Note to 92/14).

76/19-20 and endnote 413. *han i quam*. The reference is to property that the wife brought to a marriage, not to the wife herself. Pipping (*GLGS*, 31 note 1) expands on Schlyter's translation (*CIG*, 48), considering it to be a misreading. Cf. *sum þar*

*þet i garþ flyttu* at 95/18.

76/21-22. This provision is obscure, but has presumably to be read in conjunction with the provision at 82/6-8 concerning the protection given to sisters by their brothers before their marriage, and the portion given to them afterwards.

76/22-23. Normally a widow would have a right to her dowry (*haimfylgi*) and *morgongáva* (*hogsl* in *GL*, see Note to 77/1), her bed and best clothes and then that part of the inheritance which fell to her on its division: one third of the liquid assets and land bought during the marriage, up to half the estate. In *VStL* IV 3 §§4-6, for instance, full property sharing rights existed with a man receiving two thirds or a half of the property on the death of his partner and a woman a half or one third depending on the number of offspring. In *GL*, however, there seems to have been no such division and, in the case of a widow left childless, her family reclaimed the dowry. This could represent a much older system of inheritance than was in place on the mainland, perhaps regarding the dowry as an advance on the woman's inheritance (see Amira 1882-1895, I, 528-530).

76/23. Sæve (*GU*, 15 note 2) emends *gangiz* to *gangits*, partly following the *B*-text reading *gangit*.

76/24. Pipping suggests that *þaigin* in the *A*-text might be a scribal error for *þoygin* (cf. Pipping 1901a, 130-133; *GLGS*, 31 note 2; Noreen 1904, §91. 3, §92 a).

77/1. *hogsl ok ip*. The word *hogsl* is used later in the text of a sum of money paid in compensation to an unmarried mother by the father of her child (Chapter 20a). Although no level of payment is mentioned in connection with a widow, full *hogsl* for an unmarried mother was eight marks in coin (two marks of silver). The translator of *tyGL* has related this word to Middle Low German *höger*, 'higher', but it might have resulted from a loan word: Middle Low German *hogen*, 'gladden,

comfort, console' (cf. *CISG*, 279; Amira 1882-1895, I, 521-522; *GU*, xxvii; *GLGS*, cxiii; *GLGS, Ordbok*, 38 s. v. *hogsl*). This interpretation would suit both situations in which the sum was to be paid: a consolation either for loss of a husband or loss of one's honour. The word *hogsl* occurs only in *GL* and seems to be equivalent to the *morgongåva* paid by a bridegroom to his bride, according to other provincial laws, on the morning after the wedding (the price for her virginity). This latter also reverted to the woman if she were widowed. Säre (*GU*, xxvii) offers several alternative derivations and relationships for *hogsl*, including one to Old West Norse *hógr*, 'friendly, gentle', which he thinks might support a sense equivalent to that of the *morgongåva*.

The word *ip* means literally 'occupation, industriousness' and it seems likely that this sum was paid in recognition of the work that a widow had contributed to the farm during her years of marriage, although it might have simply been a provision for her new unsupported state (see *SL IV*, 268 note 31). Schlyter (*CISG*, 279 s. v. *hogsl*) suggests that the phrase might be an example of parallelism and that the two sums were not separate. There do, however, seem to have been distinct payments that were applicable. A widow certainly, according to the following provision, received payment for care of her family for the first eight years after her widowhood, if she did not remarry, and if her sons died leaving no heirs during that time. This has led to speculation that the *ip* might also have varied and been proportional to the length of the marriage (cf. *GLGS*, cxii; *GGD*, 67 note 2; Holmbäck 1919, 221-222).

77/2-3. The presumption is that the widow could, in addition to *hogsl* or *ip*, claim a mark in coin for each year, up to eight, that she remained on the farm supporting her sons or their offspring. It is implied that the sum was taken at the end of the

period, rather than year by year and that, even if any sons survived beyond that time or left offspring, she would not have been entitled to further money from the estate, although the wording is ambiguous.

77/4-6. A childless widow received board and lodging (but no payment for care of her family) for as long as she wished, or ½ mark in coin a year-up to sixteen years, payable on an annual basis, if she chose not to remain on the farm. The total amount was the same as that for a widow with children and presumably the latter also received her board and lodging if she stayed on the farm. These two provisions seem to be at odds with that at 76/17-18 relating to childless widows where it is implied that they only received support for a year. It is possible, however, that both were applicable. Previous editors have not commented upon this inconsistency.

77/12. *ok iru bepin bloz iemner*. See Notes to 76/3, 76/6-7.

77/14 and endnote 422. *vigi*. The reading of the *B*-text is incorrect (cf. *GLGS*, 21 note 10; Note to 98/4-5 and endnote 769).

77/14. The provision that sisters are equal to daughters presumes that the son died before his father in the fire (cf. the provision at 75/22-23), whereas a more modern conception is that the older person died first, in which case the provisions at 76/10-11 would have applied.

77/16. The *staur* appears to have been not just a single pole or stake, but a series of poles that marked the boundary of the home farm. The enclosed area had certain rights associated with it, which were important in legal terms, but which were sometimes equally applicable to land lying outside the boundary (cf. 83/16, 94/8, 95/7).

77/18. *Laigi* was land yielding a certain rent and the word was originally used in

connection with the rent to be paid by a tenant farmer. The expression *marka laigi* came later to be used in reference to any area of land that would fetch a mark of silver in annual rent, if tenanted, the equivalent of *markland* in *UL* and elsewhere in mainland provincial laws. This usage seems to have continued into the eighteenth century in Gotland. In *UL Jb 1* rent is stated to be one twenty-fourth of the freehold value of the land. According to this valuation, a *mark laigi* would thus have been land to the freehold value of twenty-four marks of silver or three marks of gold. One mark of gold in terms of freehold land would thus have been equal to  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a *mark laigi*. The basis for land taxation was freehold value, but this could also be expressed in acreage, varying from district to district depending on the fertility of the soil (cf. *SL III*, *SdmL*, 95-96; Note to 86/9-10). Land worth one mark of silver was subject to a rent of one *örtug* ( $\frac{1}{24}$  mark) and was called an *örtugland*. Lönnroth (1940, 87-101) summarizes five different theories relating to the origin of the term *markland* and concludes that it was an assessment unit for land (in relation to inheritance), which eventually became a measure of obligation to taxation. Cf. *CISG* s. v. *laigi*; Styffe 1864, 64-66; Jacobsen (*GGD*, 68 note 8); Thulin 1911, 122; Sandström 1927, 41-42; Ambrosiani 1939, 162-163; Wessén (*SL IV*, 269 note 39 and references); Dovring 1947, 357-358; Note to 86/9-10.

77/19. The prefix *by-* relating to illegitimate children in *GL* was a word for a female servant, female slaves frequently being taken as concubines. The word *bysun* (similarly *pydotir* and *pybarn*) thus originally meant 'son of a slave woman', but here it includes the illegitimate son of a free man and woman (cf. Holmbäck 1919, 228-231). The coming of Christianity brought about a differentiation between children born to married and unmarried parents, particularly after the Synod of Skänninge in 1248. Provincial laws other than *GL* imply that a child could only

inherit from its mother, if at all (cf. *ÄVgL* Äb 8, *YVgL* Äb 11-12; *ÖgL* Äb 4).

77/20. The adjective *apal* is used in two contexts in *GL*, here meaning ‘true-born’ and in Chapter 25 concerning land meaning ‘cultivated’ as opposed to ‘woodland’. In the present chapter there seem to be two senses: Gotlandic as opposed to non-Gotlandic and legitimate as opposed to illegitimate (77/24).

77/21-22. This provision presupposes that written genealogical tables were common in Gotland, although none survive (cf. *SL* IV, 269 note 43). They did not come into use elsewhere until later in the Middle Ages, although there are genealogical elements on some runic inscriptions, in diplomas and in literature, e.g. *Erikskrönikan* (ll. 202-231). It is worth noting that it was the female line of an illegitimate son that had to be Gotlandic for him to inherit. This presumably excluded both non-Gotlandic women and slaves (cf. Note to 77/19).

77/22. *þairi þriþiu lutu*. Schlyter (*CIG*, 51 note 60) suggests *þan þriþia lut* and Sävén (*GU*, xxv; 15 note 6) the alternative *þaira þriggia lutu*. Wessén (*SL* IV, 269 note 45) rejects these and prefers Pipping’s reading, which involves minimum amendment (cf. Pipping 1904, 13).

77/25-78/1, 78/4-5. The responsibility taken by a father for the support of his illegitimate children by non-Gotlandic women, as well as Gotlandic, contrasts with mainland provincial laws in which they were the responsibility of their mother (cf. *ÄVgL* Äb 8, *YVgL* Äb 11-12; *ÖgL* Äb 4). The laws of Svealand distribute responsibility between the parents (cf. *UL* Äb 23 §2; 24 pr; *HL* Äb 14 §2).

78/3. The *fulkvapn* were battle weapons (or equipment) for the levy in defence of the province, as opposed to murder weapons, or weapons used by knights. In *HL* Rb 14 §2, the *folkvapen* are named as: sword or axe, iron helmet, shield, *brynja* or *musa* (chain mail helmet or hood), bow with three-dozen arrows. These last were



considered (at least potentially) to be murder weapons (cf. *SdmL* Mb 26 §3; *DL* Mb 19; *SL* II, *DL*, 45 notes 61 and 62). Sometimes a spear and club were included, although these are not mentioned in provincial laws and the axe was considered to be the most important weapon of the levy (see Grieg 1943b, 124; Hellsten 1943, 186). The shield was originally round and made from lime wood, but this later proved ineffective and was superseded (see Grieg 1943a, 69). The word *fulkvapn* occurs also in *SkL* 88 (*CISk* I 87), with respect to breaking and entering, and elsewhere in Danish and Swedish provincial laws. Cf. *GGD*, 69 note 7; *SL* IV, 269 note 48; *SL* IV, 72 note 15 and references.

The *falda* was the top covering of a bed, made of skins, but another skin might have been used under the sleeper to cover the straw (cf. Neogard's collection, *Gautau-Minning*; *SL* IV, 270 note 49).

Mattress fillings were, for example, down, feathers, hair, hay, moss, seaweed, leaves, chaff, according to the social status of the family and what was available. Hay and straw were most common. Säv (GU, xxviii) describes beds as having first a straw mattress, then an under sheet ('underkläde'), then a wool or homespun ('vadmal') blanket called the 'lägita' or 'legta' and lastly a sheet, but this conflicts with alternative suggestions. According to Bugge (1877-1878, 266-267) *legvita* was still current in nineteenth-century Gotland to designate a woollen blanket put on a bed between the under sheet and the top sheet. He thinks that the word derives from elements meaning 'a white blanket for lying on'. The *sengaklepi* itself was the final blanket or bedcovering, sometimes the sleeper's cloak. The *vengi* may have been a pillow for the bed, or else a *raipvengi* or saddle cushion.

From the context, *klepi* in this single instance means not 'garments', but 'cloth'. It was fine woollen material (cf. English (*broad*)*cloth*) in contrast to native

homespun (Swedish *vadmål*), of which there is, curiously, no mention in *GL*, although the term appears in *ÖgL* Bb 9 pr and in *MELL* Jb 9.

78/4-5. The assumption that illegitimate daughters remained at home until they were eighteen years of age implies that this was the age of majority for women (as opposed to fifteen for men, 75/16). There is, however, no other support for this in *GL*. Daughters received an extra mark in coin and a cow instead of weapons, which suggests that the latter were worth at least a mark more than a cow.

78/7-8. The rights of illegitimate children had to be honoured in the presence of the parishioners and with their given witness (cf. *SL* IV, 270 note 51).

78/9. The expression *fallas víþr* meaning 'be convicted of seduction' is an extension of its usual sense 'be found guilty' (cf. Old West Norse *fallerask*, 'prove false, fall (of a woman)').

78/10. The compensation (*hogsl*) given here was four marks in coin (one mark of silver), half of the maximum, whereas eight marks in coin (two marks of silver) were payable to a Gotlandic woman (78/25). Cf. *högs**l*, *högen* in *tyGL* (*CIG*, 134, l.24; 136, l.17); Note to 77/1.

78/11-12. The difference in penalty applicable to intercourse that was not discovered (a fine, in effect, of one mark of silver) from that in which the couple were *innitakin*, 'caught in the act' (mutilation or a fine of three marks of silver) is striking. Both these fines were half of what would have been payable for a wholly Gotlandic woman. The mutilation here and in the next chapter, loss of a hand or foot, was not regarded as a mirroring or matching punishment (e.g. loss of the nose for seduction or adultery) nor a retaliatory one (e.g. burning alive for an arsonist) (cf. Brunner 1906-1928, II, 767-768; Hasselberg 1953, 235-242; *KL* s. v. *Speglande straff*). This provision is first in a series relating to sexual misconduct

and, unusually, mixed relationships are mentioned before wholly Gotlandic ones (see *SL* IV, 270 note 54). As Wessén also points out, it provides a link between the provisions relating to inheritance and those relating to adultery and other sexual misdemeanours. This arrangement is typical of the organic structure of *GL*, with no strict division into sections and with an almost seamless transition from one subject to the next.

78/12-13. It is worth noting that the provisions were the same whether the father of an illegitimate daughter was Gotlandic and her mother non-Gotlandic, or vice-versa.

#### Chapter 20a: [Af manni innitaknum]

This new chapter in the *B*-text is not signalled in the *A*-text, although the chapter title appears in the table of contents. The complex provisions relating to sexual misconduct in this and the following chapter reflect a little of the gradually changing attitudes to marital fidelity. In older Germanic laws it was only the husband who was considered to be shamed by the behaviour of his wife, and not vice versa. The Christian view that both parties to a marriage were equally responsible was slowly introduced into Scandinavian law, although equality of treatment is not evident in *GL* or in Swedish provincial laws, and in *GL* no fines to the bishop or other church official are mentioned (cf. Brunner 1906-1928, II, 854-855; Wilda 1960, 821-822; Hemmer 1928, 241-342; Hasselberg 1953, 332-333).

78/15. The word *\*ainloypr*, 'single', can be compared with Old Swedish *enlöper* in *SkL* 219 (*CISk* I 208) and Old West Norse *einhleyp* (see *GGD*, 70 note 6). It does not appear to be attested in other Swedish provincial laws.

78/15-16. This is the only instance in *GL* in which loss of liberty, as opposed to life, status or money, is mentioned as a punishment. Stocks were used temporarily to hold a wrongdoer until he/she was redeemed by the family. It was only with the

development of towns that prisons came into being. Originally, it was the duty of the injured party to keep a wrongdoer at his farm and conduct him to the assembly. As the very act of detention and binding was a serious infringement of personal rights, there were carefully constructed rules surrounding this procedure, and the wrongdoer had to be caught in the act of committing a serious offence (cf. *ÖgL* Db 2 §1; *VmL* Mb 26 §5). On the other hand, if the injured party let such a person escape, they were themselves subject to fines (cf. Hasselberg 1953, 328-329 and notes 5 and 6; Thomson 1972, 89-90; Note to 100/6-7).

78/16-17. The fine of six marks of silver with which an offender could redeem his hand or foot was  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a man's wergild, but also the sum payable in compensation for loss of a hand or foot (see 72/22-23). This sum was presumably paid to the woman's family (as opposed to the *hogsli* paid to her if she became pregnant).

78/20-21. The six men were to swear to the truth of the witness statement by the two parishioners, that no word had been heard of the man's involvement in the conception of the child before its birth. They were thus swearing as to the truthfulness of the accused man himself (see *SL* IV, 270 note 60).

78/21-22. The accused man was entitled to obtain a six-man oath if he could obtain two resident parishioners as witnesses. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 71 note 3) offers the interpretation that the six men were to include the defendant and the two parishioners, but Wessén's translation appears more likely.

78/23. Men of equal birth with the woman would in this instance presumably have been of Gotlandic birth (see *SL* IV, 270 note 62).

78/24-25. If the man was unmarried as well as the woman, he might be expected to marry her, but if not he had to pay her full compensation (eight marks in coin) as if she were his widow.

79/1. The three marks referred to here are most probably three marks in coin, as silver is not specified (see *SL* IV, 271 note 64). This payment is strikingly low in comparison to the sums payable to Gotlandic or (illegitimate) half-Gotlandic women for a discovered seduction (six or three marks of silver respectively). It is possible that three marks of silver was intended, which would have been equal to the amount payable in respect of an illegitimate half-Gotlandic woman (78/11-12). The sum is, however, the same as that payable by a non-Gotlandic man in similar circumstances, again with no reference to silver or coin (cf. Note to 79/2-6, 6-9).

79/2. Schlyter's punctuation, with a semicolon after *innitakin*, does not seem to be correct. The meaning appears to be that the non-Gotlandic woman must be a resident and not a camp-follower or a prostitute. Cf. *GGD*, 71 note 8; *SL* IV, 271 note 65.

79/2-6, 6-9. Compensation rules depended on the status of the woman in the case, and not on that of the man. If the woman were Gotlandic, her 'consolation' was eight marks in coin (two marks of silver), which was one twelfth of her wergild (twenty-four marks of silver). If she were non-Gotlandic, it was three marks in coin, which was just a little less than one twelfth of her wergild of forty marks in coin (see *SL* IV, 271 note 71).

79/4. Since the fine payable in all these cases depended on the status of the woman involved, and a Gotlandic woman is again under consideration here, one can infer from the expression *hogsl atta markar* here that *fult hogsl* (78/25) payable for undiscovered intercourse resulting in pregnancy was also eight marks in coin.

79/6-7 and endnote 448. Sävle (*GU*, 16) and Pipping (*GLGS*, 34 note 4) prefer the reading of the *B*-text and replace *ogipt* with *ogiptr*, reading *han* as an error (or an alternative) for *hann* (nominative singular masculine). Both *tyGL* and *daGL* follow

the reading of the *A*-text and Schlyter (*CIG*, 54), Jacobsen (*GGD*, 72 note 2) and Wessén (*SL* IV, 271 note 69) consider that there is no need to make a change. The sense is quite clear without any amendment: if the woman was unmarried her father or, if he were dead, her brother was to take charge of the compensation and raise her child, but if she were married, then her husband presumably did so. Since the *B*-text has *han* for the masculine nominative pronoun and *haan* for the feminine nominative pronoun, it seems possible that an error occurred in the manuscript Bilefeld was using and that this led to his writing *ogipter* rather than *ogipt*. It is worth noting that in this case the (Gotlandic) woman was not expected to marry the (non-Gotlandic) man.

79/7 and endnote 449. The *B*-text reading *ogutnischir* is probably correct, although the circumstance of a Gotlandic man having a child with a non-Gotlandic woman is not previously referred to either. Both *tyGL* and *daGL* have this same reading.

#### Chapter 21: Gierir mandr hor

This chapter continues the theme of the end of the previous one, covering provisions relating to cases in which one or more of the parties was married, or in which seduction or violence were involved. It is significant that the chapter title refers specifically to the male partner, and that no punishment is suggested for an erring wife. This is in contrast to some mainland provincial laws. In *ÄVgL* Gb 5 she has to leave home in her everyday clothes and in *YVgL* Gb 5 and 6 she is shamed in her banishment from the house by having her clothes cut if caught in the act, but otherwise must leave in her everyday clothes. The woman also forfeited her *morgongåva* and everything she received at her marriage. Adultery was usually the sole reason for divorce, although there is an exception in *ÖgL* Kkb 27, where incompatibility seems to have been permissible as a reason. In *SdmL* Gb 4 and

*VmL* Äb 6 a woman catching her husband in adultery, in her marriage bed, could maim her rival or tear her clothes and in *UL* and *VmL* (Äb 6 §1) she has the right to kill her rival. There is no mention in *GL* of any similar punishments.

The Swedish provincial laws with the sole exception of *GL* have provisions forbidding sexual relations with kin closer than the fifth degree (cf. *ÄVgL* Gb 8, *YVgL* Kkb 52 and Urb 3, *ÖgL* Kkb 15 pr). There could be two reasons for this: *GL* totally lacks a section relating to church law, and/or the law was codified during the period preceding the Lateran Council of 1215, when the fourth degree limit was imposed, relaxing a previous limit of the sixth degree. This uncertainty could have led to the exclusion of any related statutes.

79/11. The first provision of this section refers, by a process of elimination, to a married man committing adultery with an unmarried woman, or an unmarried man with a married woman but not caught in the act by her husband. The total amount payable was only nine marks in coin, of which six went to the family of the woman or her husband.

79/12. Despite Jacobsen's doubts (*GGD*, 72 note 3), it is clear that *yfirhor* means 'double adultery' and this is confirmed by the reading in *tyGL*, which is *czwevald obirspil also das sy beide echte lute synt*. This concept came into being with the introduction of Christianity and more equal responsibility for faithfulness between partners (cf. *UL* Äb 6). The existence of married priests is implied by the phrase *lerdir ella olerdir* in the *B*-text, which all editors consider should be applied as an emendation to the *A*-text, by comparison with *tyGL* and *daGL* and with 79/15 (cf. *CIG*, 54; *GLGS*, 34 note 6; *SL* IV, 271 note 2). The wronged party, *malsaigandi*, was always the husband of the woman in the case. If the woman's seducer was a married man, rather than a single man, the husband received double the

compensation and the community received four times that amount. Whether different recipients were intended by the use of the word *land* as opposed to *þing* is unclear. The punishment for discovered adultery was different (see Note to 79/14-16).

79/13-14. The compensation paid by a married man to an unmarried woman (in addition to that to her family) seems to have been the same as if an unmarried man fathered a child with an unmarried woman, that is *hogsl*, presumably dependent upon the status of the woman (eight marks or three marks). This is the sole instance of the word *hogsl* used in a circumstance in which no child is involved, and perhaps compensated for the man's inability to marry his victim. If the situation were reversed, nothing was payable to the woman, who was considered to be the miscreant in this case, just to her husband (79/11). This is one of the few instances of gender inequality in respect of compensation in *GL*.

79/14-16. No differentiation between the treatment of a married and an unmarried man is made for discovered adultery with a married woman. Community fines do not seem to have been paid in such cases. The right of a cuckolded husband, who catches his wife in the act of adultery, to kill the male offender occurs in several mainland provincial laws (cf. *ÖgL* Eb 26, Vb 30). In earlier laws, it was not necessary for the pair to be caught in the act (cf. *ÄVgL* Md 11; *YVgL* Db 22). In the provincial laws of Svealand, but not of Götaland, the woman could also be killed, but suitable proof had to be taken to the assembly (cf. *VmL* Äb 6). Wessén (*SL* IV, 271 note 5) thinks that the option of the wrongdoer redeeming his life for forty marks (the wergild of a non-Gotlander) was borrowed from mainland laws and the sum involved seems to support this suggestion. The clause giving the husband the right to choose between the punishments occurs only in the *A*-text, but this might



be presumed to have been the case.

The death sentence is only mentioned in *GL* in connection with five specific types of action: (1) for discovered adultery with a married woman as detailed here; (2) for abducting an unmarried girl without her parent or guardian's consent (79/19, 21); (3) for rape (80/10, 17); (4) for theft of property over a certain value, or second theft (90/13); (5) for misappropriation or abuse of land of a certain value (95/13). The punishment is unconditional only in cases (4) and (5), otherwise the wronged party can choose compensation instead. Loss of one's neck, presumably decapitation, was the punishment for cases (2) and (5), and a shameful death by hanging is specifically mentioned for theft, but not otherwise. Medieval German laws showed a gradual increase in use of the death penalty from about the middle of the thirteenth century, together with a greater variety of means of execution. Swedish provincial laws as well as *VStL* show a similar trend (see Hasselberg 1953, 226-231). *GL* thus exhibits an older pattern of punishment, although a move from direct revenge for crimes of honour is reflected in its provisions (cf. Note to 65/7). A number of theories have been proposed concerning the relationship between the death penalty and sacrifice. Mogk (1909, 642-643) concludes that Germanic sacrifice was a cult act, not a punishment, while Amira (1922, 57-64) argues that there was a link between sacrifice and the death penalty, supported by the observation that offences punishable by death were sacrilegious or shameful in some way. Wennström (1936, 505-507) and Rehfeldt (1942, 164-166) reject this suggestion and Ström (1942, 277-278) thinks that superstitions that surrounded the *act* of killing, even judicial killing, led to the development of rituals that made such a death appear to be voluntary and self-inflicted. Strömbäck (1942, 67-69), after a study of new evidence, thinks that there might have been a connection in some

cases between sacrifice and punishment. Cf. Hemmer 1928, 55-57; 1960, 188-189 and Notes to 79/18-20; 80/8-11, 16-18; 90/13; 95/12-13.

79/16-18. The implication in this and the following provision is that the agreement of father and close kin was necessary for a daughter to enter into a lawful marriage. Luring a girl into betrothal, although not as serious as abduction and forced marriage, was regarded as a crime. Wessén (*SL* IV, 271 note 6) thinks that this provision was borrowed from *ÖgL* Gb 6 §1, where the fine was 13½ marks to the *härad*. The word *festa* in the sense of 'betrothal' is not used elsewhere in *GL*, nor are there any specific provisions relating to procedures for entering into marriage. This is in marked contrast to the provincial laws of the mainland, where there are detailed provisions concerning payments to be made by the various parties. Hildebrand (1879-1953, I, 90-100) summarises these procedures and implications of marriage for the extended family (dynasty, clan or tribe) in Swedish provincial laws.

79/18-20. Abduction, without the finesse of seduction, was usually regarded as a serious crime, not a normal precursor to marriage and the punishment was frequently outlawry (cf. *UL*, *VmL*, and *HL* Äb 1 pr). The penalty imposed in *GL* for abduction of a Gotlandic woman was either the life or the wergild of the offender, i.e. twenty-four marks of silver (three marks of gold) if the man were Gotlandic, otherwise ten marks of silver. The principle was usually, however, that the wergild of the victim applied, as in the following clause: if the woman were non-Gotlandic, the sum was ten marks of silver (her wergild), whatever the status of the man (cf. Delin 1926, 268 note 1). The sum payable to the general assembly from each fine was twelve marks, presumably in coin, although this is not explicit (cf. Delin 1926, 269 note 2). The abduction of a Gotlandic woman by a Gotlandic man was thus

compensated much more generously than the three other possible cases. For other instances of compensation to some extent depending upon the status of the perpetrator of the crime, see Chapters 22 (80/16-18), 38 (90/12-13), 51 (93/6) and 59 (94/15). Whether the general assembly received anything if the family of the woman chose the abductor's life is not recorded. The form of execution was probably beheading, but *GL* does not state this (cf. Note to 79/14-16).

79/19. The word *ran* generally meant '(open) robbery', less despicable than *piaufnaþr*, '(secret) theft', in Swedish provincial laws, but this meaning does not occur in *GL*. The implication here is the same as in *ÖgL* Äb 8, where *taka kunu rane* means 'force a woman to sexual intercourse', although other forms of violence, *vald*, are included in the crime.

#### Chapter 22: [Af quinna skam]

This chapter has no rubric in the *A*-text, although it appears in the table of contents. Most editors number it Chapter 22, although Jacobsen (*GGD*, 73) numbers it 21a and subsequent chapters 22 onwards. The content of this and the following chapter should be compared with provisions in *ÖgL* Eb 3 pr; *UL* Kgb 6; *VStL* I 43-47.

80/2. The noun *symni* occurs only in *GL*. It is related to the verb *sufa*, 'sleep', but here means specifically forced intercourse (cf. *GU*, xxix; *GGD*, 73 note 5). *GL* is the earliest of the Swedish provincial laws to recognize rape as a separate crime before the instigation of *edsöreslag*; cf. *YVgL* Ub 1 §7, which is not found in *ÄVgL* Ub and *SL* IV, 272 note 10. In mainland provincial laws, the expression *taka kunu mæþ vald* implies not only rape but also the forcible abduction of a woman, particularly one about to be married to another (cf. 79/18-19; *ÄVgL* Gb 3; *YVgL* Gb 2). *Gull* 199 (*NGL* 1, 71) specifies an even higher fine for rape (forty marks) or outlawry plus a double wergild to the woman.

80/2-3. It was important that a woman proclaim her attack publicly at the first possible opportunity, if she was to receive compensation. A shout was a common legal device, often associated with counteracting witchcraft (cf. *ÖgL* Eb 3 pr; *UL* Kgb 6; *SdmL* Kgb 6 pr; *VmL* Kgb 3 pr; *HL* Kgb 3 pr; *MELL* Eb 14 pr; *MESL* Eb 11 pr; *Eriks SjLI* Text 1 II §20; Holmbäck 1920, 13-14). The use of a shout with legal effect is also evident in Chapter 36 (89/15) in connection with an abandoned boat and, as a means of witness, is considered by some researchers to be a feature of early Germanic law. Hammerich (1941, 70-79) postulates, however, that it might have come about as a result of church law in the twelfth and thirteen centuries, referring to Deut. 22 vv. 25-27, although he considers Saxon law a more likely influence (see Westman 1944, 52-56).

80/6, 12. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 74 note 1) remarks that the word *by* occurs only here in *GL* and that it means a farmstead or other inhabited place rather than a town. *Byamaþr* (96/1, 101/5), on the other hand, means ‘town-dweller’, more specifically an inhabitant of Visby.

80/5-7. If there was no witness to her shouting, the victim had to declare her attack before witnesses and name the attacker at the nearest habitation within twenty-four hours. She could then use the inhabitants as witnesses to the truth of her claim (that she had declared the attack). If she delayed, it was advisable to keep silent as the accused then had the right of defence.

80/8-11. The penalty for rape was half of her wergild for a free woman (the amount depending on whether she was Gotlandic or non-Gotlandic) and one sixth of her wergild for a slave. In each case, this was the same amount as would have been payable for killing a woman within her circle of safety. If the woman was married, the man could be killed (presumably by her husband, although this is not explicit);

alternatively he could pay her full wergild. Slave women are excluded from this provision since they could not be lawfully married. The wording seems to imply that the offender could offer to pay compensation in return for his life, whereas in the previous chapter it is the family of the victim who had the choice (cf. Delin 1926, 268 note 1).

The words *ofrels* (*kuna*) and *ambatn* are each used twice to describe a slave woman, but, although *frelsr* is used a number of times, *ofrelsr* is never used of a man as an alternative to *þrel*.

80/12 and endnote 456. This is one of a number of instances in which the use by the *B*-text of the feminine nominative pronoun *haan* assists in reading the *A*-text; others are at 69/19, 71/8, 76/19-20, 81/5 (cf. Pipping 1904, 15). See also Note to 76/15.

80/16-18. This clause is ambiguous in that it is not clear whose wergild was involved.

Jacobsen (*GGD*, 75 note 2) assumes that it was the woman's wergild, whereas Wessén (*SL* IV, 272 note 9 to Chapter 22) assumes that it was the slave's. The masculine form of the personal pronoun is used in both the *A*-text and the *B*-text. If it were the slave's wergild, the amount would be 4½ marks in coin, which would seem to be derisory. Earlier in the chapter the compensation relates to the status of the woman. One can compare this provision to another in which a slave's master made payment: three *öre* for a theft of up to an *öre*, three times the value plus the property for greater amounts (99/23-24). In this case, however, the owner was not responsible for more than the value of his slave (100/12). This value seems to have been set at three marks of silver or twelve marks in coin (cf. 70/5-6, 6-8). In Chapters 21 (79/18-22), 38 (90/12-13), 51 (93/6) and 59 (94/15), penalties also seem to be related to the status of the wrongdoer. Wessén compares these

provisions with those in *ÖgL* Eb 3 pr and *UL* Kgb 6, which represent *edsöreslag*. Another point of interest is that no mention is made of rape by a slave of a non-Gotlandic woman. This would appear to be an error of omission.

#### Chapter 23: Um quinna gripi

80/20. A *tuppr* (Old West Norse *toppr* m.) was a pointed linen hood worn by married women and a *huifr* was possibly a headscarf, similar to a wimple, worn underneath this. Schlyter (*CISG*, 297-298 s. v. *Hviver*) does not relate this latter word to Old West Norse *kveif* f., from Old French *coif(fe)*. He suggests instead a derivation from an Old Swedish verb *hviva*, ‘weave’. (cf. *GGD*, 75 note 4; Falk 1919, 93-98; *SL* IV, 272 note 2 to Chapter 23; Hellquist 1980 s. v. *veva*<sup>1</sup>).

80/21-22. In an agreement dated circa 1199 between the governor of Novgorod and the Germans and Gotlanders trading there (*STFM* I, 106-107), a provision relating to a similar incident set a fine of six old *grivna* for the insult. The value of a *grivna* is not clear as there were several kinds (as there were of *mark*) (cf. *MRL*, 24-25; *SL* IV, 272 note 3 to Chapter 23).

80/22. Pipping (*GLGS*, 36 note 5) accepts Sävö’s correction to *vitorþ*. Schlyter (*CIG*, 306), however, thinks that the *A*-text reading *witorþr um* stands here for *vitorþ þar um*.

The clause excepting slave women from compensation for anything but injury, which applies to the whole chapter, is consistent with the statement in Chapter 19 (75/11-12) that slaves can neither insult nor be insulted.

80/23-24. The alliterative phrase *nast eþa nestli* refers to the two parts of a clasp that fastened a woman’s clothing, the hook and the eye respectively (cf. *GGD*, 75 note 5; *SL* IV, 272 note 5 to Chapter 23). In *Laxdæla saga*, Chapter 75, *nist* f. is taken to be the fastening of Halldórr’s gown, whereas *nist* n. was a pin or brooch (cf. *ÍF* V,

219 note 2).

80/24-25. The hook and eye or clasp can hardly be the *hann* referred to, this must be the cloak to which they are the fastenings.

80/25-81/1. Reference to the maximum fine must be to the maximum fine in this chapter, that is, two marks in coin. The laces presumably fastened a woman's bodice. The provision that everything must be returned to the woman refers to all the previously mentioned items (see *SL IV*, 272-273 notes 7 and 8).

81/1-10. The provisions in this part of the chapter fall into two sets. The first set relates to manhandling of a generally boorish nature, with fines rising from eight *örtugar* ( $\frac{1}{3}$  mark) to two marks. The second set relates to approaches of a more sexual nature, with fines falling from  $\frac{1}{2}$  mark to nothing depending on the intimacy of the area involved, under the assumption that a woman should have registered her protest at the first opportunity, if she was to receive maximum compensation. When a man committed what would today be termed an indecent assault, a woman was held to have agreed to it by implication (see *GGD*, 76 note 3).

81/4. *loyndir*. Schlyter (*CIG*, 58) in accepting the reading *lyndir* as correct has not observed the later *o* inserted above the line in the *A*-text. Pipping (1901a, 88-99) takes issue with Schlyter's identification of *lyndir* with Old West Norse *leynd* f., 'pubic area', although he is supported by Rydqvist (1850-1883, II, 89, III, 122). Noreen (1877, 24, §65.2 and note 1; 1894, 100) thinks that *lyndir* (if correct) would be cognate with Old West Norse *lundir* f. pl., 'the flesh along the back', rather than *lendir* f. pl., 'loins'. This suggestion has been supported by Tamm (1877, 27, 46) and Söderberg (1879, 10). Pipping argues that the more likely explanation is that *lyndir* is a (corrected) scribal error for *loyndir*, but with the sense given by Schlyter. The reading of the *B*-text, *tyGL* and *daGL* is *loyndir* and

these must be given credence, since all three are considered to originate from versions of *GL* older than that from which the *A*-text was drawn.

81/5. The verb *kera*, ‘plead (a case)’ is common in early Danish law, but has later been replaced both there and in Swedish law by *klaða*, from German *klagen* (cf. *GGD*, 35 note 4).

81/8. Bugge (1877-1878, 262-263) rejects the translation in *tyGL* and by Schlyter (*CIG*, 58) of *handar mair* as ‘en hand längre upp’, and proposes instead that the whole expression means ‘videre, længere bort’, taking *handar* to be related to Old West Norse *handan*, meaning ‘on the other side’ and *handar mair* as a comparative (cf. Noreen 1894, 138; *OSMS* I, 463 s. v. *handarmer*; Rydqvist 1850-1883, II, 443, 450).

81/9 and endnote 470. The form *haitir* is proposed by Sävle and is supported by four occurrences in *Guta saga* (cf. *GU*, 60-61; *GLGS*, 63 lines 5 and 7, 65 line 21, 68 line 23).

The lack of any compensation for indecent (*ohaiþverþr*) assault, despite the fact that it is called a ‘fool’s grip’, is puzzling. The sequence of fines clearly reflects the notion that a woman should protest at the first opportunity, but in that case one might query why the most invasive assault is described in the way it is.

81/11. The alliterative phrase *frels ok friþvetr* occurs in Swedish provincial laws (e.g. *UL* Rb 9 §4, *SdmL* Rb 9 §4, *VmL* Rb 18 §3). The adjective *frels* and the noun *frelsi* n., ‘freedom’, derive from *fri hals*, someone who did not have the neck ring that denoted a slave. The person concerned might be a freed slave. On the other hand, *friþvetr* meant free-born (cf. *ÖgL* Äb 24: *fræls ok friþætta*), or ‘known to be free’ (cf. *GGD*, 76 note 4; *SL* IV, 273 note 10). The expression in *HL* Kkb 2 pr in relation to the tax-free state of a church is *fult och frælst foræ allom wtskyldom*. Cf.



also Note to 70/12-13.

#### Chapter 24: Af bryllaupum

Only the first section of this chapter strictly refers to weddings, as can be seen from chapter divisions in the *B*-text and the table of contents in the *A*-text. The remainder of the chapter (the final one in the section covering family law) contains a miscellany of provisions, a number relating to inheritance. It is possible that at least some of these were later additions.

The concept behind the wedding ceremony described was that a bride was taken from her family home to her new home. There is little detail relating to marriage laws and customs in *GL*, but there must have been traditions and accepted forms of ceremony (cf. Spegel, 53). Chapter 21 (79/16-18) implies that a woman is only lawfully married if she has the agreement of her father and family, and Chapter 20 (75/22) that a father might arrange a marriage for his son. Only if he had his father's agreement could he have a share in his inheritance to put into the marriage (87/5-6). Reading the banns was instituted as a necessary precursor to a lawful marriage in 1215 by Pope Innocent III at the fourth Lateran council and imposed in Sweden on 5/4/1216 (cf. *DS* I, 182-183, no. 156; *UL* Kkb 15 §2). Banns and church weddings took time to become established, however, and it was only in 1562 following the Tridentine Conference that church weddings became obligatory for a lawful marriage. In Sweden the church law of 1686 was only instituted as a civil obligation in 1734, and in England only with an Act of Parliament in 1753. Thus the omission of any mention of banns does not provide evidence of an early date for *GL*.

81/13. In contradiction to Schlyter (*CIG*, 302), Bugge (1877-1878, 272-273) argues that the second element of *vagnikil* is related to the verb *aka*, giving instances of

the appearance of an *l* in such derivatives and of similar vowel changes. The noun thus refers to ‘wagon-travellers’ who followed the procession of the dowry. This was done with certain ceremony, as elsewhere in northern Europe (see *GGD*, 77 note 1). Picture stones from Alskog and Grötlingbo (ninth century) and Levide and Ekeby (eleventh century) show the earliest pictorial evidence of a wagon being used to transport people.

*huarum*. The pronoun *huar*, as has been pointed out by Sävje (*GU*, viii), means ‘each of two’. It is rarely confused in older sections of *GL* with *huer*, meaning ‘each of three or more’, although this confusion occurs in later sections of the text. The implication is thus that only two wagons were permitted, with two travellers on each. The *B*-text, however, has *hwariorum*, the dative singular of *hwar*, which is the *B*-text form of *huer*. Sävje emends to *hwerium* here (cf. Pipping 1904, 5; *SL* IV, 274 note 3).

81/13-14. The custom of having a bride accompanied by male members of her family on horseback in a ‘mågfarande’ or ‘magfarande’ was an enduring one and is noted by Spengel (53), who interprets the word as derived from *makafärd*, and by Neogard in his collection *Gautau-Minning* (cf. Amira 1882-1895, I, 536-539; *GO* s. v. *måg*, *mage*).

81/15. Weddings originally took place outside the church and were followed by a nuptial mass, *brupmessa*, in the church. This custom was later forbidden and a church ceremony had to be the centre of the proceedings. Wedding rings, candles, bridal canopies and eventually the bridal crown were all later (re-)introductions, although a *pell* is mentioned at 95/22 and was abolished as part of the sumptuary laws.

Bugge (1877-1878, 260) suggests that the second element of *bryttuga* relates to a

verb meaning to guide or lead. The bride's representative at a wedding was called the *brudefører* in West Norse sources. This person was thus the 'leader of the bride'. The person who usually dressed and decorated a bride for weddings in Gotland was the priest's wife and a bride was only dressed in her bridal clothes when she arrived at the place where she was to be married (see *SL IV*, 274 note 5). No other helpers of the bride are mentioned, nor any formal gifts to the bridal couple. There is no equivalent either of a gift to the sponsor of the bride by the bridegroom, although it occurs in mainland provincial laws (e.g. *ÄVgL* and *YVgL Gb 2*).

81/16-17. Although wedding guests were henceforth forbidden to bring food for the feast, they were invited to bring voluntary gifts for the couple. These gifts are unusual in that they seem to have been given without obligation. The custom of guests bringing an edible contribution (*föring*) to a feast or party is still current in Gotland and other parts of Scandinavia (cf. Amira 1882-1895, I, 524-525, 533-534; *GGD*, 77 note 7).

81/18. The *drotsieti* was the host, the one who led each of the guests to his seat, and the *gierþamaþr* was the ruler of the feast (cf. John 2 v. 9) who organized events and arrangements (cf. *GGD*, 78 note 1; *SL IV*, 274 note 8). It appears from *ÄVgL Gb 9 §1* and *YVgL Gb 9 §2* that one of the duties of the latter was to give the speech that finalized the marriage. He was called the *kunemädre* in Gotlandic dialect (Spegel, 53). The word *gierþamaþr* was also used of a spokesman for the witnesses to other legal proceedings, such as a land purchase and pledging. Later his function was taken over by the church, just as in the case of land purchase it was taken over by the civil authorities.

81/19. Säve (*GU*, xli) emends *skenkias* to *skienkias*.

81/20-21. Wessén points out that the high level of fine for breaking the provisions regarding weddings and the fact that payment was not to the parish, but to the province, indicate that this was a later insertion. The drinking of toasts in Sweden was usually associated with guilds and the practice of drinking a toast to the Virgin Mary as the final toast of the wedding feast is unique to *GL*, although toasts to St Catherine are mentioned in other sources (cf. *Stadga*, 150; Amira 1882-1895, I, 539; *SL* IV, 274 note 9).

81/22. The word *\*vaizla* means ‘feast’ in this context. It is otherwise unknown in East Norse. In Old West Norse it means ‘payment in kind’, Gutnish *gingerþ* (see *GGD*, 78 note 3).

#### Chapter 24a: [Af erfisgierþum]

This new chapter in the *B*-text is not signalled in the *A*-text, although the chapter title appears in the table of contents.

81/24. The prohibition on funeral feasts might have been to avoid any suspicion of ancestor worship. A suggested donation of clothing and footwear to the *innansoknafulk*, presumably the poor of the parish, as an alternative would seem to indicate that this was not simply another element of the sumptuary laws.

Lis Jacobsen (*GGD*, 79 note 1) comments that *kleþi ok skyþi* is ‘et af de sjældne Exempler paa forsætligt Enderim i Lovsprog’. The noun *skyþi* appears only here and Schlyter suggests it was coined for the sake of a rhyme (see *CISG* s. v. *Skyþi*).

82/2 and endnote 482. The *B*-text has at this point the first nine sentences of Chapter 65, the third of the additional chapters in the *A*-text.

82/2. The coupling of *skarlap* and *bladragning* suggests that both words relate to hangings and Jacobsen (*GGD*, 79 note 3) assumes that both refer to funeral hangings. Old West Norse *blár* was the colour of mourning, although it seems to

have been used of both ‘black’ and ‘blue’. The latter often referred to fine cloth, since blue was an expensive dye. Falk (1919, 23) suggests that the word is related to Old English *bléo*, ‘colour; dye’, although a connection is usually made with Old English *blæw* (cf. C-V s. v. *blár*). In *Rígsþula*, verse 29, *síðar slæðor, serc bláfán*, the fine shift must be blue (cf. *Edda*, 284). In *Gull* 223 (*NGL* 1, 75), however, *bláfeldr*, listed as legal tender, must be black sheepskin, not blue (cf. Falk 1919, 23-24, 40).

The practice of decorating the walls for a funeral was common in Scandinavia, but such decorations were also used at weddings, when black would have been inappropriate. It is possible, therefore, that the *skarlap* cloth in fact referred to hangings in red or some other festive colour used at weddings (cf. *GGD*, 79 note 4; *SL* IV, 274 note 13). The cloth called *skarlap* was known from the beginning of the thirteenth century in Scandinavia as a costly imported woollen cloth, which was of various colours: brown, blue, white, although chiefly red. The word derived from Persian *sakirlāt*, ‘woollen cloth dyed with carmine’. *Skarlap* was a smooth cloth, of a fine and delicate texture, produced by a complex process. That imported from Lincoln was particularly prized, although it was also produced in Germany and the Netherlands. It was also known as *skarlakan* or *skarlagen*, a corruption of *skarlap* with the element *-lakan* or *-lagen*. Geirmundr, Kjartan and Bolli Bollason in *Láxdæla saga*, Chapters 29, 40 and 63, all wear a *skarlatskyrtill rauðr*, and Bolli’s cloak in Chapter 77 is a *skarlatskápa rauð*, all of which imply that *skarlats-* does not describe the colour but the fabric (cf. Falk 1919, 54-55; *ÍF* V, 79, 118, 187, 225). The prohibition of this cloth and other hangings in *GL* might stem from the time of the conflict between the town of Visby and the countryside (1288) and be symptomatic of the economic problems that this tension caused. These provisions

appear to be later additions, since the *A*- and *B*-texts differ in their disposition of material just here, and the provisions at 95/21-22 are certainly later.

82/4. Saddles were not used by farmers during the period of *GL*. A thick blanket was used for riding, augmented by cushions for a pack animal. The significance of this provision, which is marked as a new sub-section in the *B*-text, but without a rubric, is unclear. Cutting saddlecloths and cushions into parts (whether more or less than four) seems to make little sense and no editor offers any explanation (cf. *GGD*, 79 note 6; *SL IV*, 275 note 16).

#### Chapter 24d: [Af gutniskum kunum]

This new chapter in the *B*-text is not signalled in the *A*-text, although the chapter title appears in the table of contents.

82/6. This provision clearly relates to a situation in which the father of a woman has died. If her brother or brothers were not willing to arrange a marriage and a dowry for her, they were obliged to commit one eighth of their land to her. She was to manage the property with advice from her kinsmen and other parishioners. Wessén (*SL IV*, 275 note 18) compares this to provisions in *JLI I* §8 and *ÖgL Gb* 4 and to those in Chapter 20 (76/10-12). In the latter an unmarried sister of deceased brothers, without male heirs, inherited one eighth of the property once debts were paid and before any further distribution.

Säve (*GU*, 19) prefers the *B*-text reading *sempþ sik*. The reading in the *B*-text varies between *sempþ* and *semt*. The *A*-text has *sempþ* only once (cf. 87/20, 93/9, 93/12, 94/13, 94/24, and 95/17).

82/9. Since this provision occurs in all extant manuscripts, the redactions lying behind these texts, including the *A*-text, would appear to have a date no earlier than 1260 (cf. Introduction, pp. 21, 43-44). The beginning of this paragraph is marked in the

*B*-text with the first four words in red.

Chapter 24f (64): Af farvegum manz

82/12 and endnote 494. This chapter was omitted from its proper place by the scribe of the *A*-text (or possibly by the scribe of his original) and inserted between the last two of the later chapters (63 and 65 in the present edition) (cf. *CIG*, 61 note 56; *GLGS*, 38 note 6). It appears preceding the chapter concerning disputes about woodland in the table of contents in the *B*-text and in *tyGL*, but is absent from *daGL*. All previous editors leave this chapter at the end, whereas Wessén in his translation places it where it belongs. This latter arrangement has been adopted (cf. *SL* IV, 226, 275 note 1).

82/13-16. A *farvegr* seems to have been a public right of way across privately owned land that was wide enough for wheeled vehicles.

The word *ta* means a road or path of any width (see *GGD*, 82 note 9). A fence bordering a road was thus a *tagarþr*. If a landowner had no property bordering a road (*tafastr*), he had the right to cross the land of a neighbour, if that bordered a road (*ypin*), to gain access to that road. As Wessén (*SL* IV, 275 note 4) remarks, this is an interesting provision, in that it seems specifically to exclude general access to a neighbour's property other than in this particular circumstance. This provision runs counter to current Swedish right of access (*allemansträtt*), which applies to most land, provided that damage cannot result and that private land around a house (e.g. the garden) is not encroached upon. The reason lying behind this stricture in *GL* could be that farming was intensive and that farmers did not wish too much of their land to be lost to unnecessary footpaths of convenience.

82/14. Schlyter (*CIG*, 91) translates *varst* as *jord*, 'ground, land', but Sävje (*GU*, xxix-xxx) thinks that the primary sense relates to an enclosed or fenced-in area, perhaps

from a root *var*, from which Swedish *värn*, ‘defence’ and *värja*, ‘defend’ are derived. The Gotlandic dialect word *vast* has this sense and Säve cites several examples of loss or assimilation of *r* between a short vowel and two consonants.

82/16. The *talaut* was grazing land, outside the farm boundaries, and situated alongside a path or road. It might have some relationship to Old West Norse *takmark*: a boundary or dividing line for (1) private land; (2) land surrounding a church or (3) common land, or alternatively land enclosed by such a boundary. This latter is recorded only once in Swedish provincial laws (cf. *VgL* III 79).

The Gotlandic dialect word *kväiar* means a narrow path, road or track between two boundary fences, often leading to a single farm or property (cf. *GO* s. v. *kväiar*). The singular form of this word, found in the Gotlandic place-name *Lambskvie*, a farm in Kräklingbo parish, and Old West Norse *kví*, ‘sheep pen’ appears to have had an independent meaning.

82/17. Fifteen paces (circa fourteen metres) seems a generous width for a ‘narrow path’, but presumably this would have been necessary for the movement of sheep, cattle and timber. Spanish *cañadas reales* were normally 64 metres (70 yards) in width, but these were intended for extremely large numbers of sheep, travelling vast distances, a practice that goes back 8,000 years (see *Daily Telegraph*, 20 November 2003, p. 19). The provision could also be regarded as an active discouragement from fencing in land bordering a right of way. The width of a similar path between two boundary fences, together with a means of calculating it, is specified in *Gull* 90 (*NGL* 1, 43-44) as about 2.75 metres. In *ÄVgL* Jb 12 it is seven ells, that is about 3.85 metres. Both of these are narrower than the width specified in *GL*. It is possible, however, that they were not intended for the movement of stock, but merely for access by foot or on horseback.



82/18. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 112 note 4) interprets *hagi* as ‘indhegnet Græsgang’, but points out that etymologically it was simply an enclosed place.

The *liþ*, ‘gap’, that had to be made would have been closed by an easily manipulated slip-rail (cf. *SL* IV, 275 note 7).

82/19 and endnote 501. Although the *B*-text reading *lad* could be a straightforward scribal error for *laga*, ‘lawful’, Sävæ (*GU*, xxxi-xxxii) offers an alternative explanation. He suggests that the writer intended *laþ-farvegr*, a track to or over a *laþ* or *laþr*. Sävæ takes this latter to be related to Old West Norse *lād* n., ‘grassland, grazing land’ or simply ‘land’. The meaning of *laþ-farvegr* could therefore be ‘track through the land’. Since all tracks have to go through some sort of land, a more circumscribed sense: ‘track to grazing land’ perhaps, would seem to be a more likely alternative. The difference between this provision and the immediately preceding one is subtle and not entirely clear. Both relate to fencing placed across another’s right of way and the provision of a gap for access, but in one case an enclosure is mentioned and in the other simply a fence. It is probable, however, that the second provision simply clarifies the responsibilities: the owner of a fence for the provision of a gap, but the owner of a right of way for its security (cf. Note to 83/21).

82/19-20. The owner/user of a right of way was responsible for ensuring that the gap was properly closed in order to shut out stray animals (cf. *Gull* 83 (*NGL* 1, 41)).

#### Chapter 25: Af skoga brigsalum

In general, those with a share in common (*oskiptr*) (wood)land could cut down wood from non-fruit bearing trees irrespective of the size of their holding. Swedish provincial laws have similar provisions in that if someone became dissatisfied with the behaviour of others, they could demand that the land be divided (cf. *YVgL* Fnb

12; ÖgL Bb 30 §1; UL Bb 14 §12-13; DL Bb 43; VmL Bb 14 §11).

82/22. The form *liksvitni* is preferable to *ligsvitni*, since it occurs five lines later in the *A*-text, and in the *B*-text. The precise sense of the word is disputed, but it clearly refers to evidence equivalent to the evidence of kin provided in cases involving cultivated land as opposed to woodland. Schlyter's suggestion that it was the evidence of neighbours seems not unreasonable, but he admits that he does not know what the element *lik-* means here (cf. *CIG*, 276; *GGD*, 80 note 3). The word *ortarvitni* is immediately explained in the text as a 'witness as to work done', but the only deduction that one can make about *liksvitni* is that it involves the testimony of certain persons (cf. *SL* IV, 276 note 1). Hald (1975, 55-56) suggests an original form *\*liz-*, genitive of *\*lip*, 'evidence from a group of people, neighbours', and that this provides a parallel to the evidence of kin in the following provision.

82/23-24. Three types of forestry crop are mentioned here: *viþr* (firewood), *trophur* (fencing wood) and *quistir* (branches). These are translated by Wessén as 'ved', 'gärdsle' and 'grenar' and are equivalent to the three types of wood listed at 85/7 (*viþ manz eþa garz virki eþa timbr*).

82/24. Lidén (1892, 94) suggests that Old West Norse *há* could mean 'after grass, grass left over'. If this were the derivation of the first element of *hafall*, the whole could mean 'time of the cutting of the grass left over', i.e. 'haymaking time, autumn', a sense that fits the context. On the meaning of *hafal(l)* in relation to the Swedish dialect word *hobal*, cf. Otto von Friesen 1902, 227-228. He draws the conclusion that the two are not related, especially if *hafal(l)* means 'autumn'. The *B*-text has *hafffallar*.

82/24-25. Wessén (*SL* IV, 276 note 2) observes that *tyGL* offers a translation that is a

misunderstanding of this sentence.

83/2. A translation of *huargum* as ‘either party’ is derived from Wessén’s translation ‘någondera’ (see *SL* IV, 276 note 3). Schlyter’s translation (*CIG*, 61) is ‘aldrig’, but Pipping (1904, 6) takes *huargum* as the dative singular masculine of *huargi*, ‘one or other of two’. Wessén also points out that the expression *An af þaim sum mest a* could not refer to the parties in the dispute, but must refer to the one amongst the witnesses who was the greatest landowner. If this witness did not wish to swear, then his evidence was not valid for either of the disputing parties.

83/3. The form *bierint* is compared by Bugge (1878, 57, 147; 1888, 61) to similar forms on runic inscriptions. He considers it to be a variant form of *bierin* and bases this on a reading of the Rök stone where he takes *satint* to be either an error or a similar variant. An alternative view of the inscription is offered by Kock (1898, 247-248), who considers Bugge’s reading of the Rök stone to be incorrect. He suggests that the *t* is part of a preposition *int*, ‘under’, which re-uses the final *in* of *satin*. Noreen (1904, §335 note 3), however, rejects his argument as unacceptable and Rydqvist (1850-1883, II, 616 note 1, IV, 440) remarks that the final *t* here and at 89/6 could be errors.

83/3-4. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 81 note 3) interprets *Brigþr þan sum kringum a* as referring to a situation in which one of the neighbours was involved in the dispute; he would then not have been permitted to give evidence. She infers from this that the clause cannot refer to disputes about cultivated land, since ‘neighbour’ witnesses were not required in such cases. It seems simpler to assume that one of the neighbours asked to provide evidence of work on cultivated land disputed that work had been done. The next nearest neighbour would then have been approached for his support.

83/6-9. This entire provision is obscure, but Holmbäck (1920, 18-19 and note 4)

offers the following explanation. He firstly assumes that when there was a dispute of this type, it was between settlements, in relation to common woodland or other uncultivated land, rather than between individual landowners. He considers that the latter would have been such a rare occurrence that it would not have been provided for in *GL*. He further suggests that if, at the point where the two settlements abutted the disputed woodland, their land was of the same type then they would have divided the unclaimed land equally. If one settlement had cultivated land up to the disputed area and the other uncultivated, then the latter took one third of the unclaimed land and the former the remainder, since it would not presumably have exercised all its right to available woodland. Holmbäck also assumes that the provisions for the settlement of disputes in the first section of this chapter also refer to that between residents in different settlements.

83/6. The words *ok skogr ok myr, þa takin aðal iorþ tua luti* were evidently omitted by the scribe because consecutive lines in his original began with *oc scogr*. The phrase has been added in the margin, according to Schlyter by a sixteenth-century hand. Sæve (*GU*, 19) emends *luti* to *lutu*, but cf. Pipping 1904, 14.

83/7. The *B*-text reading *daufi iord* is an acceptable alternative, since the *-i* ending in the adjective *daufi* is usual in the dative singular, and other nouns of feminine declension (e.g. *brup, gierþ, naup, sokn, tiunt*) have no ending in the dative singular. The *-u* ending was, however, the earlier singular dative ending for *iorþ* (see Noreen 1904, §409.3).

83/8. Schlyter (*CIG*, 62) translates *millan stumbla ok starþufur* as ‘emellan stubbar och starrtufvor’, which Wessén (*SL* IV, 276 note 5) interprets as meaning ‘at the boundary between tree-bearing land and marshland’.

83/8-9. Schlyter (*CIG*, 62) interprets this as meaning that owners of woodland or

marshland could not give evidence as neighbours in matters covered by the immediately preceding provisions. The sense, however, is not clear.

83/10. Woodland and marshland described as *oskiptr* was that in shared ownership (cf. 83/17). Swedish provincial laws all contain penalties for cutting wood illegally, often with the power of confiscating equipment (cf. *ÄVgL* Fns 2; *YVgL* Fnb 3-10; *UL* Bb 13-14; *ÖgL* Bb 29, *GL* 26 §9; *SdmL* Bb 15-17; *VmL* 14; *HL* Bb 13; *MELL* Bb 17). For related provisions, see 64/7-11, 84/23-85/2, 85/7-9, and 95/7-8.

The sedge called *Cladium mariscus* (Gutnish *agr*) was formerly in common use for roofing in Gotland (cf. *HRSH29*, 388 note; *SL* IV, 276 note 7).

83/12. The verb *yrkia* refers to the type of work just described.

83/13. Pipping (*GLGS*, *Ordbok*, 5), following Schlyter (*CIG*, 62), translates *anbol* as ‘körredskap’, i.e. ‘driving harness’. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 82 note 1) questions this interpretation and points to Gotlandic dialect *ambul*, ‘raw material for woodworking, etc.’. This latter interpretation is also followed by Wessén (*SL* IV, 276 note 8) and certainly in Gotlandic dialect the usage is widespread (cf. *GO* s. v. *anbol*, *amble*). Hald (1975, 53-55) argues that *anbol* has the sense ‘building material’, the result of the forestry work, and that this would naturally have been forfeit along with the means of transport (Gutnish *faruskiaut*). This suggestion is accepted here.

83/14 and endnote 522. Pipping (*GLGS*, 39 note 6) prefers the plural (*vitin*) in the *A*-text to the singular (*vitni*) in the *B*-text, since both parties were witnesses to the act. He refers to instances at 68/12, 69/11 and 71/10.

The reliance on an eyewitness, sometimes a professional witness or judge, to provide evidence in property disputes or other cases may have originated in Danish

law (cf. *Eriks SjLl* Text 1 II §68) and was apparently native to Scandinavia. Further examples are to be found in *HL* Kkb 18, *AVgL* Jb 16 and *UL* Bb 17 §4 (cf. Westman 1912a, 208-212; Almquist 1923, 39-40).

*aigur*. The *B*-text has *agur* corrected later to *aigur*. There appear to be two feminine nouns with the sense ‘property (in the form of land)’. One was the strong noun *aign* (dative singular *aign*, accusative plural *aignir*). The other (as used here and almost throughout in the *B*-text) was the weak noun *\*aiga* (dative singular *aigu*, accusative plural *aigur*). This occurrence of the *ai* diphthong in the *B*-text has been missed by Pipping (see also the following note). Otherwise Pipping (1901a, 75-76) notes various spellings in the manuscript of the *B*-text for the diphthong corresponding to Old West Norse *ei*. He concludes that *ei* (written *ey*) is the norm there, *ai* occurring mostly in marginal additions; hence *eygu* at 101/8, *festueygur* at 101/7 (normalized in the present edition to *aigu* and *festuaigur*) and *eygnir* at 64/8, endnote 156.

83/17-18. Here, again, the *B*-text has the *ai* diphthong: *gierda aff oschipti aigu*.

83/19-20. See Note to 82/13-16.

83/20. The person responsible for a fence was fined if damage was caused by lack of proper upkeep to it.

83/21, 22 and endnotes 528 and 529. The extra words *ella hafa* and *ella eygir* appear in the margin in the *B*-text. They possibly indicate a correction by the scribe, or that the original Bilefeld was using had both words. The scribe of the *A*-text has dropped the parallelism and used the verb *hafa* in each case (cf. Notes to 67/6, 94/19).

83/21. The *garþr* originally denoted the fencing put in place to protect crops from grazing cattle, but later came to refer to the fenced-in area itself. When crop

rotation was being practiced, various different fencing methods were used. Fences were commonly built of verticals and horizontals, but the *halfgierpi*, which marked a shared boundary between fields or pasture, consisted of timber palings (Old West Norse *skíðgarðr*, Swedish *skidgärdesgård*) on top of a low stonewall, called a *vast* in Gotland. The provincial laws have various rules about the construction of lawful boundary fences. *ÖgL* Bb14 gives a detailed description of how strong and high a lawful boundary fence should be and how a gate should open inwards and not outwards. *HL* Bb 5 gives similar rules to those in *GL*. The stated purpose of a fence in all provincial laws apart from *GL*, where the purpose seems to be to protect crops from people and animals, was to divide two villages and there were complex rules about responsibility for its upkeep. Cf. also *GulL* 80, 82-84 (*NGL* 1, 40-41); *FrostL* XIII 18-22 (*NGL* 1, 245-246).

The adjective *aumbr* is cognate with Swedish *öm*, ‘sore, sensitive, delicate’, which as Jacobsen (*GGD*, 83 note 3) remarks is only used of sentient beings.

83/22. The *A*-text reading *gaþr* may be compared to *leþr* at 63/4.

The preceding provisions form a bridge to the following chapter.

#### Chapter 26: Af halfgierpi

Once again the rubric applies only to the first part of the chapter; the remainder contains provisions relating to cutting of wood on someone else’s property.

84/3. Säve (*GU*, xxvi) queries whether it is necessary to present *\*siaunetr* as one word as Schlyter does, but there seems to be no reason to reject Schlyter’s version in this instance, although Säve’s argument is stronger at 88/11, endnote 602.

The parishioners were to determine where a fence should be placed, i.e. where the boundary between the two properties in question ran.

84/5-8. The defaulting party had a year to fulfil his obligation of fencing, after which

he had to deposit a pledge of ½ mark, as well as paying for any damage, if his animals broke out. This process continued, the deposit being forfeited each fortnight, until the fencing obligation had been fulfilled. The *lutadagr*, ‘division day’, is the equivalent of the *garðskipti* or *gerðing* in *Gull* 82 (*NGL* 1, 40-41).

84/8 and endnote 532. Pipping points out that the form *mark* is correct only if the combination *half mark* is undeclined, otherwise the unrecorded genitive form of *mark* should be inserted. As there is no unique abbreviated form for the genitive of *ertaug*, and the presence of a full stop following *marc* does not always indicate an abbreviation, it is not possible from the *A*-text to deduce whether the genitive of *mark* is intended (cf. *GLGS*, 40-41 note 3). For the use of *til* with an apparently undeclined headword, which might be interpreted as an irregular genitive, see Noreen (1904, §399.2.a).

84/9. The expression *garþr ir granna setir*, ‘a fence is a mediator between neighbours’ is translated by Hadorph (*Gothlandz-Laghen*, 30) as ‘laggill hägnat gör godh Gransämia’. The same expression occurs in *Gull* 82 (*NGL* 1, 40-41) and there is a Danish proverb, *Gærde gjør Grander saate* (Mau 1879, I, no. 3342) (cf. *SL* IV, 277 note 6; Pipping 1938, 43).

84/10. There is a new chapter in *tyGL* at this point. This could have been present in the original used by the scribe of *tyGL*, since it follows a proverbial expression, which seems to form a natural break, but there is no similar indication in the other manuscripts of *GL*.

84/12-13. It was the responsibility of a landowner to have a viable fence, once he had been warned (cf. 83/20).

84/13. Like Pipping, Bugge (1877-1878, 267) defends the form *osoyþan* as an alternative, neuter word with the same sense as *osoyþr*.



84/13-15. These provisions are an extension of that at 84/5-6, with the addition of payment for other damage done by the animal.

84/17. A hobble (*hornband*), which tied one horn to a back foot was still used for bulls in the early 20th century (see *GGD*, 84 note 3). Cf. the fines for straying animals in Chapters 40-46.

84/19, 85/3. The first instance of *banda* is taken by Schlyter (*CIG*, 242) as genitive plural of *band* n. and the second as accusative plural, but incorrectly written down in the genitive form. Säve (*GU*, xix) points out, however, that in neither of these instances is *banda* to be taken as plural. He argues that they are not from *band*, but from *bandi* m., which exists in Gotlandic dialect with the sole meaning 'osier switch, withy'. The two instances of *banda* would thus be respectively the genitive and accusative singular of *bandi*, of which the dative plural *bandum* occurs at 84/18 (cf. Löffler 1878, 287).

The height of the upper tie of a lawful fence was approximately 1.38 metres.

84/20-21. Different, although unspecified, rules clearly applied to fencing for animals that were liable to crawl under standard fences or dig holes under them. *Suin* was the normal word for domesticated pigs, (*sma*)*gris* being reserved for piglets. Pigs were reared chiefly in richer agricultural areas, but in the medieval period were still relatively small in size and similar to wild pigs in appearance.

84/23-85/1. The meaning here is that if the wood cut was so much that it could not be carried away by hand, the fine was three marks to the owner and three to the community, but if the thief carried it home, the fine was only 1/3 mark. Presumably he had to make full restitution in either case (cf. *SL* IV, 277 notes 14-17). For related provisions, see 64/7-11, 83/10-15, 85/7-9, and 95/7-8.

85/2. *oyk ok vagn*. The reading of the *A*-text (*oyk vagn*) is taken by Wessén (*SL* IV,

277 note 18) as referring to a wagon drawn by a pair (yoke) of oxen, although his translation is 'ök och vagn', '[yoke of] draught animal[s] and wagon'. This latter is the reading of the *B*-text, which seems to be more likely in that it balances the smaller *rus ok kerru*, 'horse and cart' or 'pony and trap', that follows. In *CISk* V (5 A 15, 17, 19-20) it suggests that a *kerra* was half the size of a *vagn* in terms of load capacity, which may also be inferred from *GL* Chapter 6 (63/11). In Old Danish laws, *øk* means 'mare', but there is no evidence that this sense was ever current in Gotland (see *GGD*, 85 note 3). Cf. also Notes to 63/11 and 92/15.

85/4. Pipping (1904, 4) thinks that Schlyter's reading *ertair* for *ertaugar* (*CIG*, 66), followed by Noreen (1904, §311 note 3), is simply an error, originally made by Hadorph (*Gothlandz-Laghen*, 31). This reading has been followed by all subsequent editors apart from Sävle (*GU*, 21), who gives *ertaugar*, but does not comment on this deviation. The *B*-text has *ertaug'r* and the *A*-text *ertau*, followed by a full stop, which Pipping explains could easily appear to be *ertair*.

*iiii ertaugar*. The emendation of this by Pipping to *xiii*, following Schlyter (*CIG*, 66 note 33) and *daGL* is rejected by Wessén (*SL* IV, 277-278 note 20). Wessén cites Hemmer (1928, 188 and notes) who regards the fines as cumulative:  $\frac{1}{2}$  mark (twelve *örtugar*) for the withy in the first pair of uprights, plus  $\frac{1}{3}$  mark (eight *örtugar*) for the next pair, plus one sixth of a mark (four *örtugar*) for the third pair, totalling one mark (almost certainly in coin). Hemmer suggests that even if the lower of the two ties between a pair of supports were broken, there would have been no additional fine. He also comments on the fact that the (additional) fine reduces with the amount of extra damage. Wessén agrees with this interpretation and refers to Wennström (1936, 355-361; 1940, 78), who suggests, however, that the fines concerned were in marks of silver (see following note).

85/5. The word *lids-meli* or *liss-meli* occurs in Gotlandic dialect with an original sense ‘gap the width of a track’, from the elements *lid*, ‘track’, and *mela*, ‘measure’ (cf. *GU*, xxviii; *GO* s. v. *led*<sup>1</sup>). It is now used of any gap in a fence of unspecified width, not necessarily for a track, but also of a ride in woodland, particularly one offering a vista (cf. Rietz 1862-1955 s. v. *lid* (3); Wennström 1936, 355-357). The later provision (Chapter 63, 95/8), apparently relating to damage to fences in woodland (as opposed to farmland) wide enough for passage, stipulates a fine of three marks in coin, which was greater than the two marks in coin here, but less than two marks of silver. Wessén (*SL* IV, 278 note 21) thinks that the difference merely records an increase in the fine, but Wennström (1936, 358-359) argues that provision here, referring to farmland, must have intended marks of silver. His reason is that fences in farming land would surely have been valued more than those in woodland, although he also questions whether Chapter 63 refers only to woodland fencing. The devaluation of the coinage over time should probably also have been taken into consideration and this might restore the balance between the two instances, even if this earlier provision were in coin (cf. Wennström 1940, 299).

85/7. Three types of wood are listed in increasing size. Firewood (*viþr*) was probably lightweight or short in length, fencing timber (*garz virki*) might have been equivalent to paling, although substantial enough to keep out stock, and timber (*timbr*) was probably more substantial wood for buildings, ships, tools and utensils. Although farm buildings in Gotland were not universally wooden as those on the mainland were, *timbr* would have had other uses on the farm and elsewhere. Cf. Modern Swedish *ved*, *virke* and *timmer* and the three types of forestry work listed at 82/23-24, and for related provisions, see 64/7-11, 83/10-15, 84/23-85/2, and

95/7-8.

85/8. *en hann ekki laifir sett atr*. This clause refers to the offender in the third person, whereas surrounding clauses are in the second person. As Wessén (*SL IV*, 278 note 24) suggests, this could simply be a scribal error, perhaps influenced by *hinn* in the previous clause. The implication is that if an offender left his own wood behind, he could have taken another's in error (see *GGD*, 86 note 2). A similar assumption is made relating to horse theft (Chapter 35, 89/4-6).

85/9. Wennström (1936, 220 note 70) considers Schlyter and Jacobsen mistaken and that it was the offender who had responsibility for swearing that full restitution had been made, but cf. 81/1, where a woman whose clothing has been disturbed has to declare that everything has been returned to her.

The provisions concerning cutting wood in the final paragraph of this chapter seem to be related to those in Chapter 25 (83/10-15).

#### Chapter 27: Af sauði

85/12. According to Pipping (*GLGS*, 42 note 10) the *A*-text has *faup*. He states that Schlyter (*CIG*, 67 note 42) reads this as *sauþ*, but this does not agree with Schlyter's actual note as he clearly indicates that the *A*-text has *faup*.

Jacobsen (*GGD*, 86 note 5) observes the alliteration in *i engium eþa aign* and that the whole chapter is very rhythmical and full of alliterations.

85/13. The expression *gangr ok gata* is probably a synonymous alliteration, although the former is used of a narrower path for animals and the latter for a wider track for wheeled vehicles (see *GGD*, 86 note 6).

The expression *iemgopr fran sum til* does not, presumably mean that two separate paths had to be made, but perhaps that the path had to be wide enough for two animals or groups of animals to pass.

## Chapter 28: Af aignakaupi

85/16. That land could only be sold in time of need was a principle no doubt enforced to prevent the fragmentation of farms (cf. *DL Bb 1*). It seems as if in Gotland ownership of land still mostly lay in the hands of individual farmers, sometimes larger landowners, but not the crown or the church, during the time of *GL*.

85/17-19. The principle of *caveat emptor* seems to have applied to land purchase in thirteenth-century Gotland as now. The main loser in any illegal sale was the potential purchaser, who not only lost the land price, but was also subject to a fine.

85/19-20. The assembly had to agree any land purchase, presumably with the support of witnesses in cases of dispute. There are no surviving deeds of transfer of land from Gotland, from which one may infer that they were not customary (see *SL IV*, 278 note 2).

85/20-21. The masculine noun *afraþr* was a payment made to the nearest kin of the seller of a piece of land if that kinsman were not the purchaser. This recognised his right of pre-emption in the purchase and amounted to an eighth of the purchase price, according to *tyGL* (cf. *CIG*, 146; *SL IV*, 278 note 3). This right is only mentioned in *GL* and *afraþ* n. means 'annual rent' in mainland provincial laws (see *CIGS* s. v. *afraþ*). If a kinsman did not take up his right within a year, thus approving the sale and confirming that he could not or did not wish to purchase the land, the payment lapsed and the sale was validated by default. Various exceptions are listed at 86/7-8 and 86/9-10. Arrangements for placing land in surety for a loan were the same as for an outright sale. There are further details of these arrangements in Chapter 63.

85/22-24. Three (or possibly four) different types of blood relationship were recognised: *skyldir menn* (close-related kin), *quislarmenn* (relations from another

family branch) and *etarmenn* (more distant family members, those who ‘belonged’). The terms *frendi* (also called *níþiar*) were used of (male) kinsmen in general, with the context, or an adjective, determining how closely-related they were. At 83/4, for instance, it seems that *níþiar* refers to more distant relatives, whereas at 86/6 more closely related kin are intended. In Gotland, as on the mainland, the concept of land as a birthright to be kept within the family prevailed (cf. *ÄVgL* Jb 3; *YVgL* Jb 5 and 6; *ÖgL* Jb 3; *UL* Jb 1, 2 §4). The *frendar* seem particularly to have been involved in approving marriages (e.g. 79/17, 81/19) and other legal arrangements, such as ransoming captured family members (e.g. 86/22). A woman passed from one family to another on her marriage and likewise the property she took with her. Any stock, for example, could be re-branded (see 92/5). The provisions in the present chapter should be compared with those in Chapters 20 (77/16-17) and 63 (95/11-13). Although it is specifically stated that land may not be sold outside the family, it seems that *in extremis* such a sale was legal, but resulted in the seller losing his rights of citizenship (cf. *DL* (and *VmL*) Bb1; *HL* Jb 1; *SL* IV, 278-279 notes 5 and 6).

85/24 and endnote 559. The *A*-text has *seth* (which Sävle (*GU*, 22) normalizes to *sett*), the nominative singular neuter past participle of *setia*, ‘set out’ (cf. Hultman 1904, 219). Schlyter (*CIG*, 68) follows the *B*-text reading *saght* (nominative singular neuter past participle of *segia*, ‘state’) in his translation, as does Pipping in his edition of *AM* 54 4° (1901a, 47, 125). In *GLGL*, however, Pipping favours Sävle’s reading, although *th* usually represented single *t* e.g. *hafuþlut* (64/15).

86/2. As Wessén (*SL* IV, 279 note 7) states, lack of any relevant kin meant that only a twelve-mark fine to the assembly was applied.

86/7. The phrase *þa iru quindismenn nerari þan utanmenn* suggests that land sales

could be made outside the family (cf. Note to 85/22-24). The word *utanmaþr* is, however, unique to *GL* and similar words in mainland provincial laws refer to people outside the province (*utlænzker man*) or outside the village (*ut byamæn*), who might still have been members of the family (cf. *VgL* III 87, 117).

86/7-10. The apparent contradiction between the two juxtaposed provisions is explained by the fact that in the first case, land was exchanged value for value, for the convenience of the owners, and no sale occurred that reduced the value of the estate (see *SL* IV, 279 note 11).

86/9-10. The first provision exempting a sale from *afraþr* covers a situation in which the whole family sells the estate and the second that in which land must be sold to pay wergild. The fourth exemption allows land to be sold to pay compensation for theft. The third provision, relating to dowry in the form of land specifies land yielding a maximum of one mark in rent (see Note to 77/18). Wessén assumes that the freehold value of a *mark laigi* of land was calculated to be twenty-four marks of silver or three of gold (cf. *SL* IV, 273 note 1, 281 note 2 to Chapter 32). Since three marks of gold was the wergild for a Gotlander, Wessén's assumption is reasonable in this context and that of 77/18. A comparison should, however, be made with the provision in Chapter 65, which specifies a maximum of two marks of gold for the value of a dowry, although what form it may take is not specified. Wessén (*SL* IV, 279 note 12) states this to be equivalent of two *mark laigi*, but it should, of course, be  $\frac{2}{3}$  *mark laigi* (cf. Note to 95/20-21). Schlyter (*CIG*, 273) observes that in one Gotlandic source from 1527 it appears that a *mark laigi* was equivalent to twelve marks (presumably of silver) in land value, that is,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  marks in gold (cf. Note to 88/5-6). It is obvious from these differing opinions that the rental value of a plot of land with a certain freehold value varied considerably with

time and it is not possible to determine an exact equivalence.

According to *ÄVgL* Jb 1, *haimfylgi* to a daughter was one of five lawful ways of passing property from one person to another. The others were: inheritance, *hemgæf* to a son on his marriage, purchase and by gift. According to *MELL* Jb 1, the five ways were: inheritance, exchange, purchase, gift, and mortgage (provided the mortgage was of long standing). This second list is enshrined in the law of 1734 and is still current in Sweden.

86/10. The *malaping* was a meeting at which a mutual promise of marriage was confirmed, and a dowry agreed, with a ceremonial feast and exchange of gifts. The word is related to Old West Norse *málþing* ('interview'), but it seems here to have had judicial importance (cf. Amira 1882-1895, I, 80, 266, 278). A dowry could be up to one third or even half of the inheritance of the sons, and was probably no less than one eighth of the total value of the farm, which a daughter would have received if unmarried (82/7) (cf. Amira 1882-1895, I, 528-530). It included stock (95/17-18) as well as household goods, jewellery, precious metals and land (cf. *SL* IV, 273 note 1).

86/14. No differentiation was normally made between combatant and non-combatant hostages. Non-combatants were often sold as slaves in the medieval period, although combatants could be executed. The idea of a hostage as the property of the victor is confirmed by the fact that he or she could be released by payment of a ransom as described here.

Jacobsen (*GGD*, 89 note 2) suggests that the use of *eþa* instead of *ok* in the synonymous expression *iorþ eþa aign* is remarkable, since both mean property in the form of land, as opposed to money or movables. There are, however, further examples of *eþa* where *ok* would seem more natural.



86/15-19. The maximum sum that a third party could redeem another's son for was the same as the value of a slave (cf. *ÖgL* Gb14 §1). A limit was presumably set because, in addition to the money to pay the ransom, the third party received a third of that sum for himself, making a maximum of four marks in all. It seems that this was a courtesy payment and that if the overall sum, including his third, exceeded three marks of silver the relations could contest it.

86/20-21. What appears to be some sort of international agreement is not referred to elsewhere (cf. *SL* IV, 279 note 16).

The remainder of this chapter contains provisions relating to inheritance and more properly belongs in Chapter 20. There is a link, however, between the first of these provisions and the immediately preceding ones, which has clearly influenced the existing sequence. Wessén (*SL* IV, 280 note 25) gives a more detailed explanation of the provisions, which expands upon his translation. Cf. also Kock 1926, 12-31.

87/1. The noun *fyndr* is considered by Pipping to be feminine, but Noreen (1904, §§407, 408 note 2) suggests that it could be masculine, or even neuter.

87/3. Cf. provisions in *SkL* 85-86 (*CISk* I 84-85) and *SkL Add* II (*CISk Add* B 5).

87/5. Säve (*GU*, xix-xx) considers *skipt* here to be the supine of the verb *skipta*, 'divide', rather than an independent noun as suggested by Schlyter in his glossary, and thus translated by Wessén (*SL* IV, 279 note 22). Säve points out that this construction with a finite verb in the present tense and a supine is common in *GL*.

87/6. The implication here seems to be that the marriage of a son, as well as a daughter, had to be with the agreement of the family (cf. Note to 79/16-18).

87/6-7. Division of property on a *per capita* basis is considered by some to represent an older custom than that exhibited in mainland provincial laws (cf. Iuul 1941, 113-115, 122-124).

87/8. Pipping (*GLGS*, 46) takes his emendation to *rapi* from Schlyter (*CIG*, 71), who follows the *B*-text reading. Kock (1904, 72-73), however, does not think that the *A*-text reading *raiþi* need be changed. He believes that it comes from a verb *raiþa* (cf. Old Swedish *reþa*), meaning ‘prepare himself’. This would give the clause *rapi sielfr firi sir fara huert hann vil* the sense ‘prepare himself to travel where he wishes’. Kock observes that this makes as good sense as ‘have the authority to go where he wishes’.

87/9-12. The remainder of this chapter appears in the margin in the *B*-text, and is not found in *tyGL*. There do not seem to be any mainland provincial laws that contain the provision set out here. Both *ÖgL* and *UL* Äb 8 pr, however, exhibit a reduced right of sons to demand a division of property (cf. Holmbäck 1919, 64-65; *SL* IV, 280 note 25). On a son’s right to inheritance in advance, see Kock (1926, 12-13). The rights of daughters to dowry are covered in Chapter 24.

87/10. Schlyter (*CIG*, 71) and Pipping (*GLGS*, *Ordbok*, 61) translate *orapamaþr* as ‘en obetänksam människa’. Wessén (*SL* IV, 279 note 24) suggests that the word, as well as meaning a father who makes an unfair division of property, could also mean someone who was foolish (perhaps suffering from dementia) or a bad householder. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 90 note 5) translates it as ‘urimelig’, which could have either sense. Kock (1926, 16) thinks that the passage means that, if a father was considered to be asking too high a rent (for the farm that the son inhabits), a property division should occur at once (cf. *ÖgL* Gb 19).

87/10-12. For non-Gotlanders, rules were more stringent in that even if they were married they could not force a division of the estate except in the case of their father being ‘unreasonable’, in whatever sense. In both this and the previous provision, the verb *skynias* suggests that outside evidence was required, possibly

from relations or parishioners (cf. *GGD*, 90 note 6).

#### Chapter 29: Af gieldum

87/14. A person could become indebted up to the extent of his personal share in his inheritance. His fellow heirs were not liable for any of his debt (cf. *GGD*, 91 note 1).

87/14-15. Payment for a deceased person's debts could not exceed his liquid assets (cf. *UL* Äb 25 pr; *GGD*, 91 note 2).

#### Chapter 30: Af vepium

87/17. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 91 note 6) infers that the one who had taken the surety (*veþ*) kept what he had taken, but was to pay back to the debtor the difference between the value of the surety and the (outstanding) debt (cf. *UL* Kmb 7). Cf. the provision in Chapter 63 (95/11-12) and the accompanying note.

The *stefn* was a summons in a civil case. It is assumed that judgement took place under the leadership and on the advice of one or two legal experts, who obtained unanimous agreement from the rest of the assembly. Later this responsibility passed to special judges. The cases considered were originally only those that affected society in general, while others were decided between the respective families. If agreement was not reached, or was not honoured, a wronged party could resort to 'self counsel' (independent judgement).

#### Chapter 31: Af þingum

87/21. Pipping (1901a, 95 note 1) thinks that the scribe has here inserted *pria* and then in error also copied *iii* from his original.

87/23-24. A similar restriction concerning the duration of the assembly occurs in *ÖgL* Rb 12 pr. Cf. also *UL* Rb 5 §3.

87/25. A three-mark fine (in coin) to the local community (*mogi*) is referred to in

Chapters 12 (66/22), 19 (75/4), 25 (83/11, 17, 18), 26 (84/24), 31 (87/23), 35 (89/3, 5), 36 (89/17). In these instances a similar sum was paid to the complainant. Wessén (*SL* IV, 281 note 4) assumes that the sixth assembly was referred to in these cases, but also cites further instances of fines at that level where the *priþiungr* assembly might be intended: Chapters 2 (60/18), 4 (62/22), 11 (66/13), 21 (79/11), 37 (90/7), 48 (92/17), 52 (93/10), 61 (94/23).

The *priþiungr* is only mentioned at 91/6, 9, 10 and 24 in respect of declaring lost farm animals and no details of fines to the assembly are given there.

88/1. Fines of twelve marks to the general assembly (*land*) are mentioned a number of times, but despite the limit laid down here, fines of forty marks are stipulated on a number of occasions (cf. Appendix D). The forty-mark fine may well have originated later than the present chapter, under influence from the mainland.

Jacobsen (*GGD*, 92 note 2) assumes that the limits simply apply to the listed misdemeanours committed at the assembly. This is a possible explanation, although it seems rather narrow.

88/2. Further provisions concerning legal procedures are given in Chapter 8 (65/2-4) and Chapter 32.

#### Chapter 32: Af fearkrafi

88/4-12. These provisions do not specify which party had the right of proof.

88/5. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 92 note 5 and line 11) has twelve instead of eighteen for the *A*-text's *xviii*. This is clearly an error on her part.

88/5-6. The phrase *mark gulz* refers to land worth a mark of gold freehold. Chapters 47, 53 and 65 refer to the same form of land valuation, whereas Chapters 20, 28 and 63 refer to land valued in terms of the rent that it will yield (*mark laigi*).

88/8. In this instance *halfr* is not declined (cf. *tappi sini half mark* (84/7), *annarir half*

*mark* (84/8)). Sävæ (*GU*, 23), however, prefers *halfan*.

88/8-9 and endnote 600. The phrase *fram til þripiu* relates to an assumed *\*half manaf frest apra*, which is missing from both the *A*-text and the *B*-text. The phrase in square brackets is supplied from *tyGL*, by comparison with the following provision, which refers to disputes relating to land worth less than a mark of gold. The implications of these provisions seem to be that if a defendant did not appear after six or three weeks (depending on the value of the property in dispute) a plaintiff either took his oath in his absence (if he had the right of proof) or possibly won his case by default (if the defendant had the right of proof) (cf. *SL* IV, 282 note 5 to Chapter 32). Wessén assumes that in each case a defendant could move the oath taking twice from the original four or two weeks. It seems more likely, however, that he could move it once, to give himself half as much time again (making a total of six weeks or three weeks), provided that he did this within the first fortnight or week respectively. He would be ‘moving it by a fortnight (or a week) to the third fortnight (or week)’ from the date of the summons. This interpretation is adopted by both Schlyter and Jacobsen.

88/10. Wessén interprets this clause as meaning that one summoned the defendant to take a six-man oath.

#### Chapter 32a: Af manna kaupi

See Addition 7, 99/6-20.

#### Chapter 33: Kaupir þu uxa

88/17. In the table of contents in the *A*-text, but not the *B*-text, a separate chapter *Af kauptri ko* is recorded, although there is no equivalent indication in the text. The *B*-text has, however, red script for the first three words of the sentence and there is a new chapter in *tyGL*.

88/18. If a milking cow was dry, this was regarded as a sign of witchcraft. Witches were supposedly able to steal milk from the cow of a stranger (cf. Heurgren 1925, 297-298; *SL* IV, 283 note 3 to Chapter 33). In *Gull* 57 (*NGL* 1, 29) it specifies that a slave may be returned to the vendor if he sucks cows. Also in *Gull* 44 (*NGL* 1, 25) one hidden fault listed in a cow is that it suckles itself. This could be regarded as the same problem, expressed differently, in that one assumes she was then lacking in milk for her owner. *DL* Bb 31 pr is alone in setting a value on the quarters of a cows udder: one *öre* for one quarter, two *öre* for two and the option of returning the cow for faults in three quarters.

#### Chapter 34: Kaupir þu hest

88/21. The form of blindness termed *starblindr* usually refers to cataracts, Swedish *gråstarr*, although the word can be used figuratively to mean 'purblind'. Cataracts in horses can occur as a result of periodic ophthalmia, which is a well-documented equine disease, probably viral in origin. It was first recorded in the fourth century and called 'moon-blindness' because symptoms appear at roughly regular intervals, with periods of remission. The effects are progressively more severe and the horse eventually becomes totally blind in the affected eye. In view of the fact that the periods of remission could last for several months at a time, the three days allowed for detecting the problem seem less than generous (cf. Hayes 1968, 167-168). *FrostL* X 48 (*NGL* 1, 228) lists the following faults related to horses: deafness, blindness, being disabled ('broken down'), permanent lameness, shying or stubbornness. A purchaser had five days within which to return the horse. *HL* Kmb 3 refers to lameness or *noko annær laster*.

#### Chapter 35: Af hesti

The chapter titles in the table of contents in the *A*-text and in the *B*-text are more

specific: *Af hestatekt* and *Ridir tu annan mans hest* respectively.

89/4-5. Presumably if one left one's own horse behind, one could simply have made a mistake. There was still, however, a fine attached to this action (see 89/6-7). Compare this to taking wood from another person (85/8), where there does not seem to have been a fine, if an equal amount were left.

89/6. On the *A*-text form *querrant*, Rydqvist (1850-1883, II, 616 note 1, IV, 440) remarks that the *t* could be an error, as that in *bierint* at 83/3. Pipping (*GLGS*, 48 note 10) thinks that this error has occurred because of the effect of a final *t* in the following word.

89/7. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 96 note 2) assumes that *hanum* refers to the owner of the horse, but *kuma* in the sense 'bring' takes the dative, so *hanum* in all probability refers to the horse.

#### Chapter 36: Af skipa gezlu

89/9. The generic term for any vessel in which one put to sea was *skip*, but there were many terms to designate the size and type of vessel. *Kaupskip* was the general term for a merchant ship of a smaller type (thirteen ribs and three benches it states here) (see Hjærne 1929, 103). Trade between Gotland and the Baltic countries had begun by the end of the Viking age but during the eleventh century, trade with Russia was of increasing importance and this continued into the twelfth century. With the rise of the Hanseatic League the focus changed and trade was more directed to the south and west. Gotland had few natural resources but farmers dealt in weapons, ships, horses and provisions, all referred to in a papal letter of 1229. This trade was also recognised in 1285 by Magnus Ladulås. The merchant vessels were principally sail-driven, although they would have had a few oar-benches fore and aft (three in the case of the *kaupskip* described here). They were wide-beamed,

deep-keeled and seaworthy, as opposed to the narrower, faster and more tender ships for the levy (cf. *KL* s. v. *Skibstyper*).

89/10. A *byrþingr* was a cargo vessel covering ships of various sizes, from those used for coastal traffic to larger cargo ships, eventually succeeded by the *kogge*. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 96 note 3) remarks that forms of *byrþingr* are still used in the Baltic of cargo vessels and that in *Eriks SjL* Text 1 III §58 the word is used of a small ship for freight, larger than a *baat*. In *MLBL*, VI §17 (*NGL* 2, 250-252) it is stated to be smaller than a *knarr* and it seems generally to have been a small, broad-beamed coastal vessel. In the *tyGL* it is glossed as a cargo boat. The word **birþakir** on inscription G 351 from Visby is interpreted by Snædal (2002, 87-88) as *byrþing* (cf. Brøgger and Sheteling 1950, 284-285; *AEW* s. v. *byrþing*; *KL* s. v. *Handelssjöfart*).

89/11. The expression *hus þet sum þiaup sufa i*, describing the building to which a *byrþing* had to be tied, refers in all probability to the sort of seasonal fishing hut (e.g. the *fiskiahus* mentioned in *HL*) found along the coastline in all Scandinavian countries (see Erixon 1955, 132-133).

This, the only reference to a housewife in *GL*, implies that she was more likely to have the keys than her husband. In *UL* Äb 3 pr there is reference to a wife having the right *til lasæ ok nyklæ* as a symbol of her control over the care and protection of the house. This right was claimed for her by her own family, before the marriage act itself and brought with it great responsibility, as much of the wealth of a household would be in the silver and jewels to which she had access.

89/12. Hellquist (1891, 16) suggests that *rekendr* might come from the verb *reka*, ‘reach’, but might alternatively be based on Old English *racen-téah*, ‘chain’ (cf. Noreen 1904, §441; 1970, §422 note 2).



89/14. The relative sizes of a *myndrikkia* and a *batr* are obscure, but both were certainly small coastal vessels, probably driven by oar or paddle only. Säv challenges Schlyter's translation of *myndrikkia* (based on the text of *tyGL*) as 'mindre skuta', a small sailing vessel or ferry for cargo. He suggests that a *myndrikkia* might originally have been a small vessel propelled with a single oar by a backward-facing boatman. He further suggests a derivation from Old Swedish *mynda*, 'row backwards', and that the second element meant either 'drive forward' or 'rock to and fro' (describing the mode of propulsion of the vessel). Säv agrees it is logical to assume that the vessel was slightly larger than a boat (*batr*), and not just a punt (flat-bottomed boat), since the sequence of vessels mentioned appears to go from the larger to the smaller. The way in which the provision is phrased, however, is ambiguous: a *batr* could have been valued more highly than a *myndrikkia*. The former should not be left on the shore without supervision, or anyone could claim it, whereas the latter could be left if the owner were within shouting distance, otherwise it could again be taken with impunity. Furthermore, if a *batr* were taken from a landing place or mooring, the theft was treated in the same way as that of a horse, whilst no penalty seems to be attached to the taking of a *myndrikkia* if accepted procedures were followed. Cf. *GU*, xxvii-xxix; *GO* s. v. *mynn-vricka*; *KL* s. v. *Myndrik*. Another word for a small boat was *fluti* (cf. Note to 100/18).

If a vessel was found *varþalaus* it could be treated as a wreck to all intents and purposes in certain cases, and the finder could claim a higher proportion of the value (cf. *BjR* 19 pr).

89/15. On the use of a shout as a legal instrument, see Note to 80/2-3.

Concerning Pipping's suggested emendation to *batr*, cf. Noreen 1904, §383.1.e.8.

Noreen notes that the *-r* ending is dropped from the nominative in certain cases, under influence from the accusative form and Pipping thinks that this could be the case here.

89/16. With respect to *stapum*, Pipping (1904, 10) challenges Schlyter's glossary, which takes this as the dative plural of *stap̃r* or *stepr̃* m., 'place'. He notes that Bugge (1877-1878, 269) previously suggested that *stapum* was related to Old West Norse *stǫð* f., (plural *stǫðvar*), 'landing place'. Since this word is frequently used in the plural, even when only one beach is in question, Bugge's derivation seems to have merit (cf. Söderberg 1879, 9 note 2). Pipping offers another suggestion: in Gothic there is an *a*-stem noun, possibly neuter, *\*stap̃*, meaning 'beach' and to support a possible relationship he refers to Bugge's essay on the inscription from Ethelhem (*NIÆRI*, 148-158), where Bugge notes a number of correspondences between Gothic and Gutnish vocabularies.

89/16-17. This provision seems to contradict the previous one, unless one assumes that a 'landing place' was always under watch, or was deemed to be so, or that *at stapum* specifically means 'tied up at a mooring', i.e. that the boat was obviously owned by someone who intended to return to it.

For further responsibilities with regard to ships and boats, see Addition 8, 100/17-24.

#### Chapter 37: Af ranzsakan

89/20. Pipping (*GLGS*, 49), Jacobsen (*GGD*, 97) and Wessén (*SL* IV, 283 note 1 to Chapter 37) take *ranzsaka*, corrected to *ranzsakan* from the *B*-text reading, as a noun ('house-search for stolen goods'). Schlyter (*CIG*, 288), however, takes it as an infinitive and implies that the correct form is *ransaka*. Säve (*GU*, 25) follows Schlyter, but has *rannsaka*. The same discrepancy occurs at 89/22, but here all

editors accept the reading of the *A*-text.

*þa all biþa*. See Note to 70/16.

89/21-22. Tracing property by means of house-searches has ancient origins (see Westman 1912a, 223-224). The reason for the insistence on the searchers being loosely girded and without coats was to avoid the possibility of evidence being planted. A similar stipulation is made in *MLBL*, VIII §8 (*NGL* 2, 271): *þeir skulu ganga in linda lausir* (cf. *ÄVgL* Tjb 5 §1; *UL* Mb 47 §1). Jacobsen (*GGD*, 97 note 4) suggests that the *kapa* referred to might have been a hooded cloak. This implies that the searchers were to be easily recognised, as well as unable to conceal evidence (cf. Hammerich 1959, 196-199; Wennström 1936, 148-164). The provisions relating to house-searches varied considerably between different Swedish provincial laws and in *MESL* Tjb 2 §1 anyone wishing to search without official permission had to lay down a deposit of forty marks.

89/22. The removal of immunity, effectively *haimafriþr*, from the dwelling of a person who refused a house-search was a serious matter. The doors could be broken down without redress, irrespective of whether stolen goods were found (cf. *ÄVgL* Tjb 5 pr, 6; *YVgL* Tjb 30, 34; *ÖgL* Vb 32 §4).

89/23. The *B*-text has *fyli* at this point, with a note in the margin *al: fuli*, but *fula* at 90/4. The same manuscript has *fyli* unaltered at 100/10, emended in this edition to *fuli*. Pipping thinks that either the *B*-text *fyli* is an error, or that the stem is *\*fulhian* (cf. Noreen 1904, §416.6; *GLGS*, *Ordbok*, 26 note 1; Note to 63/3). Söderberg (1879, 17 note 1) relates the word to Old West Norse *foli*, ‘stolen goods’, although Fritzner (1896, III, 1108) and Vigfusson (C-V s. v. *föli*) have the first vowel long. Söderberg suggests possible confusion with Old West Norse *föli* m. (alternative to *föl* n.), ‘fool’ (cf. Gutnish *folagriþr*), but thinks that both words might ultimately

derive from Old West Norse *fela*, 'hide; conceal'. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 97 note 5) compares Danish *fæle*, 'to hide'. See Note to 100/7-11.

89/25. According to Wessén (*SL* IV, 283 note 5 to Chapter 37) *þa al laiþznum fylgia* is a standard Scandinavian legal expression. The meaning is that proof of ownership must be traced from the previous owner to the person now in possession of the goods. Wessén (*SL* IV, 233) inserts the explanatory word 'fāngesman', 'assignor', in his translation of this passage. This person was the one who had granted the right in property (of whatever type) to the assignee (in this case the person under suspicion).

90/1. *þar sum hann fyrsti til skiautr*. Wessén (*SL* IV, 283 note 6 to Chapter 37) and Jacobsen (*GGD*, 97) call the person to whom the accused refers the 'hemulsman' (Swedish) or 'hjemmelsmand' (Danish). This was the person who had a legal obligation to defend a buyer's right to goods against a challenge and to defend a buyer's innocence if he consequently lost ownership; in many circumstances this would have been the previous owner or keeper. It is not clear from Wessén's notes if he intends this person to be the same as the assignor referred to in note 5, but Jacobsen (*GGD*, 97 note 6) assumes only one person is involved. The circumlocutions of the text make this passage rather obscure, but a translation assuming a single third party, the assignor, from whom the accused person claims he received the property, makes perfect sense.

90/4-5. It appears from the context that the goods planted by the miscreant were assumed to be his own, which he was intending to accuse his neighbour of having stolen, rather than goods he himself had taken and was trying to dispose of.

90/6. The wergild to be paid would be three marks of gold for a Gotlander, or ten marks of silver for a non-Gotlander.

90/7. Pipping (*GLGS*, xxxvi note 4) thinks that the reading of the *A*-text here (*et*) is incorrect and that the *B*-text reading of *en* carries the sense 'if'. He argues that the scribe of the *A*-text has been misled by the preceding *þar til* into assuming the common phrase *þar til et* and has ignored the requirement for some punctuation following *til*. A comma in fact appears in the *B*-text. Schlyter follows the *A*-text and gives the translation 'till dess at'. Pipping rejects this and translates the passage as in the present edition. The twelve marks to the general assembly were thus in addition to the three marks payable to the (presumably local) assembly if a Gotlander were the victim of the crime, rather than instead of the three marks. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 98) follows Pipping, whereas Säve (*GU*, 25) and Wessén (*SL* IV, 233 and 284 note 11 to Chapter 37) follow Schlyter, the latter with an acknowledgement of Pipping's alternative interpretation. Pipping's version is to be preferred, since it would be unusual to mention a fine relating to a non-Gotlander before that of a Gotlander.

#### Chapter 38: Af þiaufa ret

Theft, *þiaufnaðr*, was secret theft of movables, as opposed to open robbery. Although it is sometimes assumed that in pre-Christian times this crime was regarded as a particularly serious offence against the community at large, alongside murder and rape, and had to be atoned for to the gods with the life of the perpetrator, there is little evidence of this in the provincial laws. Admittedly, the worst crimes were punishable by death, but the limit varied between the provinces: *ÄVgL* Md 8 sets the limit at two *öre*, *GL* at one mark of silver, the remainder of the laws at ½ mark (two marks in coin). *GL*, *SdmL*, *UL* and *HL* are the only provincial laws that rely purely on monetary value to judge the severity of a theft, indicating the generalized use of coinage in these areas (cf. Hemmer 1928, 159-164;

Wennström 1936, 58-65; Hasselberg 1953, 341-347).

90/11. The word *snattanbot* in the sense ‘fine for petty larceny’ does not occur widely in medieval Scandinavian law (cf. Wennström 1936, 17).

*millan ... mark*. With reference to the construction here, where *mark* is undeclined, see Note to 84/8 and endnote 532. Cf. *ÄVgL Kgb (CIS I, 67 line13)* where the phrase *mællir suerikis ok danmark* is found.

90/12 and endnote 635. *þin[g]fyrá*. Although Pipping accepts Schlyter’s emendation, cf. Noreen 1904, §281.2.

*ok merkia ok til vereldis dýma*. The thief was to be branded (which was normally done on the cheek), or possibly had his ears cut off, as a visible punishment. Whether *merkia* always signified one or other punishment is a matter for conjecture (cf. Brunner 1906-1928, II, 788; Hemmer 1928, 62 note 9; Carlsson 1934, 102; Wilda 1960, 514-515). A thief also had to pay a fine, which was either three marks of gold or ten of silver. Schlyter’s note (*CIG*, 79 note c) is ambiguous on the subject of how this was determined: ‘D. ä. till lika stor bot, som hade skolat erläggas om han hade blifvit dräpen’. The use of the passive gives no indication of the principal of *han*. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 98 note 8) assumes the sum was determined by whether the person robbed was a Gotlander or not. On the other hand, Wessén (*SL IV*, 284 note 2) assumes that the sum depended on whether the thief was a Gotlander or a non-Gotlander. In view of the fact that the immediately previous mention of wergild related specifically to the status of the wronged person, Jacobsen’s interpretation seems the more likely, although some payments for abduction, rape, fire damage and damage to fruit trees depended on the status of the person inflicting the injury (see Chapters 21 (79/18-20), 22 (80/16-18), 51 (93/6) and 59 (94/15)). Hasselberg (1953, 231) assumes that if a thief could not

pay the wergild, he lost his life, but there is no direct evidence of this.

90/13. Wennström (1936, 76) points out that *GL* is the only Swedish-related provincial law to follow the Germanic laws in stipulating hanging for a second theft of whatever value. Hanging, as opposed to beheading, was a shameful death and even female thieves were not hanged (cf. *ÖgL* Vb 35). Hanging is the only means of execution specified in *GL*, but there are examples from mainland provincial laws of other forms, for example stoning on a beach (cf. *DL* Tjb 2 pr; *KL* s. v. *Dödsstraff*). A summary of non-monetary punishments appears in Appendix D.

90/14. Schlyter in his glossary (*CIG*, 310) suggests that *pau* be emended to *pa*. Pipping (*GLGS*, 50 note 7) rejects this and refers to Kock (1895, 126) for corroboration. The meaning is that a thief who took a mark of silver or more was to hang, even if this were his first offence.

The *B*-text has further provisions relating to theft by slaves, presumably omitted from the *A*-text for the same reason that provisions regarding the purchase of slaves were omitted. These are in Addition 8 (pp. 99-101).

#### Chapter 39: Af oqueþinsorþum

The fines for verbal insults in *VStL* I 53 pr are double those for the most serious bodily injury, whereas here in *GL* they are equivalent to those of a more minor wound. The punishment was more severe in Iceland: lesser outlawry and a fine of six marks of silver, irrespective of the social standing of the person insulted (cf. *Grágás* II §237; *LEI* 2, 195). In Norwegian laws, the fine for a similar offence was three marks for a landowning farmer, and on a sliding scale for other social classes (cf. *GulL* 98, 178, 196 (*NGL* 1, 46-47, 66, 70)).

90/16. The insult *morþingi* refers to a killer who does not admit his or her killing and

attempts to hide the crime, or perhaps accuse another. Here it is equated with the shameful epithets thief (*biaufr*) and highway robber (*rauferi*), which were punishable by death if serious enough, or second offences. The word is not used elsewhere in *GL*, where *bani* is the usual word for a killer.

The term *rauferi* has been translated as 'open robbery', and was not originally considered as shameful as secret theft. It usually (but not always) involved a greater or lesser degree of violence and provincial laws differed in the weight they gave to the two elements of the crime. Over the period covered by the provincial laws, the punishment became more severe and in the national laws *rån* was treated as an *edsöresbrott*, a crime against the king's peace (cf. Introduction, p. 46). It seems that in *GL* it was regarded as equal in severity to secret theft.

The word *kasnavargr* for a murdering arsonist is also found in Swedish provincial laws (cf. *ÖgL* Eb 31 pr; Wennström 1936, 270-274, 301). The table of contents of *VmL* (CIS V, 80) has *kaxnawargh*, which prompts Säve (*GU*, xxxi) to speculate whether the first element of the word had its origins in a form *kâx*, 'landing place, place for boats', which he takes to be Estonian. If this were the case, he suggests, *kasnavargr* could originally have meant 'burner of boats', *vargr* being the perpetrator of a violent action, criminal or outlaw. The connection seems tenuous, however, and Schlyter (*CISG*, 340-341) offers a number of alternatives for the origin of the element *kasna-* amongst which are Latin *casa*, 'house', Old Swedish *kasa*, 'to pile up', Swedish dialect *kase*, 'bed warmer'. Wessén (*SL* I, *ÖgL* 51 note 50) offers the explanation that *kase* meant 'hög av ris, ved, stubbar o.d. att brännas, bål (vårdkase)', but gives no source for this information. No punishment for the crime itself is given in *GL*, or in *SdmL* 34, where it is also listed as a punishable insult. In Norway, however, actual murderous arson was considered to be an



*úbótamál*, that is an injury not able to be reconciled by fine, and the perpetrator was called a *brennuvargr* (cf. *Gull* 98, 178 (*NGL* 1, 46-47, 66)).

90/17. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 102 note 2) rightly points out that *hordombr* and *fordeþskepr* are abstract nouns and do not refer to the person committing these acts, as do all the remaining nouns. Sävæ speculates whether the *B*-text reading *fordenskep'r* reflects an older *fornskapr*, comparing it with *fyrnska*, 'superstition', at 62/14. The word used in *Guta saga* (*GLGS*, 64 line 13) to describe Avair Strabain is *fielkunnugr*, 'skilled in many things', and this word and its equivalents were also used, frequently with a positive connotation, to indicate 'skilled in magic arts', especially in Old West Norse sources. The word *fordeþskepr* and its equivalents were more often used negatively in the sense 'witchcraft, black arts'. In the Christian law provisions, all forms of witchcraft, white or black, were forbidden although sometimes the punishment for the two was different. Both Norwegian and Swedish provincial laws vary in the severity of the punishment to be meted out to witches, including the death penalty. This strict attitude stems from the southern tradition of Christianity and church law. The more moderate punishments laid down are closer to those of the Irish church. *GL* refers only to *fordeþskepr* as an insult against women, and not to the crime itself.

Insulting a woman by calling her a whore implies that this was considered to be disgraceful behaviour, but as noted earlier (Note to Chapter 21) *GL* prescribes no punishment for it. On the other hand, accusing a man of such an act does not seem to have been considered an insult, although his life might be forfeit.

90/19. Pipping (*GLGS*, 52 note 4) rejects Sävæ's *þaun* (*GU*, 26) instead of *þaim*, since: (1) *mela* can take the dative as well as the accusative and (2) *þaim* appears as a form of the accusative plural throughout *Guta saga*, and on occasion in *GL*.

Pipping (1901a, 78-80) notes, however, that Bilefeld in the *B*-text, frequently confused *u* and *n* and on occasion *un* for *im*.

90/20. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 102 note 4) observes that the prefix *o-* in *osinum*, literally ‘at a bad time, untimely’, is not the usual negation, but pejorative, as in Swedish *otyg*, ‘witchcraft, nuisance’ (cf. Note to Chapter 17). It (*osinum*) seems to be the dative of a noun meaning ‘a bad time’. Insults offered when the speaker was drunk would be treated leniently if they were duly retracted and compensated for.

90/20-22. Once summoned to the church, a person accused of slander must either defend himself or offer restitution, both accompanied by a three-man oath, composed of parishioners. Public apology is demanded for insults in *GulL* 196 (*NGL* 1, 70) and *VStL* I 53 pr, but is not mentioned in Swedish provincial laws, although shaming punishments are laid down for other crimes. The involvement of a parish in the legal process is also incorporated in Chapter 30, relating to surety.

90/23. The expression *sokn all* means ‘all the parishioners’ in the same way that *land alt* means ‘the general assembly’.

90/24 and endnote 650. Pipping (*GLGS*, 70) thinks that *a sannat* is a possible alternative reading for the *A*-text’s *asannat*. Säve’s alternative suggestion (*GU*, xxv), following the *B*-text, has been accepted here. Schlyter (*CIG*, 80 note 19) suggests *ai sannan at*.

90/25. *siex manna aiþi*. Immediately before *siex*, the scribe has deleted *vi*, which in turn has originally read *vii*, corrected by a dot under the second *i*. The scribes of both the *A*-text and the *B*-texts, when they transcribed roman numerals as words, not infrequently copied the roman numerals as well, sometimes omitting to delete the latter (cf. Pipping 1901a, 95 note 1).

Wessén (*SL* IV, 285 notes 4 and 5) compares the fines and procedures in these

provisions with those for breaking the assembly peace (Chapter 11) and to accusations against women (Chapter 2). Cf. *SkStR* 21-22 for insults in general.

#### Chapter 40: Af smafileþi

In the table of contents and in the *B*-text, it is made clear that this chapter refers specifically to unbranded small livestock. The word *omerkt* in the *B*-text has, however, been added later and may not have been in the manuscript from which Bilefeld made his copy. By elimination, only immature stock is covered by this provision since adult pigs, sheep, goats, cattle and horses are specifically named in later, and different, provisions. Otherwise, sheep, goats and other small livestock were normally included in the concept of *smafileþi*, Old Swedish *söþer*.

91/2. The assembly intended here must be the sixth assembly, since the riding assembly is mentioned specifically in later chapters where relevant.

91/3, 7, 10, 13, 14 and endnotes 655, 661 and 662. Bugge (1877-1878, 265-266) gives an account of possible forms: *-lausn* and *-launs*, concluding that the latter is an appropriate correction for all instances of *-laun* in the manuscripts of *GL*. He notes that *lausn* rather than *launs* is used in *Guta saga* (*GLGS*, 67 line 18), but considers this to be an example of linguistic differences between the two texts. He considers the form *laun* to be incorrect, the sense not being a reward to the finder, but a fee to secure the release of the animal. Pipping (*GLGS*, 53 note 8) follows this correction, but notes that *daGL* offers two different translations: *lön* for the first and third occurrences and *lösen* for the last (cf. Löffler 1878, 287-289; *GLGS*, xlii note 4). Although *daGL* recognises a difference, the translation appears to be inconsistent. Wessén (*SL* IV, 285 note 3 to Chapter 40) implies that the *þinglaun* (of one *örtug* per visit) was compensation for taking an animal to the assembly if it were unclaimed, and that this was different from the *heptalauns*, paid by the owner

of a stray animal to redeem it (see Chapter 43). Wessén does not, however, maintain this distinction; he translates *þing(s)laun* as ‘tinglösen’ and *(hepta)launs* as ‘lösen’. A translation *lön*, ‘reward’, appears to be more appropriate for former, in the same way that a *fundarlaun* (100/14) is the compensation or reward paid to a person who returns a slave and the goods he has stolen. Incidentally, Pipping has not suggested a change to the latter. It is entirely possible that two different words, *(þing)laun* or *(þings)laun* (related to Old West Norse *laun* n. pl., Swedish *lön*, ‘payment, reward’) and *(hepta)launs* (related to Old West Norse *lausn* f. pl., Swedish *lösen*, ‘fee, ransom’) are involved, and have become confused. This assumption has been followed in the present edition.

91/3. Schlyter’s suggestion that *soknar* here should read *soknar menn* is rejected by Pipping (*GLGS*, 53 note 9) following Kock (1904, 72). Their reasoning is that this latter is written without an *r* in all cases in *GL*. Kock takes *soknar* as a nominative plural of an *n*-stem noun derived from *sokn* and meaning ‘parishioners’. In Old West Norse, *sóknari* or *sóknar-maðr* means a person who has the right to pursue a case (C-V s. v. *sóknari*; *sóknar-maðr* in the Supplement), but it does not seem to have this sense here.

#### Chapter 41: Af suinum

In neither this chapter nor in the preceding one is it stated what happened to the animal(s) in question if unclaimed. Presumably the finder kept the animal(s), paying to the parishioners the difference between their valuation and the *þinglaun* due to him.

91/6. Specific mention of the riding assembly in relation to the third presentation of the beasts in this and the next chapter suggests that the sixth assembly is intended elsewhere in this section.

## Chapter 42: Af bolambum

The eventual fate of stray sheep is even less clear in this chapter, similarly what was paid by an owner to a finder, although this can perhaps be assumed to have been an *örtug*, as in Chapter 43. No mention is made of valuation, only of the ownership of any lambs carried by the ewes. These went to the finder, presumably regardless of whether the sheep itself were claimed. The word *bolamb* refers to a tame sheep as opposed to the *utegångsfår* of Gotland, which lived out all year round. These retained several primitive characteristics, such as the mane and genetically inherited extra horns (encouraged by selective breeding) on the tupps or rams. Selective breeding was made possible by the fact that the ewes were frequently kept indoors. It is reasonable to suppose that a *bolamb* was such a housed ewe or possibly a castrated ram, reared for meat.

## Chapter 43: Af fastum vepuri okliptum

Although Jacobsen (*GGD*, 103 note 3) translates *fastr* as *gildet*, ‘gelded, castrated’, it is clear that this is a typographical error, since in her glossary, s. v. *fast*, she has, correctly, *ugildet*, ‘ungelded’. The use of the participle (*o*)*klipt* in 91/12, 13, 15 and 16 is to some extent ambiguous in the *B*-text since *kliptr* can itself have the meaning ‘gelded’. The *A*-text, however, refers in both Chapters 43 and 44 to entire (*fastr*) rams: unshorn (*okliptr*) and shorn (*kliptr*) respectively, and this reading seems preferable.

91/13. The word *heptalauns* (literally ‘tethering ransom’) clearly means a fee paid by a legal owner to redeem his animal, as opposed to a payment (in effect for expenses) to the finder simply for bringing an (unclaimed) creature to the assembly (cf. Note to 91/3; *GGD*, 103 note 4). Various forms of restraint were employed to prevent straying and it is possible that a fine was imposed because the animal had

been inadequately tethered. Schlyter (*CIG*, iv) takes *heptalauns* as an example of the degradation of the language in that the genitive form has been used instead of the accusative following *firi*. Säve (*GU*, xvii) on the other hand suspects a simple scribal error, whereas Pipping (*GLGS*, 53 note 8), following Bugge, thinks that this is the correct form (cf. Löffler 1878, 287). -

91/14 and endnote 662. The form *launs* instead of *laun* in this instance has been taken by earlier commentators (Bugge and Löffler referred to above) to support the argument that the latter was incorrect in all cases. It seems equally likely that *launs* here (referring to a reward payable to the finder) was influenced by *heptalauns* in the previous sentence and that two different words are involved. Säve (*GU*), following the *B*-text, uses the form *laun* in all cases, but as Bilefeld's is a late copy the single occurrence of (*hepta*)*launs* might have been missed.

#### Chapter 44: Af fastum vepuri kliptum

Whilst an unshorn ram seems to have been treated similarly to a *bolamb*, a shorn ram was not.

91/16. The feast of Saints Simon and Jude is October 28th, so the case imagined is one of a breeding ram being loose over the winter period.

91/17. The clause *til þes tima sum menn hafa vana haft at laust lata* must apply to the phrase *eptir Symonismessu Jude* and not to the intervening clause. The normal time for the release of the ram with the ewes was in the early spring, possibly on Lady Day, the 25th March (cf. Note to 94/7).

91/18-19. In this case it appears that the animal was not taken to the assembly and valued. The finder neither received expenses nor paid anything to the parishioners. His reward was simply the ram itself, unless his owner redeemed him (for an unspecified fee).

## Chapter 45: Af gaitum ok bukkum

Goats do not seem to have been widely kept in Sweden, but they were important elsewhere in Scandinavia. They were clearly not highly valued in Gotland since the price for redeeming a goat was half that of a horse or cow and much less than for a sheep, but in Norway and Denmark they were kept as milk-yielding animals, giving profitable cheese, and for their meat and skins.

91/21-22. *so skal atr loysa gait firi siex penninga a hueriu þingi*. This provision implies that an owner redeeming his goats paid according to how many assemblies the finder had attended. The previous reference to payments by an owner (Chapter 43) does not mention multiple assembly visits, so it is not possible to infer that this was the rule in all cases. The finder, however, received expenses for each assembly visit, so it seems to be a logical conclusion.

The *penningr*, ‘penny’, was the lowest unit of currency in Scandinavia up to the end of the thirteenth century. It is referred to only here and in Chapters 47, 49 and 56a. The number of pennies per *örtug* and thus per *öre* and mark varied from area to area, although no records exist earlier than the end of the thirteenth century (cf. *GGD*, 25 note 1; Jansson 1936, 65; *KL* s. v. *Ørtug*). Contemporary sources state that the Gotlandic system was taken over by Riga (cf. the letters of the Bishop of Riga *HRSH29*, 1-14) with an *örtug* divided into twelve pennies. The same system is recorded for Öland, although later the sixteen-penny standard current in Götaland was in use (cf. *DS* I, 456, no. 549 (6/4/1271); *DS* I, 591-593, no. 736 (29/12/1281)). In Svealand, from around 1300 there was a unification of the system: a mark was eight *öre*, each of three *örtugar*, each of eight pennies, giving 192 pennies to a mark (in coin), i.e. half as many as in Götaland. Norway adopted the same system at about this time. Although the consensus amongst scholars

appears to be that there were eight pennies to an *örtug* in Gotland during the period of *GL*, other rates have also been proposed and the relationship between the fees for a nanny goat and a billy goat might suggest a rate of twelve pennies to an *örtug* (see Appendix C).

Chapter 45a: [Af nautum ok russum] -

The chapter title occurs in the table of contents, but not in the *A*-text, although a new chapter occurs in both the *B*-text and *tyGL*.

92/2. *Ok fari ai til Visbyar miþ*. This is the only reference to Visby in *GL*. It is not clear what the implications are of this provision. It might be that there was a horse fair at Visby and that the finder of horse or pony was not to take it there for recognition or possible sale, but to the assembly. It could also mean that, whilst they might use the horse on their farm, they were not permitted to use it for travelling longer distances until they had presented it three times at an assembly.

92/2 and endnote 669. On the *A*-text form *þins*, Noreen (1904, §281.2) notes that the loss of *g* in three-consonant combinations, *n* being pronounced *ŋ*, occurred sporadically (see Note to 90/12).

92/3 and endnote 670. A *motstukk* was one the posts at the centre of the assembly, possibly marking an area with legal significance. Four *tingstockar* are mentioned in several medieval sources from Skåne (cf. *SL* IV, *SkStR* 21 note 22). Stray cattle and ponies were to be tied up within sight of these, but a distance away so that they were not confused with animals belonging to the people attending the assembly. It is possible that the assembly was in a natural hollow and that by having the animals a distance away the men holding them could see the posts over the heads of others at the assembly, or alternatively that potential claimants could see the beasts (cf. *GGD*, 105 note 1; *SL* IV, 286 note 2 to Chapter 45a).



## Chapter 46: Af merki

92/5. The crime referred to here is that of altering an existing earmark on a sheep or other creature from the one it has to one for a different owner. Such earmarks have been used until relatively recently to distinguish sheep grazing on common land and are still used on the reindeer herds of the Sami. Altering a mark was equal to theft in some provincial laws (cf. *VmL* Mb 26). Obviously, if an animal had been purchased or received in dowry, a change was quite lawful.

## Chapter 47: Af akrum

92/10. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 105 note 2) remarks that a *landboi* was someone who leased or rented land, as opposed to owning it freehold. The word *land* was not generally used to describe property (Ruthström 2002, 128) and the original form seems to have been *lanbo*, meaning someone living on leased property (related to the word for ‘loan’). This changed as a result of folk etymology to *landboi*, a word that occurs only here in *GL*. The common Old West Norse equivalent *laigulenningr* occurs at 61/19 (cf. *SkL* 238-239 (*CISk* I 225)). Tenancy conditions were fixed and for a limited period, with an initial payment and often an annual rent. Jacobsen also points out that the only other word for farmer in *GL* is *bondi*. This is in contrast to the several words used for different classes of landowner in Danish and mainland Swedish laws.

The standard area measure for arable land in Gotland appears to have been *laupsland*, the land upon which a bushel (circa 36 litres) of seed corn could be sown. One equivalent, recorded in early fourteenth-century Norway, was  $\frac{1}{3}$  *markebol* (cf. Steinnes 1936, 142; Note to 76/18).

92/11. Söderberg (1879, 9 note 3) considers *hoyslet* to be a feminine *i*-stem noun, as opposed to Old West Norse *sláttr*, ‘mowing’, which is masculine *u*-stem.

Haymaking generally ran from the first weekday after St Peter's day (29th June) and could continue until St Michael's day (29th September). After this, cattle could graze on the meadows, just as they could graze on arable fields after the harvest (cf. *UL* Bb 10; *DL* Bb 8).

92/12. Unlike other instances of *lass*, the reference here is to a specific volume. The standard conversion for a ship's cargo was that a *lass* or *läst* was twelve *skeppund* and the same relationship appears to have been current with the *lispund*. This does not, however, give an absolute volume, since the capacity of a *pund* varied from time to time and place to place (cf. Note to 63/11).

The expression *at markum* refers to the calculated value of the land according to the same principles as those in Chapter 32. Wessén (*SL* IV, 286 note 4 to Chapter 47) uses the word *marktal*, equivalent to Gutnish *markatal* (93/13). The word refers to weighed marks, despite the element *-tal*.

#### Chapter 48: Af rofnakrum

92/13, 14 and 15. Schlyter (*CIG*, 84 notes 16 and 19) and Sävje (*GU*, 27 notes 2 and 4) reject the elision in *rofnakrum* and *rofnakrs*, preferring *rofna-akrum* and *rofna-akrs*. Pipping does not note this suggestion but in the table of contents of the *A*-text (*GLGS*, 2 note 1) takes *rofu-* (which occurs throughout in the *B*-text) as an error for *rofn-*.

92/14. Turnips were introduced to Scandinavia at an unknown date, but by the Middle Ages they were a significant crop and numerous statutes related to their cultivation occur in the provincial laws, except for *VgLL* and *SkL*, the very earliest laws. *UL*, *SdmL*, *DL*, *VmL*, have several less categorical statutes mentioning the cultivation of turnips. *UL* Kkb 7 §5 names turnips as one of the crops on which tithe was to be paid and this occurs also in some Norwegian laws. In *ÖgL* Bb 28 §5 there is a

description of crop rotation on clearings: turnips (for a year), then rye (for two years), the land to be left fallow after three harvests.

92/15. The *sepalaust fulk sum hus hafr* were crofters, who perhaps only kept livestock (see Chapter 56a). It is not clear from the wording whether the land for the turnips was part of the holding, or extra land provided by the landlord, but he was clearly expected to provide the means of cultivation. The provision given here for care of the poor in a parish seems to be unique to *GL*.

This is the only case where *oykr* refers to ploughing in particular, as opposed to draught in general. Yoked oxen did this work in southern Sweden, whereas in the north of the country a horse and chest harness was used. Cf. Notes to 63/11 and 85/2.

#### Chapter 49: Af hafreki

For all the provisions in this chapter, it must be assumed that (as was the case in respect of stray animals) the remainder of the find was returned to the owner of the property, or to the parish or assembly if no owner was determined. The sliding scale of payments to a finder of jetsam and flotsam reflects the risk involved in recovering the goods, and the likelihood of determining the original owner. Similar provisions are to be found in Swedish provincial laws and in *VStL* (cf. *UL Mb* 54 pr; *VStL III iii* 13; Hasselberg 1953, 117-118).

92/21. The expression *yr lanzsyn* is rendered in *tyGL* as *us der kennunge*, the same expression as is used in *VStL III iii* 8 to indicate that a sea voyage has properly started.

#### Chapter 50: Af eldi

93/2. The word *skurstain* appears in Gotlandic dialect as *kurstain* or *kustain* and is a loan word from Middle Low German *scorsten*. It meant originally the whole of the

covered hearth and chimney. This sense was current in Danish as late as the early nineteenth century and according to Lis Jacobsen (*GGD*, 106 note 6) survived in Danish dialects a century later. The form of fireplace with a covered chimney arrived in Scandinavia in the Middle Ages and this reference in *GL* is one of the earliest (see *SL IV*, 287 note 1 to Chapter 50). -

93/3. The word *eldhus* for 'kitchen' does not occur in Old Swedish, but does occur in Old Danish and Old West Norse. In *JL* *eldhus* is used of the building in which the fireplace was sited (see *GGD*, 106 note 7). In *MELL Bb* 28 if fire broke loose from a *stova*, 'dwelling', *stekara hus*, 'kitchen' or *kölno hus*, 'malt kiln', the farmer was not liable.

#### Chapter 51: Af bierueldi

93/6. It was previously common to take burning material from one place to another to kindle further fires or ovens, because of the difficulty of starting a fire (see *GGD*, 107 note 1). One might even have to borrow fire from a neighbour, carrying it from one farm to another. Similar provisions occur in *UL Bb* 24 §1, *DL Bb* 45 §4, *VmL Bb* 24 §1, *SdmL Kkb* 2 pr and *SdmL Bb* 18 §7 (cf. *SL IV*, 287 note 1 to Chapter 51).

For further occasions on which compensation to some extent depended upon the status of the perpetrator of a crime, see Chapters 21 (79/18-20), 22 (80/16-18), 38 (90/12-13) and 59 (94/15).

93/6-7. Since the wergild of a minor was the same as that of an adult (Chapter 18, 71/15), the compensation payable by the responsible adult was the same. This is the reverse of the situation at 69/9, relating to killings and 94/15 relating to damage to fruit trees, where compensation is halved if a minor commits the crime.

## Chapter 52: Af broagierþ

The verb *bro*, ‘make a bridge’ or ‘surface a road’, survives in Gotlandic dialect (cf. *GO* s. .v. *bro*<sup>1</sup>). Here *bro* is a noun meaning a filling of stones, branches or other material placed annually across a track to make marshy and otherwise inaccessible places passable. The routes concerned were recognised summer roads, as opposed to simple cleared tracks in the forest, and their upkeep was a communal responsibility. Only in later times was the whole track surfaced (cf. *GGD*, 107 note 3; *SL* IV, 287 note 1 to Chapter 52). Most mainland provincial laws (e.g. *ÖgL* Bb 4 and 5) contain statutes concerning roads and road-building or *broagierþ*, ‘making good a road’ (cf. Yrwing 1940, 104). One important purpose of these constructions was to provide routes to the parish churches. *ÄVgL* Jb 12 and *YVgL* Jb 26 mention *markvägar* and *kyrkovägar*, but also (Fnb 32) *quærnæuægher* and *allmannævægher*, which foreshadow the more detailed statutes of the national law. In Uppland alone seventy-five runic inscriptions commemorate *bro* builders. The three-mark fine extracted for default was presumably paid to the sixth assembly.

## Chapter 53: Af skutí

As Jacobsen (*GGD*, 107 note 4) comments, the taxes referred to in this chapter are those funds gathered together from contributions made during time of need. The word survives in the Swedish *förskott*, ‘advance’, *sammanskott*, ‘collection’ and *tillskott*, ‘contribution’, each relating to a contribution in some form (see *SL* IV, 287 note 1 to Chapter 53). The annual tax (*skattr*) to the Swedish crown and the levy tax (*laipingslami*) are described in *Guta saga*, but are not referred to in *GL* (cf. *GS*, xxxiii-xxxvi, xlvi, 32 note to 6/12, 59 note to 14/5).

93/12-13. Despite the fact that the words *markatal* and *tald mark* were used elsewhere in Scandinavia to mean marks counted (i.e. in coin, rather than weighed), it seems

that the Gotlandic tax based on *markatal* was calculated on the gold or silver value of property and liquid assets, rather than on the *penningr* value. This would have had the effect of taking into account any devaluation of the currency in respect of liquid assets. Wessén (*SL* IV, 287 note 2 to Chapter 53) simply refers to the value of the land in marks (as described in Chapter 32) and liquid assets, but by implication intends weighed value, e.g. ounces (*oyrar*) of gold, silver and other goods that could legally be used as currency. The phrase *ai af garrum gersemum* specifically excludes such items, but covers manufactured household chattels. Gradually, (*lös*)öre came to apply to *all* movables (see Ruthström 2002, 141-142, 180). Later sumptuary laws (Chapter 65) forbade the purchase of gold and silver items, presumably since this would constitute tax avoidance, since they were non-taxable assets (cf. Notes to 61/6, 101/8).

93/13. The word *gørsomme* in the sense ‘valuables’ was still found in Danish dialect when Lis Jacobsen produced her translation in 1910 (*GGD*, 108 note 1).

#### Chapter 54: Af varpi

Provisions relating to the watch are to be found in *UL* Kgb 12, *SdmL* Kgb 12 and *HL* Kgb 9. Farmers in coastal areas carried a particular responsibility. The duty of the watch was to light beacons to summon troops in case of an attack. The people sitting watch paid their own expenses, and any fines due, if they failed in their duty. The level of the fine is not given in *GL*, but in *UL* it is forty marks. In *SdmL* and *HL* the fine varies depending on the nature of the failure in duty. The Danish translation (*daGL*) records an increasing level of responsibility with the increase in the age of the person from eighteen to twenty-two years. Another aspect of defence was the *laipingr*, referred to in *Guta saga* (*GLGS*, 68).

93/15. Although Pipping (*GLGS*, *Ordbok*) defines the *varþpenningar* as ‘en årlig

skatt, som erlades af alla vapenföra män’, comparison with mainland provincial laws suggests that it refers to fines payable for not keeping proper watch.

The *skyldir* were usually communal taxes, but it seems more likely that expenses incurred in keeping watch are intended here.

#### Chapter 55: Af husum ok husþiaubum -

The *husþiaub* were people working in the (farm)house itself, perhaps specifically as opposed to those doing outside farm work, referred to in the following chapter.

93/18 and endnote 694. Noreen (1904, §321 note 2) doubts the form *sokninna* without a final *r*, but it occurs once in the *B*-text and twice in the *A*-text, if one ignores the redundant *s* in this instance.

93/19. Wessén (*SL* IV, 288 note 2 to Chapter 55) observes that the scribe of manuscript *B* 65 (*tyGL*) has here mistaken (*hus*)þiaub for þiaufr, ‘thief’, and inserted a new chapter heading, *Van husdyben*, ‘Concerning house thieves’. This provision probably refers to permanent members of a household, rather than seasonal workers, but the reason for it is obscure. Since those who did not grow their own crops could be pressed into service by any farm for harvesting, it might have been regarded as unethical to subsume people into one’s household, thus making them unavailable for this work.

#### Chapter 56: Af byrslufulki

93/23. The sum for a day’s hire is set out in the following provision, Chapter 56a. The *byrslufulk* were hired seasonal workers who received daily wages.

#### Chapter 56a: [Af sepalaus fulki]

This new chapter in the *B*-text (and in *tyGL*) is not signalled in the *A*-text, although the chapter title appears in the table of contents.

94/2. The *sepalaust fulk* were crofters, as described in Chapter 48. They did not

receive daily wages for their work, but an annual payment.

94/3-4. The crofters were supplied with barley, rye and oats. The barley and rye would have been for flour and food and the oats possibly to feed horses and perhaps make porridge and soup (see *KL* s. v. *Havre*; *Korn*; *Råg*).

#### Chapter 57: Af ikornum -

94/7. Only the winter pelts (*gråverk*) of squirrels were valued as currency, so the close season coincides with the period when they were in their summer coats (*routhskyn*). The open season was usually from 13th October (28th October in Gotland, 1st November in Uppland) to 14th April (25th March in Västmanland and in Gotland, 2nd February in Södermanland). Forty skins were equivalent in value to one timber. Sources from 1235 mention rights granted to four Gotlandic fur traders to trade toll-free in England for three years, and payments to Gotlandic merchants for these skins are recorded in 1237, 1242, 1244, 1248 and 1250 (cf. *HansUB* I, 270, 283, 322, 359, 333, 395).

#### Chapter 58: Af herum

94/10-11. Once again the close season for hare trapping was the summer half year. Although a gin is referred to, the usual method for catching hare in the winter was in a snow-pit, loosely covered with brushwood (see *KL* s. v. *Harar*; *Jakt*). *GL* is the only provincial law that specifies a close season for catching hares, although hares are mentioned in *ÄVgL* Fnb 7 §1, *YVgL* Utb 15, *ÖgL* Bb 36 §5 in relation to who owned a hare that had been caught.

#### Chapter 59: Af skafli

The word *ska(f)vel* is used in Gotlandic dialect for fruit from trees, e.g. apples (cf. *GO* s. v. *skavel*). Schlyter (*CISG*, 550) and Jacobsen (*GGD*, 109 note 4) think that edible fruit in general might be meant in this instance. The word *skafli* occurs in *UL*



in the table of contents against Chapter 49 of Mb and in *HL* in the chapter heading of Mb 32 referring to one who steals any edible crop (e.g. turnips, peas). In *UL* Bb 14 §6 and other provincial laws there are fines for felling another person's fruit trees, with varying levels of fine depending on whether a tree was in fruit or not. The fine in *GL* for picking fruit before September 8th appears to apply even to the owner of the trees in question, or it might refer to trees on commonly owned land. The date might suggest the type of fruit that was cultivated in Gotland (possibly apples), or the time when the fruit concerned was ripe. Cf. *KL* s. v. *Frugttræer*.

94/13. Pipping's rejection of Säv's emendation of *Hitta* to *Bitta* is based on the occurrence of the former at 95/3, in addition to further examples from runic inscriptions cited by Säv himself: *his[s]an* (*GU*, 42 no. 58, 5 no. 125), *hin[n]a* (*GU*, 46 no. 126, 48 no. 145, 50 no. 187) and *hila*, an error for *hita* (= *hitta*), (*GU*, 47 no. 138).

94/15. Further instances of variable penalties depending on the person committing an offence are to be found in Chapters 21 (79/18-20), 22 (80/16-18), 38 (90/12-13) and 51 (93/6).

#### Chapter 60: Af messufalli

94/19. A feast of nine lessons in the Catholic church was one on which nine lessons (Bible readings) were included in the service. These services were reserved for the most important feast days, lesser feast days having fewer readings. On the rendering of the Latin *ti* in *leccio* (from the Latin *lectio*), cf. Wimmer 1887b, 45 note. It is usual in *Den gotländska runkalendern* for the *k* rune to be used for the *k* sound and the *c* rune in the *ti* combination, so the spelling *\*lekcio* might have been expected. Thus *Martialis* (17th July) is rendered *marcialis* (see Lithberg and Wessén 1939, 8).

Schlyter (*CIG*, 379; *CISG*, 415) takes *eþa hafas* as a scribal correction for *lesas*, rather than a parallelism, but cf. Notes to 67/6, 72/13 and 83/21, 22.

94/20. The fine for omitting to say mass on a Sunday or major feast day was twice that on a Friday or minor feast day.

#### Chapter 61: Af dufli

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94/23. The sixth assembly is presumably intended here as elsewhere. Dicing is forbidden in *MESL*, which has a separate *Dobblara balker*, and in *MLLL* VIII 28 (*NGL* 2, 165), but there is no equivalent in any of the mainland provincial laws. Wessén (*MESLNT*, 292) assumes, therefore, that the phenomenon was one encountered in towns rather than in the countryside.

94/24-95/2. The second half of this chapter forms the closing section of the *B*-text. Neither there nor in the *A*-text is there a separate chapter heading, nor is the section listed in the table of contents of either text as an independent chapter. It is this paragraph that seems to suggest that *GL*, as it has been preserved in the two Gutnish texts, was either a living statute book or a justice book, rather than merely a scholarly work.

95/1. Wessén (*SL* IV, 288 note 2 to Chapter 61a) points out that legislation would have taken place at the general assembly.

95/1-2. Wessén compares this passage to the final words of the preface to *VStL*: *unde queme en niye recht dat in dem boke nicht were, dat scolde man richten also id recht, unde scriuen dat in beyde böke*. He also makes the not unreasonable assumption that additions following this paragraph in the *A*-text have been made in just the manner described. In the *B*-text, following the chapter on gambling and preceding these closing words, there are chapters covering purchases on credit (absent from the *A*-text) and misuse of woodland (the first half of Chapter 63 in the

*A*-text). The remainder of the additions in the *A*-text have been absorbed (in appropriate places) into the body of the *B*-text and the chapter on tracks and paths appears in its proper place.

Chapter 62: Hitta ier þet sum nylast var takit um loyski

Cf. Chapter 19 (74/9-11), where the fines are half of those stated here.

95/4. On the assimilation in *hyll*, cf. Noreen 1904, §295.

Chapter 63: Um skoga

The title of this chapter covers only the first provision. The remainder of the chapter contains a miscellany of provisions.

95/7-8. Cf. provisions in Chapter 26 (84/23-24 and 85/4-5) and for related provisions, see 64/7-11, 83/10-15 and 85/7-9. The older provision relating to tearing down a neighbour's fence limits the fine to two marks, rather than the three stated here. On the implications of the difference, see Note to 85/5.

95/9. Pipping (*GLGS*, 59 note 7) rejects Sävle's emendation *mandr* (*GU*, 30) for *mann*, as this spelling does not otherwise occur in the newer sections of *GL* and *maþr* only twice in *Guta saga*.

A *glugga* was an opening, not large enough for passage with a vehicle and possibly no larger than a window, but perhaps large enough for a person on foot to crawl through.

95/11. It seems that a pledge was originally a sale with right to purchase back within three years (as in the *B*-text of *GL*, 101/7-8). This gradually changed to a much shorter period and Chapter 30 (87/17-18) suggests that change: the pledge holder is instructed to call the pledge giver to the church or assembly to redeem the pledge on a certain date. If he did not, the pledge should be valued by the parishioners or men of the assembly, although the creditor would still obviously receive payment.

Wessén (*SL* IV, 289 note 4 to Addition A) suggests that the verb *virþa* here means ‘to sell’, rather than ‘to value’. The translation offered in the present edition, ‘to take in payment (of a debt)’, is intended to cover both senses.

Säve (*GU*, xxviii) suggests that *\*lyktrygguar* or *\*lyktryggjar*, corrected from *littryggum* by Pipping, is derived from a possible, *\*lyk(t)-tryggi* n. meaning ‘defined period of loan’, from Old West Norse *lúka*, ‘close, finish’ and *tryggja*, ‘determine’. Siljestrang (1890-1893, I, 93) notes a noun *lyct* f. meaning ‘end, end part’.

95/12. *firigier*. This is the only occurrence of the third person singular present indicative of *giera* in the younger chapters of *GL* or *Guta saga*. In the older chapters, the forms are *g(i)erir*, but in the *B*-text the normal form is *gier*.

95/12-13. Further examples of loss of status or money as a result of a misdemeanour in relation to land occur in Chapter 20 (83/10-11) and Chapter 28 (e.g. 93/8-10). The penalty here seems particularly harsh (hanging or beheading) but the crime was one of theft of land or misappropriation of it in some other way, and in particular a breach of trust, since the miscreant was presumably a steward of the land in question. Although later editors translate *firigiera* as *föröda*, ‘lay waste, devastate’, Schlyter translates it as *förskingra*, which is particularly associated with a breach of contract or duty in respect of the misappropriation of property. This latter seems to be preferable, although the former is also a recognised crime in current law, involving the poisoning of land or animals.

The expression *at þranglausu* implies that there might be cases in which such an action was permissible. Schlyter assumes that this meant that a sale was forced by straitened circumstances (Swedish *trångmål*). There is, however, a Swedish legal concept of *tvång*, ‘coercion’, and might be intended.

Both *kirkiurum* and *kirkiustedr* (in the *B*-text) refer to an allocated pew. Most preserved early medieval church pews in Sweden are from Gotland. The designation of pews to particular people is not recorded before the end of the fifteenth century on the mainland (see *KL* s. v. *Kirkestole*).

95/14-15. Cf. the provisions in the first section of Chapter 24, where the number of toasts is unlimited.

95/14. There is no record of the size of *en half skal*.

95/15. The form of the object *þaim* to the verb *misfirma* is ambiguous, since this form is also regularly used in the later provisions of *GL* and in *Guta saga* for the accusative plural. The *B*-text (99/4), however, has *teim*, a form that is normal in the dative but rare in the accusative (see Pipping 1901a, 79-80; Note to 90/19).

The exact level of a double fine is not clear. This is the only occasion on which such a fine is specifically referred to and no previous editor has suggested an amount. On various instances of *twibote* in *VStL* and other contemporary laws, including *Bjarkörätten*, cf. Hasselberg 1953, 62-65, 168-172. These, however, refer mainly to acts of violence in church or market, or in a bathhouse or latrine. Wennström (1931, 45-46, 77-80) suggests that the three-mark fine evolved as double an older twelve-*öre* fine (cf. Björling 1893, 104 note 3; Hemmer 1928, 71; Wilda 1960, 345). It is possible, therefore, that a three-mark fine is intended here.

#### Chapter 65: Af quinna ret

95/17. The word *band* here must mean the same as *oykr* elsewhere, i.e. yoke joining a pair of oxen, and hence, by transference, the actual pair of animals.

95/17-18. Cf. the provisions concerning widows in Chapter 20 (76/15-16). Even if a widow had brought more than ten oxen with her, she could not take more away. She could, however, take as many horses and sheep as she had brought,

presumably even if the actual animals were no longer alive.

95/18. The word *\*tassal* is unknown elsewhere, but must have the sense ‘buckle, clasp’. Schlyter (*CISG* s. v. *tassal*) relates it to English *tassel*. According to *CODEE*, this comes from Old French *tas(s)el*. It is first recorded in English in the thirteenth century in the sense ‘clasp, fibula’ and only from the fourteenth century as ‘pendant ornament with a fringe attached’. Schlyter, in the light of the fact that gilding is in question, seems correct in assigning the earlier of these meanings and rejecting Ihre’s translation (1769 s. v. *tassal*), which follows the later sense. Schlyter also refers to *FrostL* IX 9 (*NGL* 1, 210, 211; 282) where *gullað* appears alongside *assala*. He suggests that the latter must mean the same as *tassala*. Säve (*GU*, xxix), citing the same reference, suggests further alternatives, including *snöre*, ‘laces’.

95/19. Pipping’s emendation of *gullat* to *gullap* follows Säve, but Noreen (1904, §260.7 and note 7) gives several instances in which final *p* was replaced by *t*. The word *gullap* describes a circlet for the head, such as was worn both by men and women. Bolli Bollason in *Laxdæla saga*, Chapter 63, has *knýtt gullhlaði um hofuð honom* (cf. Falk 1919, 114-115; *ÍF* V, 187). Wessén’s translation, ‘guldräm’, ‘gold edging’, assumes that the adjective *slungin* applies to this word as well as *silkisband*, and that fringes with gold thread woven into them are intended (see *SL* IV, 240). This description seems more likely to apply only to *silfrband* referred to below.

Jacobsen (*GGD*, 113 note 3) translates *slungin silkisband* as ‘Snørelidser’, ‘laces’.

These were presumably laces to close a woman’s bodice, and plaited silk would have been the strongest, most durable material available, and therefore valuable.

Cf. the reference in Chapter 23 (80/25-81/1) to the fact that the laces had to be

returned to their owner if they were pulled out. They are in this case called *snopir*, but they were probably the same item.

95/20 and endnote 744. Pipping, following Sävle and the *B*-text, emends *slit* to *slikt*.

For a further instance of *slit*, cf., however, Noreen 1904, §510 note 2.

95/20-21. In relation to the value of a *haimfylgi*, see Chapters 20 (76/22), 28 (86/10) and Notes, also Notes to 77/18 and 86/9-10. Wessén's assumption in his note to Chapter 24 (*SL* IV, 273 note 1) is that the amount of the dowry in this later provision relates to property in movables only.

95/21. The *bladragning* referred to in this instance was no doubt of the same quality and value as that referred to in Chapter 24a (82/2), but would hardly have been black for a wedding, which is the subject here. It is possible that the cloth was scarlet, since this is referred to in the following sentence, or it might have been blue, which was another expensive dye (cf. Note to 82/2).

95/22. The word *pell* derives from Latin *pallium*, 'cover; mantle' (not *pellis*, 'hide, skin'). In Old West Norse, *pell* was any type of expensive cloth, originally specifically satin from China or India, used as a bed-cover or to cover a bier (see Falk 1919, 67-69, 73). In *Laxdæla saga*, Chapter 77, Bolli Bollason is said to *bera nema skarlatssklæði ok pellssklæði*. Einar Ól. Sveinsson remarks that the latter was an expensive silk fabric, often woven with gold (cf. *ÍF* V, 225 note 1). Here the sense is either a festive altar covering, or a canopy held over the bridal couple at a particular point in a wedding ceremony. This is still done in some Eastern Orthodox churches.

95/22, 24. Linen was one of the currencies in which tithes or fines could be paid (cf. *UL* Kkb 6 §5; *ÖgL* Vb 6 §1). The prohibition against expensive gifts was presumably intended to prevent the impoverishment of farms through marriage,

and possibly to reduce any chance of dispute when wives were widowed.

95/25. The *silfrband* referred to were most probably decorative ribbons or bindings that had silver thread woven into them. Silver wire had been used in the costliest materials from the time of the Vikings, as witnessed by the Gokstad find, and silver was used in a variety of ways to decorate fabrics. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, new techniques developed, and were imported from Italy and elsewhere.

The *kurtilbonaþr* was any decoration on the kirtle or gown.

96/1-2. The normal method of purchase in the medieval period was in currency (coin otherwise). The word *burgan* (related to Old West Norse *borga*, ‘borrow’) had various senses apart from the one here (purchase against a promissory note). It could also mean ‘hostage’ or ‘bail’, as well as a promise of service rather than money. One could avoid arrest for debt by raising a surety (*borgen*) with a *borghans maþer* (Old Icelandic *borganarmaðr*) (cf. *SdmL* Kmb 9 pr; *VmL* Rb 12 §2). No interest appears to have been payable, although this was not forbidden by the church. The prohibition against borrowing from the people of Visby was probably a later addition, motivated by the conflict between them and the farming population outside the town (see Introduction, pp. 10, 44; Addition 9, 101/6-8).

96/2. Schlyter’s emendation of *nequar* to *nequat* is rejected by Pipping (*GLGS*, 61 note 11), following Noreen (1904, §519 note 4). The error *nequan* at 64/8 can be explained by the original having *nequar* there as well, as an alternative to *nequat*.

#### Addition 1: Aff prestom och prestbarnom

97/3 and endnote 750. Schlyter (*CIG*, 104) consistently transcribes Bilefeld’s svarabhakti symbol (‘) as *e*, but *i* is more common in both the *A*-text and, when it is written out, in the *B*-text, the latter having *e* only if there is an *a* in the preceding



syllable, and then not consistently.

97/4. The phrase *han taki i verra* is possibly corrupt, as Jacobsen (*GGD*, 33 note 4) suggests. The meaning is, however, that a priest by marrying a woman who was not free lost his right to the status of a Gotlander.

97/9. As indicated in the Note to 63/4-5, the preceding sentence in this paragraph, which is also on the *A*-text, is out of context. The *han* who is assumed to have died is the *prestson olerþr* referred to at the end of the previous paragraph (*SL IV*, 249 note 10).

97/9 and endnote 758. On the form *döyr*, Pipping thinks that *öy* is a diphthongisation of long *ö* in a loan word. He thinks that Björkman (1903, 389) starts from an incorrect premise in rejecting this form as an error (cf. Pipping 1901a, 82, 90; 1901b, 62). Cf., however, Noreen 1904, §540.1.

97/10. The fact that it is stated that a claimant (in this case a priest rather than a lay person) can accept compensation without shame makes it clear that immediate acceptance of compensation was regarded as less honourable than taking revenge. Even after the abolition of blood vengeance, protracted negotiations were considered to be desirable before compensation was accepted (see *SL IV*, 249 notes 12 and 14).

97/13 and endnote 759. Pipping explains the whole phrase *Tha en han hempn at eyger so budit* by assuming it to be a mechanical translation from a statute in Medieval Latin: *Si vindicatum habet, (damno) sic præbito*, ... He considers it very likely that a provision relating to priests would first have been formulated in Latin. Wessén (*SL IV*, 250 note 19), on the other hand, thinks that the text is corrupt. Schlyter (*CIG*, 105 note 9) and Säve (*GU*, 36) suggest the emendation *hempnar, þa so ier budit*, 'takes revenge, when [compensation] is offered'.

97/14. The priest was to be compensated for with his full wergild, despite the fact that the killing was blood vengeance.

97/16. A *taki* was a receiver of a promise (cf. Old West Norse *taka*, ‘bail’ and *tykr*, ‘forfeit’, 63/24). The nearest equivalent to a *taki* as referred to in *GL* would be a Swedish *löftesman*, who went bail for the person concerned to the effect that he would bring witnesses to his innocence. In mainland provincial laws a *taki* is mentioned where a case concerns goods claimed by the plaintiff. He had responsibility for the fulfilment of any oath taken and had to live in the same hundred and be accepted by the parties involved. A farmer could not refuse to take on this responsibility (cf. *ÄVgL* Tjb 8-12; *YVgL* Tjb 39-44; *ÖgL* Rb 6-8).

97/21. It is not quite clear what procedure was intended by *raþin þeir fyrir fe*. Schlyter (*CIG*, 106) offers the translation ‘råde de om godset’, but then adds as a note ‘D. ä. folket tage boten’. The first could mean that assembly members ‘discuss the level of compensation’ or ‘take custody of the compensation’, but the second implies that assembly members received the fine itself. How the money was then distributed is not stated. Cf. the provision at 97/13 (see *SL* IV, 250 notes 17 and 24).

97/23-25. This is the sole instance in *GL* in which direct speech and the first person singular are used. The first person plural is used in the introductory section, (60/3-6) but not otherwise. This passage is similar in style to some of the oldest Swedish provincial laws, so it seems reasonable to assume that it formed part of the earliest edition of *GL*.

97/25. Note that *hanum* is governed not by *til* but by *byta* (cf. *andrum at byta* (97/26)).

97/26 and endnote 765. In offering an emendation of *so et hwat tima prestir* to *so et*

*huatki ma prestir* Pipping (*GLGS*, 9 note 2) accepts that the *B*-text original had *huatci ma*. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 35 note 7) explains that Tamm suggested (although without bibliographical reference) that Bilefeld must have misread the *c* as *t* and altered the word division to suit this reading. Schlyter (*CIG*, 107 note 12) and Sävle (*GU*, 36) suggest an alternative *et prester ai ma at*, dropping the superfluous *so* and simplifying the phrase. The less radical change proposed by Pipping seems preferable.

#### Addition 2: Aff osoydom

98/2. Swedish *nöt* is used of beef cattle, both on the hoof and at table. The word *rus* (cf. Old West Norse *hross* m.) is used here in the *B*-text where *hestr* occurs earlier in the chapter, and in the *A*-text. Whilst it is possible that no significance can be attached to this difference, *rus* is only used of draught animals and *hestr* is used in only two cases out of eleven (63/11 and 66/7) in a context that precludes reference to a riding horse. The modern Gotlandic pony, the *skogsruß*, is descended from animals native to Gotland since the Stone Age. They are small, tough animals that perform well in harness, but are not of traditional riding type. As late as the fifteenth century, horses from Gotland were exported to the Teutonic Order. They, like the horses from Öland, were particularly tough and hardy, since they came from herds that lived out all year.

98/4 and endnote 767. The emendation Sävle gives from *ogömslu* to *ogoymslu* is justified on the grounds of Old West Norse *geymsla* f., ‘guardianship’, the change of diphthong from *ey* to *oy* being also evident in, for instance, Gutnish *hoy*, *oyrir*.

98/4-5 and endnotes 768 and 769. In the expression *than sakir wird*, as it appears in the *B*-text, Schlyter (*CIG*, 107) offers the reading *warder* for the manuscript’s *wird* and the translation ‘som varder saker’, ‘who keeps the thing [the animal in

question]'. Sävle (*GU*, xxiv), however, opposes this change as too radical and suggests that *sakir* is a genitive and that *wird* is a noun with the sense *värde*, 'worth, value', giving a translation 'än sakens värde', 'than the value of the thing'. Sävle expresses doubts in relation to the meaning of *sak* that this interpretation imposes, and thinks that the context could as easily carry the usual sense '(legal) case'. Wadstein (1894-1895, 14-15) rejects both these interpretations and proposes that *sakir* be read as *sak ir*, with no further changes necessary. This gives a translation 'än saken uppskattas till', 'than the case is valued at'. This requires minimum change and also retains the usual sense of *sak*. Pipping (1901a, 23 note 5) points out that the *k* and *i* of *sakir* are not joined in the manuscript, merely so near to one another that it seems certain that the scribe assumed that one word was intended. The seemingly overriding provision that no-one was to be liable for more than the value of the creature involved cannot have applied in the case of carelessness, otherwise this provision would make no sense.

98/4-5 and endnote 769. Pipping (*GLGS*, 21 note 10) makes this emendation by comparing this phrase with *than thet sielfft ier wert* (98/2) and *than soydir ier werd'r* (98/5) and contrasting with 77/14, endnote 422. Wadstein rejects queries about the form of *wird*, suggesting that there is no need to assume that *wirt* would have been the usual form in the *B*-text had this been intended.

Jacobsen (*GGD*, 52 note 4) observes that the sentence *Pa en minni lastir ... halfu minna* is far from clear. It appears to mean that if damage was less than the creature was worth, the owner was liable to half of the actual value of the animal. This might, of course, be less than the value of the case, and can thus hardly apply to cases involving carelessness, which were to be doubly penalized. The structure of the sentence makes it possible that Bilefeld has made a scribal error and omitted

a clause.

98/7-9. The latter part of this paragraph gives an alternative version of fines payable for injuries by dogs to those laid out in the *A*-text.

#### Addition 3: Aff sara farom

These provisions offer a slightly different reading from the equivalent ones in the *A*-text (73/7-9). The following differences are apparent in the level of fines.

98/12. Damage to bones in a hand or foot are valued at two marks in coin instead of one. The provision in the *A*-text relating to more bones being broken but a full recovery being made does not appear in the *B*-text. There is however, evidence of a scribal amendment to the latter at this point, and it is possible that Bilefeld originally inserted it from this third manuscript (see Pipping 1901a, 27 note 1).

98/12-13. Each rib is valued at two marks in coin, as in the *A*-text, but there is no limit set on the number of ribs to be counted for compensation.

98/13-14. The compensation for disability is two marks of silver as in the *A*-text. The provision is here inserted in the margin, according to Pipping from a lost manuscript other than that of 1470, as touched on in the Introduction, pp. 20-21.

98/14. The provision relating to visible wounds does not occur in this form in the *A*-text.

#### Addition 4: Aff sara farom

These provisions offer a slightly different reading from the equivalent ones in the *A*-text (73/19-23). The following differences are apparent in the level of fines.

98/17. The fine for a damaged ear is two marks in coin in the *A*-text, rather than a mark of silver, i.e. half as much.

98/17-18. Fines relating to shinbones and forearms do not appear in the *A*-text. They

appear in the margin of the *B*-text, which lends support to Pipping's theory that Bilefeld had a third manuscript to hand when he was writing *AM* 54 4° (see Introduction, pp. 20-21).

98/18-20. Fines for teeth in the *A*-text are: two marks in coin for each of the two central upper teeth, one mark in coin for each of the eye teeth and one mark for each of the other teeth in the upper jaw. Teeth in the lower jaw were valued at half of this throughout. The *B*-text does not differentiate between the upper and lower jaw and the fines are twice as much as the *A*-text specifies for the upper jaw.

#### Addition 5: Aff loyski

98/24-26. These provisions offer a slightly different reading from the equivalent ones in the *A*-text (74/7, 9-12), but correspond exactly with Chapter 62, a later addition in the *A*-text. Exceptionally, the fine for pulling out hair more than the flat of a hand can cover, or all the hair, is doubled in each case. The remaining provisions are repeated unchanged. For the different treatment of these additions in the two manuscripts, see Introduction, pp. 14, 15, 20-21 and *SL* IV, 264 note 47.

#### Addition 6: Aff wagnikla ferdir

99/2-4. These provisions correspond exactly to those at the end of the *A*-text addition, Chapter 63 (95/14-15).

#### Addition 7: Af manna kaupi

This chapter, although listed in the table of contents in the *A*-text, following Chapter 32, does not appear in that text. Addition 7 is taken from the *B*-text, where it appears in the position expected in the *A*-text. The chapter appears in *tyGL* and *daGL*. Schlyter (*CIG*, viii-ix) thinks that the reason for the omission of this chapter, and sections of the chapter on theft, can be found in an assumption that slavery was no longer current when the *A*-text manuscript was written. He

considers that slavery was dying out even when *GL* originated, since the period of slavery was limited (61/7). Jacobsen (*GGD*, 93 note 4) observes that the word *þrel*, ‘slave’, although used elsewhere in *GL*, does not appear in this chapter. She also remarks that the chapter was most probably present in the manuscript from which the scribe of the *A*-text made his copy. For an analysis of the provisions relating to slaves in *GL*, see Nevéus (1974, 54-67).

99/8. Sävè (*GU*, xx) observes that *mans* (or more correctly *manns*) is the genitive singular of the masculine noun *mandr* or *maþr*, ‘person, man’, but also that *man* is recorded in Schlyter’s glossary (*CIG*, 280) as a neuter noun, albeit with a question mark, with the sense ‘slave’, by analogy with Old West Norse *man*. Sävè argues that *man* in the present context is a masculine noun and should be spelled with a double *n*, as is *manna* in the chapter rubric. He uses as his principal argument the phrases *Þa en han verþr brigþr i heldi* and *gieri han þa man þir heimulan* (99/16-17, 17-18), where the use of the pronoun *han* of the slave in the first, and *heimulan* (accusative singular masculine) in the second, convinces him that Schlyter is incorrect. Sävè considers the fact that the scribe of the *B*-text rarely uses double consonants in final position and the use of the expression *mans man*, as in Old West Norse, has led to Schlyter’s conclusion that *man* here is neuter. Sävè does not interpret it as ‘slave’, but simply as a ‘man belonging to another’. The translation ‘slave’ in this particular context does, however, make the meaning clearer.

99/9. Brate and Bugge (1891, 98, 336-337) cite instances of **kas**, pronounced *gass*, for *gats* (preterit of *getas*) and **kes** for *gets* (third person present indicative) in runic inscriptions. Bugge and Olsen (*NIYRI*, 7) consider *gies* in *GL* to be an example of this assimilation (cf. Noreen 1904, §290. 2).

99/12. Wessén (*SL* IV, 282 note 5 to Chapter 32a) remarks that in Gotland it appeared

to be the one who followed usual legal process who had (the right) to substantiate his claim, rather than the one who deviated from it.

99/15. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 94 note 5), unlike other editors, is clear about the implications of *bedroyta*, describing it as bed-wetting, whether deliberate or through negligence, which would indeed have rotted the straw in a bed. In *Gull* 57 (*NGL* 1, 29) a slave can be returned if he is incontinent in any way, not just in his bed.

The symptoms of epilepsy or falling sickness (*brutfall*) were described in accounts of miracles as early as 1134 and appear in detail on the gravestone of Abbot Vilhelm in Æbelholt from circa 1205. One description mentions frothing at the mouth, clenching the teeth and the following coma, lasting several hours. The patient was cured by drinking from the holy well at Haraldsted (see *KL* s. v. *Ligfald*). In *Gull* 57 (*NGL* 1, 29) and *FrostL* V §41 (*NGL* 1, 182) it was, as in *GL*, considered to be a fault in a slave for which the seller was responsible for a month. The Old West Norse word is *stiarva* or *stjarfa*.

The phrase *ny ok niþan*, referring to the waxing and waning of the moon was used in a number of contexts to denote a month, although *manapr* is more usual (cf. *Gull* 56, 57 (*NGL* 1, 29); *ÄVgL* Tjb 19; *YVgL* Tjb 54). The two Swedish instances also are in connection with the detection of faults in a bought slave.

99/16. The nature of the illness represented by the phrase *beyni verkir*, literally ‘he hurts in the bone or leg’ is not clear. Wessén suggests that it was *benröta*, ‘caries’, or something similar. Arthritis is another possibility. The parallel passage in *Gull* 57 (*NGL* 1, 29) specifies *oc við stinga*, ‘a stitch in the side’.

The word *brigsI* has many meanings, but here it clearly means a dispute relating to ownership. The vendor was deemed responsible in perpetuity for the legal ownership of a slave he was selling in *ÄVgL* Tjb 19 and in *Gull* 57 (*NGL* 1, 29-31)



(cf. *SL* IV, 282 note 9).

99/17. Schlyter (*CIG*, 262 s. v. *haita*) suggests that *huti* is a scribal error and that the correct form should be *heiti* or *haiti*. Pipping (1901a, 87-88) assumes that Schlyter consequently interprets this word as an imperative. He argues against such an interpretation and does not consider that *huti* needs to be emended. He regards it as the present subjunctive of *\*hūta*, meaning (1) ‘shriek’, or in this instance (2) ‘call to’. This has more in common with Swedish *hojta*, which has similar senses, than with *huta*, which has acquired the sense ‘correct someone in a demeaning way’.

99/18. Pipping (*GLGS*, *Ordbok*, 42 s. v. *ir*) remarks that the form *idir* may be dative or accusative (cf. *paim* (62/2, 88/5, 88/6) or *pa* (86/18)).

99/19. The expression *mid mala*, translated here as ‘under conditions’, seems to imply that the sale was temporary, for a limited period of time; the agreement was effectively a lease. It is not clear whether this provision relates specifically to the immediately preceding one or not, but presumably the argument presented by the vendor was that the purchaser had to return the slave after a stipulated period. Whether the slave was his to sell or not was thus irrelevant, since he would expect eventually to be able to return him or her to the legal owner. Right appeared always to have been on the side of the person who believed that the transaction was a straightforward purchase, and they had the right of proof (cf. Note to 99/12).

99/20. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 95 note 1) suggests that for *pan* one should read *pu*, since all the preceding provision has been in the second person singular, and this does seem to break the pattern in which either *pu* or *hin* are used, depending upon who is in the right (cf. 99/12, 99/14).

#### Addition 8: Aff tiaufa rethi

The contents of this addition occur also in *tyGL*. The provisions refer to theft by

slaves, which accounts for their omission from the *A*-text.

99/23-24 and 99/24-25. Wessén (*SL* IV, 284 note 4) observes that the implication in each of these cases seems to be that if the owner of the slave (rather than the victim) detected his theft and returned the goods, he had nothing further to pay.

99/24 and endnote 784. Schlyter (*CIG*, 287) takes the nominative form *oyri* here as evidence that the word had a weak declension and that all the remaining instances of *oyri* for the dative and accusative are errors for *oyra*. Sävle (*GU*, xxi), however, takes the opposite view: that *oyri* here is an error for *oyrir* and that the noun has a strong declension (cf. Old West Norse *eyrir*). Since this involves only a single amendment to a late copy, the suggestion has been accepted.

99/25. A *þrigildi*, or triple fine, is referred to only in the *B*-text and not in mainland provincial laws.

100/1. The noun *þiaufnaþr* is here a synonym for *þypti* (99/24), 'stolen goods'. The noun can also mean the abstract concept of 'theft' itself. At 100/11, either meaning would make sense.

100/3. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 99 note 4) relates *hun* to Old Danish *hund*, 'door shutter or bar'. In the dialect of Jutland, *hund* was used of the brake on a wagon and Danish dialect retains *hæl* in the combination *tøjre-hæl*, 'tethering stake'. Wadstein (1890-1892, 228-229) translates *hun* as 'bom' and *hell* as 'hängsle'. The word *hel* seems to be cognate with Old West Norse *hæll*, 'mooring peg; scythe handle', but according to Lidén (1892, 89-90) more probably means 'tränagel varpå dörren vrider sig'. Wessén (*SL* IV, 284 note 6) takes *hun* and *hell* as parts of a door-lock. He assumes that here and in *VmL* Kkb 5 pr the words refer to the lock mechanism and the bolt itself (see *SL* II, *VmL*, 23-24 note 12). Schlyter (*CISG* s. v. *hun*, *hell*) translates the former as 'takås' and the latter as 'tröskel ... sten' (cf. *GO* s. v. *hun*).

An abstract interpretation might be: ‘if the house is undamaged from top to bottom’, but a more concrete translation seems preferable. The inference drawn from the fact that no part of the door lock was damaged was that no break-in had taken place. Either the owner had failed to secure his property, or his own household people were involved.

The concept of *viþrlag*, *væþ* or *witæ* occurred across the Scandinavian laws. It meant either a forfeit (*pant*) or a deposit in relation to a legal case, so that one could charge a slave on suspicion. Either both parties placed deposits with a *taka* at the beginning of a case, or at the end of a case after judgement had been passed, in which case the judges and the person who had lost the case laid down money with the *taka*. The result of the appeal determined if the appellant or the judges received the deposited money (cf. *KL* s. v. *Veddemål*). In the first instance, the accuser forfeited the money if the case was not proved.

The use of torture to extract a confession where the goods concerned were not under lock and key seems to be exceptionally harsh, but is another example of betrayal of trust being regarded as particularly reprehensible. The assumption is that at least some of the stolen items were found (cf. 100/5) and that there was reason to suspect the slave. Although instances of torture in Scandinavian medieval laws are uncertain, it formed part of Roman law, and there is a suggestion of it in *VStL* I 41 (cf. Munktel 1939, 103-105; Hasselberg 1953, 67 note 1).

The *viþrlag* referred to is the six-öre deposit demanded under other circumstances.

100/4. *beinheilom*. The scribe has originally written *Bein heilom*, but this has been altered to *Bain heilom* (cf. Note to 83/14). Jacobsen (*GGD*, 99 note 7) takes this to refer to the slave’s joints, rather than his bones in general.

It is not clear what is meant by *brustheilom*, but it was clearly part of a stock

phrase that has an exact parallel in that used of horses: sound in wind and limb. In other words, the slave had to be in a state in which he could resume his duties.

100/5. In reference to the meaning of *agripr*, Wessén (*SL* IV, 284 note 9) questions that offered by Schlyter and Pipping: ‘tjufigods, hvarmed någon blifvit befunnen’. He thinks that this might be a possible translation here, but not at 100/7. He suggests a translation meaning in general ‘items left behind by or taken from a suspected thief, which are to be used as evidence’. For the meaning of Old Swedish *agriper* or *agreper*, see *DL* Kkb 9 §3; *SL* II, *DL*, 17 note 57.

*vensl*. A nasal stroke has been accidentally omitted (cf. 62/20). Further omissions occur at 70/7 (cf. 70/4) and 89/20 (cf. 89/22). Cf. Noreen 1904, §317 note 1.

100/6. *Kumi ok hailum atr ok byti vi oyra*. The first clause of the sentence in the *B*-text, *Kuma oc heilom at'r*, seems also to be corrupt. If *kuma* is the infinitive in the sense ‘to come’, referring to the slave, as suggested by Pipping (*GLGS*, *Ordbok*, 45) some auxiliary verb should precede or follow it (as *skal* in the previous sentence). If, however, the sense is ‘to bring’, with the dative object (the slave) understood (as in a parallel passage at 100/4), the verb should surely be in the third person singular subjunctive, as is *byti*. The text has been emended accordingly in the present edition.

100/6-7. *Kumi ok hailum atr ok byti vi oyra fyrri baugband ... vi oyra*. Schlyter (*CIG*, 110 note 24), Jacobsen (*GGD*, 100 note 3) and Wessén (*SL* IV, 284 note 10) rightly consider that the scribe has been guilty of haplography. Wessén reconstructs the missing text from *tyGL* and this reconstruction has been incorporated in the present translation in square brackets. The fine for unlawful imprisonment is low here in comparison to that in Swedish mainland provincial laws and in *VStL*, where it was forty marks, i.e. the equivalent of a wergild. Even a

slave's wergild of 4½ marks in coin was considerably higher than the six öre offered here (cf. Hasselberg 1953, 326-329 and note 6).

There appears to be no description of *baugband*, and they may have been no more damaging than a pair of handcuffs with which a thief was restrained for presentation before the assembly (see Wennström 1936, 131). This in itself was considered to be a severe infringement of a person's rights and so could not be done on mere suspicion (or at least not without payment of a deposit). It is, however, possible that *baugband* were an instrument of torture or punishment, which would explain why an accuser had to pay for inflicting them upon the slave, even if a confession were extracted. Thieves were sometimes bound with their hands behind their backs, which was considered extremely insulting, or with their hands in front of them, which was less so (cf. *KL* s. v. *Fängelise*). Although Åke Ohlmarks (1976, 613) glosses *baugband* as a strap around the elbows (which, if fastened behind the back, would have been particularly uncomfortable), *baugliþr*, 'wrist', seems to be a more likely connection than *\*albugi*, 'elbow'. A combination *tjuva-band* is listed as occurring in Gotlandic dialect, but no meaning or instances cited (cf. *GO* s. v. *band*). On the other hand, a *båg-band* is defined as a tie to fasten an animal in a barn, while *baug* is found in Gotlandic dialect in senses relating to the training and restraint of oxen and horses (cf. *GO* s. v. *båge*, *\*böge*).

100/7. *I nauþ segir nauþugir, þet han ey valdir*. The implication here is that one could not take a confession extracted under torture as proof of guilt if there was no material evidence to support it (see *SL* IV, 284 note 11 to Chapter 38).

100/7-11. Further to notes on *agriþr* at 100/5, Wessén (*SL* IV, 284 note 12) argues that a person who had had his property stolen could clearly not bring the latter when he was conducting a house-search. What must be referred to here is further

material evidence against the slave in question: enough to instigate a search of his master's farm. If the farm owner refused a search, but one was nonetheless conducted and stolen goods were found, he was liable to a triple fine. There is thus no question of the stolen property having been brought to the scene by the accusers. Receipt of stolen goods (as here by the master of a slave) was treated in some mainland provincial laws as equal with theft itself (cf. *ÄVgL* Tjb 4; *YVgL* Tjb 29; *ÖgL* Vb 32 §5). The laws of Svealand, however, seem to differentiate between the two (cf. *SdmL* Tjb 10 §1; *VmL* Mb 31; 26 §9; *HL* Mb 31 §4). See also Notes to 89/23, 89/25.

100/11-12. If treble the value of the stolen property exceeded the value of the slave, then the master was not expected to pay this amount, but to relinquish the slave instead.

100/12. This sentence reinforces the meaning of the preceding one. The verb *firistiela* means 'forfeit as a result of theft'. Cf. the use of the verb *firibiera* (90/5).

100/14. One eighth of the value appears to have been a usual reward for finding stolen property (cf. 92/19). No specific mention is made of a portion of the value of the goods themselves being paid, but it is possible that *fundarlaun* is also intended covers this. The *alag* referred to was presumably the threefold fine that the owner of a slave had to pay to a victim of theft, since no other fine is mentioned. Elsewhere in Old West Norse *álög* usually refers to an extra payment made if a deal settled by a handshake is not honoured.

100/15. The expression *mulslaghu* or *muslaghu maþær* appears also in *ÖgL* Bb 34 §1 in relation to an escaped slave and the suggestion by Ihre is that the first element derives from a verb *musla* meaning 'hide, abscond'. Schlyter, however, thinks that a simpler derivation from *mus* and *liggia* is more likely. Such men were fugitives

and had to lie low as far as they were able to avoid detection, ‘as quiet as a mouse’ (cf. *CISG*, xiii and s. v. *muslaghu mæper*). Once the slave was on the run, his master’s responsibility for his actions in regard to his survival ceased and no compensation was paid for any theft of food that he might commit.

100/18. *a landi*. This means ‘in Gotland’, that is before he had escaped overseas.

*a fluta*. This does not mean ‘afloat’ (from *flut* n., as at 92/20), but ‘in a (small) boat’ (from *fluti* m.). Kock (1906-1929, 2, 155) rejects Schlyter’s identification with Old West Norse *flótti*, ‘flight’, as incorrect but thinks the word is probably the same as Old Swedish *fluti*, ‘fleet’, giving the sense ‘on a vessel’. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 101) has not noticed this differentiation in Pipping’s glossary.

100/19. Provisions relating to the lawful securing of vessels of various types are contained in Chapter 36. It is notable that the owner of an unprotected ship was responsible to a slave’s owner for his safety, even if the slave were a thief (100/23-24).

100/20. The clause specifying that a slave’s owner had to redeem (i.e. pay recompense for) any goods stolen by the slave while he was on the run appears to contradict the clause at 100/15-16, but this latter refers presumably only to food.

100/25. *agripslaus*. This is translated by Pipping (*GLGS*, *Ordbok*, 2) as meaning ‘one on whom no stolen goods have been found’. Wessén, on the other hand, takes the view that this has the broader sense of the Swedish *utan avtäkt*. This means strictly ‘in the absence of the right by a property owner to confiscate tools, weapons or stolen goods held by a thief’, but ‘in the absence of material evidence’ is probably a preferable translation (see *SL* IV, 285 note 22).

100/25-101/2. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 101 and note 9) assumes that *naquar madir* in 100/25 refers to a slave and supports this theory by pointing out that this final paragraph is

also missing from the *A*-text. On the other hand, Wessén (*SL* IV, 285 note 24) considers that this paragraph is clearly a continuation of provisions in Chapter 38 relating to free men and that it was inadvertently omitted when the *A*-text was constructed. Since no mention of assemblies occurs otherwise in the section on theft by slaves, Wessén's interpretation seems preferable.

101/2. The action to be taken in the case of material evidence being available was to be the same as if there were none. Schlyter, in line with his interpretation of *agrip*, and with different punctuation, translates this passage thus: 'De skola vitna det som de höra, om han är skyldig eller oskyldig, så ock om han är funnen med tjufgods'.

Addition 9: Af burgan viðr byamen

101/6. These two provisions coincide with those in the addition to the *A*-text, Chapter 65 (96/1). No fine is laid down here, although the fine implied in the *A*-text is twelve marks to the general assembly.

The verb *betala* is a loan word from Low German; in the *A*-text, *gielda* is always used.

101/8. This provision relates to the one in the addition to the *A*-text (95/11), but expands upon it. Cf. the use of the verb *virþa* in these passages, where it means 'take in payment (of a debt)' to those at e.g. 91/3, where it seems to mean 'place a value on'. As the provision here is a later one, it is possible that the meaning of *virþa* changed over time. The whole expression carries the implication that liquid assets (*oyrar*) and real estate were not interchangeable in respect of debt payment, except by agreement (cf. Notes to 61/6, 93/12-13).



## GLOSSARY

All words are listed in the form used in the present edition of the text, except that *B*-text orthography (as in *AM* 54 4°) has been retained. Oblique cases and conjugated forms are shown only under the headword, if they would otherwise occur within two lines of it. Translations of words refer principally to their sense in *Guta lag*, although alternatives are given if they provide support for the interpretation used.

References are to page and line numbers of the text. Except where there are four or fewer instances of the same form, the first instance only of each form is cited, together with any emendations and instances in endnotes. References to words and forms that are the subject of editorial emendations are placed in pointed brackets  $\langle \rangle$ . Words or letters omitted by the *A*-text scribe, apparently in error, and supplied from the *B*-text, by previous editors or by the current editor are placed in square brackets  $[\ ]$ . Words and short phrases not essential to the meaning, but supplied from the *B*-text are listed as *B*-text occurrences.

Where an extended entry is provided in the Commentary and there are a number of occurrences of the word, a cross-reference is made to the relevant line number of the text.

*Abbreviations*

\* form not found in the text of *Guta lag*.

*acc.* accusative

*a[s]*: [*a[s]m*, *a[s]f*, *a[s]n*] accusative [singular] [masculine, feminine, neuter]

*ap*: [*apm*, *apf*, *apn*] accusative plural [masculine, etc.]

*adj.* adjective

*adv.* adverb(ial)

*comp.* comparative

*conj.* conjunction

*dat.* dative

*d[s]* [*d[s]m*, *d[s]f*, *d[s]n*] dative [singular] [masculine, etc.]

*dp* [*dpm*, *dpf*, *dpn*] dative plural [masculine, etc.]

*def. art.* definite article

*dem.* demonstrative

*f.* feminine noun

*gen.* genitive

*g[s]* [*g[s]m*, *g[s]f*, *g[s]n*] genitive [singular] [masculine, etc.]

*gp* [*gpm*, *gpf*, *gpn*] genitive plural [masculine, etc.]

*i[p]* infinitive [passive]

*imp.* imperative

*m.* masculine noun

*md.* middle voice

*n.* neuter noun

*nom.* nominative

*n[s]* [*n[s]m*, *n[s]f*, *n[s]n*] nominative [singular] [masculine, etc.]

*np* [*npm*, *npf*, *npn*] nominative plural [masculine, etc.]

*num.* numeral

*pers.* personal

*pl.* plural

*poss.* possessive

*pron.* pronoun

*prp.* preposition

*ptc.* participle [tense not given as unambiguous]

*refl.* reflexive

*rel.* relative

*sing.* singular

*sup.* supine

*superl.* superlative

*undekl.* undeclinable, undeclined

*v.* verb

*2s* 2nd person singular present indicative

*3s[p]* 3rd person singular present indicative [passive]

*1p* 1st person plural present indicative

*2p* 2nd person plural present indicative

*3p[p]* 3rd person plural present indicative [passive]

*subj. 1s* 1st person singular present subjunctive

*subj. 2s* 2nd person singular present subjunctive

*subj. 3s[p]* 3rd person singular present subjunctive [passive]

*subj. 1p* 1st person plural present subjunctive

*subj. 3p[p]* 3rd person plural present subjunctive [passive]

*pret. 2s* 2nd person singular past indicative

*pret. 3s[p]* 3rd person singular past indicative [passive]

*pret. 3p[p]* 3rd person plural past indicative [passive]

*pret. subj. 3s* 3rd person singular past subjunctive

*pret. subj. 3p* 3rd person plural past subjunctive

**a<sup>1</sup>** *prp. with dat.* in; at. **A.** 60/8. <86/10>. <89/3>. <90/23>. 44 further instances. **S.** 95/9. **B.** 80/1. 99/8. 5 further instances. 58 note 16. 70 note 295. 76 note 407. 86 note 567. 89 note 612. 90 note 649. 91 note 668.

*with acc.* into; to; in; against; (on) top of. **A.** <60/3>. 61/7. <82/14>. 22 further instances. (Redundant at 62/15 note 115). **B.** 97/12. 6 further instances. 60 note 44. 65 note 198. 70 note 299. 73 note 351. 80 note 457. 82 note 495.

*case uncertain* **A.** 71/22. 71/22. 85/17. [92/5]. **B.** 92/5. 97/3. 97/3.

**a<sup>2</sup>** *adv., i.e. without a headword or as part of a compound verb* in the matter; at the place. **A.** 60/15. <85/11>. [92/4]. 32 further instances (20 separated). **B.** 97/25. 5 further instances. 85 note 551. 92 note 672. **Bx.** 74 note 370.

**a<sup>3</sup>** *adv.* not. **A.** 90 note 650. [Probably a misspelling of **ai**.] Cf. **ai**, **e**.

**a<sup>4</sup>** see **\*aiga<sup>1</sup>**.

**aar** see **ann**.

**adra** see **annar**.

**af<sup>1</sup>** *prp. with dat.* from, away from, out of; of, about, concerning. **A.** page 58, 34 times. page 59, 37 times. 115 further instances. **S.** [59/43]. 95/16. 96/2. **B.** **aff** 58, 5 times. 59, twice. 68/3. 74/6. 74/19. 77/7. 78/14. 81/23. 82/1. 82/5. 87/4. 87/5. 88/13. 91/23. 94/1. 98/23. 4 further instances. 69 note 276. 79 note 450. 80 note 459. 88 note 604. 88 note 606. 93 note 691.

*prp. with acc.* **B.** **aff** 58/31. 77/19. 87/5. 58 note 7. 58 note 17. 59 note 30. 59 note 31. 68 note 259. 81 note 474. 90 note 638. 92 note 684.

**af<sup>2</sup>** *adv., i.e. without a headword or as part of a compound verb* from it; concerning the matter. **A.** 62/7. 25 further instances. **S.** 95/4. **B.** 72/25. 91/7. 97/3. 98/24. 100/5. 100/14. 81 note 477. 95 note 747.

**\*afastr** *adj.* neighbouring, (firmly) attached. **A.** *asf a fasta* (**B.** *fasta*). 83/3.

**\*af fyra** *v.* hand over, give. See **fyra**.

**af hagg** *n.* maiming. **vaita afhagg** maim. **A.** *as af hagg* 66/15. 66/20.

**\*af haggua** *v.* cut off. See **hagg(u)a**.

**\*afhendas** *v. md. with dat.* part with. **A.** *3spi afhendis* 77/16.

\***afla** *v.* beget, breed, conceive. *A. ptc nsn aflat* (**B. afflad**) 78/20.

**a fran** *adv.* away from there. **giptas a fran** be deprived of one's rights as a result of marriage. *A. (giptis) a fran* 76/18.

\***afrapalaus** *adj.* saleable without being subject to **afrapr**. *A. nsf afrapalaus* (**B. affrad laus**) 86/9.

**afrapr** *m.* kinsman's portion, penalty amounting to 1/8 of the sale price of any piece of estate not sold to the next of kin. *A. ns* (**B. affrad'r**) 85/20. 86/8. *as afrap* 86/3. 4 further instances. See Commentary to 85/20.

**aftakin** *ptc.* abolished, prohibited. See **taka**.

\***aftun** *m.* eve, the day before a saint's day. *A. as aftun* 64/20.

**agha** see \***aiga**<sup>1</sup>.

\***agr** *m.* fen sedge, *Cladium mariscus*. *A. as ag* 83/10.

\***agrip** *m.* stolen goods, found on someone's person; material evidence (i.e. other than the stolen goods). *B. ns agripir* 100/5. **agriper** 101/2. *gs agrips(laus)* 100/25. *ds agripi* 100/7.

**agripslaus** *adj.* someone on whom stolen goods have not been found; someone against whom there is no material evidence of theft. *B. nsm agripslaus* 100/25.

**a hendi** *postp. with dat.* against. *A.* 62/20.

\***ahitta** *v.* find. See \***hitta**.

**ai**<sup>1</sup> *adv.* not, no. *A.* 60/10. [69/11]. [75/19]. <90/24>. 156 further instances. *S.* 95/14. 4 further instances. *B. ey* 80/14. [99/10]. 27 further instances. 69 note 274. 75 note 387. 79 note 446. 90 note 650. Cf. **a**<sup>3</sup>, **ai**<sup>2</sup>, **e**, **ekki**.

**ai**<sup>2</sup> *adv.* always. *A.* 68/4. Cf. **a**<sup>3</sup>, **ai**<sup>1</sup>, **e**.

\***aiga**<sup>1</sup> *v.* own, have (possession); claim, have right (to do something); have duty (to do something); shall (*auxiliary use*). **aiga sak a** (**B. eyga a saka**) have the right to claim compensation for something. *A.* 3s **a** 61/9. 34 further instances. **a sak a** 60/14. 3p **aigu** 61/17. 21 further instances. *subj.* 3s **aigi** 70/21. 80/15. 89/14. 89/16. *ptc nsn* (**mals**)**aigandi** 79/16. *gsm* **aiganda** 94/8. *dsm* (**mals**)**aiganda** 79/11. 4 further instances. *asm* **aiganda** 84/24. (**mals**)**aiganda** 68/15. 83/11. 83/17. 83/18. *B.* 3s **eig(h)ir** 83/22. 99/24. **eyger** 97/13. **eyg'r** 83 note 516. **eygir** 83 note 529. 3p **eyga** 83/21. **agha** 86 note 562. *subj.* 3s **eygi** 98/6. *pret.* 3s **atti** 100/11. 7 further instances. *ptc asm* (**mals**)**eyganda** 84/24. See also \***aigin**.

\***aiga**<sup>2</sup> *f.* property (in the form of land). (**B. eygu** in all cases in the singular). *A. ds* **aigu** 82/7. *dp* **aigum** 58/9. 64/6. *ap* **aigur** 64/8. 83/14. *S. as* **aigu** 95/9. *ap*

(festu)aigur 95/11. **B.** *as eygu* 101/8. **eigu** 83 note 512. 86 note 574. *np* (festu) eygur 101/7. *dp aigum* <87/5>. *ap eyg'r* 87/5. Cf. **aign**.

**\*aign** *adj.* (one's) own. **A.** *asn aigit* 85/8.

**aign** *f.* property (in the form of land). [Form not used in the singular in **B.** Cf. **\*aiga**<sup>2</sup>.] **A.** *ns* 85/19. 85/24. 86/2. 86/3. *ds aign* 64/12. 5 further instances. (iorþ)aign 64/16. *as aign* 64/15. 18 further instances. *dp aignum* 85/21. *ap aignir* 88/1. **B.** *ap eygnir* 64 note 156. Cf. **\*aiga**<sup>2</sup>, **\*aignadaila**, **\*aignakaup**. See Commentary to 64/12.

**\*aignadaila** *f.* dispute about land. **A.** *as aignadailu* 88/5.

**\*aignakaup** *n.* land purchase. **A.** *ds aignakaupi* 58/58. 85/15.

**aignir**, **aignum** see **aign**.

**aigu**<sup>1</sup> see **\*aiga**<sup>1</sup>.

**aigu**<sup>2</sup>, **aigum**, **aigur** see **\*aiga**<sup>2</sup>.

**aina**, **ains**, **ainu**, **ainum** see **ann** and **utan þi at ains et**.

**\*ainloypr** *adj.* single, unmarried. **A.** *dsf ainloyptri* <78/15>. **B.** *dsf einlöptri* 78 note 438.

**\*ainsyri** *n.* oath sworn by the plaintiff or defendant alone. **A.** *ds ainsyri* 73/13.

**aipr** *m.* oath. **A.** *ns* 72/1. *gs aiz* 60/22. 83/1. *ds aiþi* 62/3. 15 further instances. *as aiþ* 70/8. 71/25. 88/7. (symdar)aiþ 60/16. *np aiþir* 87/24. *dp aiþum* 60/25. 69/10. See Commentary to 60/16.

**aka** *v.* travel. **A.** *i* 63/15. 63/17. 81/13. *2s akr* 89/2. *3s akr* 84/23. **S.** *i* 95/8. *3s akr* 95/7.

**akr** *m.* (arable) field (as opposed to pasture or hay meadow, **engi**); **rofu akr** (or **rofnakr**) turnip field. **A.** *ns* 62/9. *gs (rofn)akrs* 92/14. 92/15. *as akr* 62/8. *dp akrum* 59/23. 66/8. 92/7. **rofu akrum** 59/24. **rofnakrum** 92/13. *ap akra* 92/8. 92/11. **B.** *gs akr's*, *ack'rs* 92 note 673. *as ak'r* 58/5. 92 note 677.

**al** see **\*skulu**.

**ala** *v.* raise, bring up, rear. **A.** *i* 60/8. **B.** *ip alas* 60 note 52.

**\*alag** *n.* fine. **B.** *ds alagi* 100/14.

**\*aldr**<sup>1</sup> *m.* time. **B.** *as alder* 99/16. See also **aldri**.

**\*aldr**<sup>2</sup> *pron.* and *adj.* whole, everything; each; all. **A.** *nsf all* 61/16. 62/14. 64/21. 64/21. *nsn alt* 64/1. [73/5]. 10 further instances. *dsm allum* 63/18. *dsf aldri* (**B.** **alli**) 90/23. *dsn allu* 73/22. 4 further instances. (**mep**) **allu** 84/12. *asm allan* 61/10. 62/10. 78/7. *asn alt* 62/11. 4 further instances. *npm allir* 60/3. 23 further instances. *npf allar* 65/9. 4 further instances. *npn all* 66/24. 4 further instances. *gp aldra* (**B.**

occasionally **alla**) 58/11. 6 further instances. *dp allum* 60/5. 10 further instances. *apm alla* 60/19. 10 further instances. *apn all* 80/4. 87/20. *S. nsf all* 95/18. 95/21. *nnp all* 95/19. *apf allar* 95/11. **B.** *nsm ald'r* 100/1. *nsn alt* 97/3. 73 note 348. 95 note 747. *gsn als* 100/4. *dsn allu* 98/20. *asm allan* 99/16. *asn alt* 89/4. 98/6. 60 note 67. *npm allir* 60/3. 75/16. 97/12. **all'r** 97/16. *npf allar* 101/7. *dp allom* 58/28. 97/14. *apm alla* 97/12. 97/21. 97/23. 100/22. 80 note 455. *apf allar* 59/42. Cf. **\*alsvaldandi**.

**aldri** *adv.* never (again). **A.** 78/21. 6 further instances.

**\*alnbugi** *m.* elbow. **A.** *as alnbuga* (**B.** *albuga*). 81/5. Cf. **\*eln**.

**als**<sup>1</sup>, **alt** see **\*aldr**.

**\*als**<sup>2</sup> *adv* at all. **B.** **als enkti fe** no goods at all. 100/4. Cf. **aldr**<sup>2</sup>.

**\*alsvaldandi** *adj.* all-powerful. **A.** *as alzvaldanda* (**B.** *alzwaldugan*). 60/3.

**ambatn** *f.* female slave. **A.** *ns* 64/3. *ds ambatnu* (**B.** **ambatn**) <61/5>. See Commentary to 61/5.

**\*amerki** *n.* new cattle-brand, which obscures a previous one. **A.** *ds amerki* 59/22. *as amerki* <92/4>. 92/5. **B.** *as amerki* 92 note 672. Cf. **a**<sup>1</sup>.

**a millum** *adv.* between them. **A.** **a millum** 68/12. **B.** **at millan** (possibly an error) 68 note 254. Cf. **milli**<sup>2</sup>.

**an** see **ann**.

**anbol** *n.* building material. **A.** *nom.* 83/13.

**andra, andrar, andrir, andru, andrum** see **annar**.

**\*anduerþa** *v.* with *dat.* answer for. **A.** *subj. 3s anduerþi* 84/10. 84/12.

**\*anduerþr** *adj.* turned to the front, (from) the beginning, belonging to the start. **A.** *dsn (af) anduerþu* 61/10.

**\*ankul** *m.* ankle. **A.** *as ankul* 81/7. **B.** *as ankul* 81 note 469.

**ann** *num.* one, a single, the same. **A.** *nsm* 66/23. 4 further instances. **an** [error or variant] 82/25. 88/18. *gsm ains* 71/24. *gsf annir* 67/20. *gsn ains* 91/2. See also **utan þi at ains et.** *dsm ainum* 74/2. 82/9. 87/1. *dsf anni* 72/18. 73/24. *dsn ainu* 67/24. 6 further instances. *asm ann* <60/3>. 65/13. 65/13. 68/23. 72/2. *asf aina* 67/10. 68/23. 74/20. *asn att* 71/21. 75/8. **B.** *nsf eyn* 100/5. *dsm eynom* 58/50. *asm an* 99/26. 60 note 44. *gsn eyns*, see **utan þi at ains et.** See also **\*ainloypr, ainsyri**.

**annanstep** *adv.* somewhere else. **A.** 67/19. 67/23. 89/2. **annan stap** 80/2.

**annanveg** *prp.* with *gen.* on the other side of. **A.** <67/9>.

**annar** *num.* and *adj.* second; other; different. **A.** *nsm* 67/11. 88/16. 88/18. 88/21. *nsn*

**annat** 85/1. *gsm annars* 79/15. 6 further instances. *gsf annarir* (**B. andri**) 84/8. *dsm aþrum* (**B. a(n)drom**) 86/12. 89/22. 92/12. **andrum** 66/3. 6 further instances. *dsf annari* 62/8. 63/19. *dsn andru* 68/6. 72/4. 73/18. 83/8. *asm annan* 63/5. 8 further instances. *asf aþra* [88/9]. 88/11. **andra** 61/19. 61/25. 67/20. 86/8. *asn annat* 62/2. 4 further instances. *npm aþrir* 86/11. **andrir** 62/4. 65/21. 75/22. *npf andrar* 65/12. *npn annur* 70/2. *gp annara* 62/7. 69/17. 71/1. *dp aþrum* 83/11. 4 further instances. **andrum** 67/8. *apm aþra* <94/20>. *apf aþrar* 60/18. 8 further instances. **andrar** 66/20. 66/22. *apn annur* 74/7. 91/14. **S. npn annur** 95/19. **B. nsn** 97/15. 97/15. 100/13. 62 note 102. *gsm annars* 62 note 104. *dsm a(n)drom* 58/51. 89/19. *dsf andri* 63 note 142. *asm annan* 59 note 26. 66 note 206. 67 note 231. 89 note 611. *npn annor* 98/26. *gp andra* 98/9. *dp androm* 97/26.

**anni, annir** see **ann**.

**\*ar<sup>1</sup>** *n.* year; (good) harvest. **A.** *ds ari* 76/16. 85/22. 93/19. *as ar* 60/4. 5 further instances. *np ar* 68/7. 77/2. 77/6. 78/6. *gp ara* 75/16. 77/6. 78/4. 93/15. *ap ar* 68/5. 4 further instances. **B.** *gp ara* 78 note 434. *ap aar* 101/7. 101/8. See Commentary to 60/4.

**\*ar<sup>2</sup>** *f.* oar. **A.** *gp ara* 92/20.

**\*arf** *n.* inheritance (left by a deceased person). **A.** *ds arfi* 75/24.

**\*arfi** *m.* heir (particularly one who pursues a legal case). **A.** *ds arui* 74/23.

**ari** see **\*ar<sup>1</sup>**.

**arla** *adv.* early. **A.** 61/11.

**\*armleggr** *m.* bone of the arm. **Bx.** **armlegg'r** 98/17.

**asia** *v.* witness, study, investigate. See **sia**.

**askilia** *v.* dispute, be of a differing opinion. See **skilia**.

**\*asyn** *f.* inspection; eyewitness. **A.** *ds asyn* 83/14. *as asyn* 83/15.

**at<sup>1</sup>** *prp. with dat.* to, against; for; in; about, at, on, with; concerning; as, in respect of, according to. **A.** 60/1. [72/20]. [72/20]. [72/22]. 142 further instances. **S.** 95/4. 95/4. 95/12. 95/15. **B.** 66/15. 66/19. 72/20. 72/20. 72/22. 93/18. 97/14. 16 further instances. 72 note 333. 72 note 345. 74 note 369. 92 note 678. **Bx.** 98/17. 98/25.

**at<sup>2</sup>** *adv. or part of an compound verb* for this; in this respect. **A.** 60/19. 16 further instances. **B.** 97/9. 6 further instances. 84 note 538. 86 note 572. See also **utan þi at ains et.**

**at<sup>3</sup>** *infinitive mark* to. **A.** 60/20. 23 further instances. **S.** 95/20. **B.** 67/15. 70/1. 97/6. 7 further instances. 94 note 725.

**at bieras** *v. md.* happen. See **biera**.

**at bipa** *v. with gen.* wait for [something]. See **bipa**.

**\*atbyrþ** *f.* occurrence, case. **A. np atbyrþir** 94/25.

**ater, atir** see **atr**.

**atmeli** *n.* a period of a year. **A. ns atmeli** 67/14. 68/4. 68/12. **gs atmelis** 76/17. 84/5. *as atmeli* 67/14. 68/4. 85/20. **B. gs atmelis** 99/16. *as atmeli* 68 note 261. See Commentary to 67/14.

**atr** *adv.* back, again, afresh, back, left. **A.** 60/24. 41 further instances. **S.** 95/8. 95/13. **B. ater** 86/16. 99/9. 99/9. **at'r** 99/10. 12 further instances. 67 note 239. **ath'r** 99/18.

**att** see **ann**.

**\*atta**<sup>1</sup> *f.* possession. **A. ds attu** 89/14. Cf. **viþratta**.

**atta**<sup>2</sup> *num.* eight. **A. gm** 67/16. 67/17. **gf** 71/22. **df** 74/15. 85/1. **af** 74/1. 5 further instances. **an** 77/2.

**atti** see **\*aiga**<sup>1</sup>.

**\*attundi** *num.* eighth. **A. asm attunda** 76/12. 76/14. 82/7. 92/19. **B. asm attunda** 100/14.

**\*attundi huer** *num.* every eighth. **A. asm attunda...huern** 92/19.

**auga** *n.* eye. **A. ns** 72/23. **dp augum** 80/5. **ap augun** 72/24. 74/1.

**auka** *v.* increase, produce offspring. **A. 3sp aukas** 77/15. 91/11. *subj. 3s (til) auki* 82/2. **S. i (til) auka** 95/20.

**\*aumbr** *adj.* deplorable, in a bad state. **A. asm auman** 83/21. 83/23. 84/13.

**\*aupin** *ptc* trimmed. **A. nsf aupin** 87/2.

**\*avaxtr** *m.* increase. **A. ds avagst** 86/17. *as avagst* 86/22.

**\*avita** *v.* accuse. See **vita**<sup>2</sup>.

**aviti** *n.* fine. **A. ns** 64/2.

**\*axl** *f.* shoulder. **A. gs axlar** 81/6. **ap akslar** 75/2.

**axlar hafuþ** *n.* shoulder blade, shoulder. See **hafuþ**.

**axul** *m.* (wagon's) axel. **A. ns** 85/1.

**apal** *undecl. combination element* true-born, legitimate, genuine; inherited, claimed, cultivated (of land). **A.** 77/20. 5 further instances.

**apans** *adv.* recently. **A.** 70/19. **B. a tan** 70 note 299.

**apra, aprar, aprir, aprum** see **annar**.



**bade** see **bepi**.

**bain** *n.* leg, bone. *A. ns* 72/14. 73/8. *gp baina* 72/14. 72/16. *B. ds beyni* 99/16. Cf.

**huaifibain**, **\*leggbain**.

**\*bainhail** *adj.* having undamaged bone structure or joints, 'sound in limb'. *B. dsm beinheilom* <100/3>.

**\*bait** *f.* pasture. *A. ds baitu* 89/2.

**\*baizl** *n.* bit, bridle. *A. as baizl* 75/2.

**\*baipās** *v. md.* ask permission, request. *A. 3s baipis* 78/5. 84/2. *3p baipās* 89/19. *subj. 3s baipis* 87/5. *S. i* 95/21.

**\*baka** *v.* bake. *A. ptc dsn bakapu* 63/19.

**\*bakr** *m.* back. *A. ds baki* 61/1. 63/23. <89/4>. *as bak* 61/7. *B. ds baki* 89 note 612.

**\*bak vegg** *f.* back wall. *A. as bak vegg* 70/19.

**bana** see **bani**.

**\*band** *n.* tie, leash; pair (of beasts). *A. ds bandi* 73/15. *S. gs banz* 95/17. See also

**\*bandhail**, **\*baugband**, **hornband**, **\*silfrband**, **silkisband**. Cf. **hepta**<sup>2</sup>.

**banda**<sup>1</sup> *f.* circle of peace; a protected area, within which a killer was shielded from revenge for a certain length of time and under certain conditions. *A. ns* 66/1. 67/12. 67/13. 69/8. *gs bandur* 67/17. 69/7. *ds bandu* 67/11. 67/15. *as bandu* 67/7. 6 further instances. See also **\*banduvereldi**, **\*vatubanda**. See Commentary to 67/6-14.

**banda**<sup>2</sup> see **bandi**<sup>2</sup>.

**bandavereldi** see **\*banduvereldi**.

**\*bandhail** *adj.* having unbroken ties (of a perimeter fence). *A. asm bandhailan* 84/15.

**bandi**<sup>1</sup> see **\*band**.

**\*bandi**<sup>2</sup> *m.* withy, wicker fencing material. *A. gs banda* 84/19. *as banda* 85/3. *dp bandum* 84/18. See Commentary to 84/19.

**bandu**, **bandur** see **banda**<sup>1</sup>.

**\*banduvereldi** *n.* compensation for one who is killed within his circle of peace. *A. ds banduvereldi* <69/22>. *np banduvereldi* <69/23>. *dp banduvereldum* <58/19>. *B. ds banduvereldi* 58 note 9. 69 note 282. Cf. **banda**<sup>1</sup>.

**bani** *m.* killer, murderer; sudden death. *A. ns* 70/5. 70/7. *ds bana* 68/24. 5 further instances. *as bana* 70/4. 70/7. 70/11. See Commentary to 68/23-24.

**bann** *n.* excommunication. *A. ns* 64/9. 65/2. 65/22. *gs banz(mall)* 65/8. *ds banni*

65/3. See Commentary to 64/9.

**banz** see **band**.

**bar** see **biera**.

**barn** *n.* child. **A.** *ns* 60/10. 12 further instances. (**dotur**)**barn** 77/8. (**systur**)**barn** 77/9. (**fapursystur**)**barn** 77/9. *gs* **barns** 71/12. 73/3. *ds* **barni** 60/12. 6 further instances. *as* **barn** 60/8. 10 further instances. **barnit** 69/14. *np* **barn** 69/19. 69/21. (**bonda**)**barn** 63/3. (**prest**)**barn** 63/2. *gp* (**py**)**barna** 78/7. (**syskana**)**barna** 82/10. *dp* **barnum** 58/3. 60/7. 63/1. 77/3. *ap* **barn** 64/14. 76/20. (**py**)**barn** 77/23. 77/23. **B.** *ns* **barnit** 71 note 317. *gs* **barns** 71 note 313. *ds* **barne** 60 note 54. *as* **barn** 71 note 318. *gp* (**bonda**)**barna** 97/5. *dp* (**prest**)**barnom** 58/7. 63 note 124. *ap* (**thy**)**barn** 58/31. 77/19.

\***barnalaus** *adj.* childless. **A.** *nsf* **barnalaus** 77/4. *asm* **barnalausán** 64/12. **B.** *nsm* **barnalaus** 64 note 161.

\***barnfar** *n. pl.* childbed. **A.** *dat.* **barnfarum** 60/9. 61/4.

\***barþ** *n.* beard. **A.** *gs* **barz** 72/9.

\***batr** *m.* boat. **A.** *ns* <89/15>. *as* **bat** 89/16. **B.** *ns* **batir** 89 note 620.

\***baugband** *n.* band around the wrists, handcuffs. **B.** *ap* **baugband** 100/6. See Commentary to 100/6-7.

\***baugliþr** *m.* wrist. **A.** *as* **baugliþ** 81/5.

**bapi** see **bepir**.

**baþu** see \***bipia**.

**baþum** see **bepir**.

\***bedroyta** see \***beproyta**.

**beggia** see **bepir**.

\***bella** *v.* be able to. **B.** *3s* **bellir** 68 note 244. 69 note 268. *3p* **bella** 69 note 272. Cf. **orka**.

\***belti** *n.* belt. **S.** *ap* **belti** 95/20.

\***beras** *v. md.* uncover; expose. **A.** *3sp* **beras** 80/21. 80/21. *pret.* *3sp* **berapis** 80/23.

\***beria** *v.* strike, thresh **A.** *2s* **ber** 66/2. *3s* **ber** 71/5. 71/6. *ptc nsm* **berþr** 66/23. 72/5. 74/20. *nsf* **berþ** 61/14. <71/9>. 71/10. *dsf* **berþri** 58/21. **B.** *3s* **ber** 58 note 11. *ptc nsf* **berd** 71 note 311.

\***berias** *v. md* fight. **A.** *3s* **bers** 75/6. **B.** *3s* **bers** 58/27. 75/5.

\***berykta** *v.* charge. **B.** *pret.* *3p* **berychtado** 60 note 60.

\***bestr** see \***gopr**.

**betala** v. pay. **B.** *i* 101/6.

**\*betr** *adv. comp.* better. **B.** **bet'r** 99/11.

**bepi** (...ok) *conj.* both (... and). **A.** 60/6. 12 further instances. **B.** **bade** 97/3. 100/14.

Cf. **bepir**.

**bepir** *pron.* both. (**B.** **badir**, etc.) **A.** *nm* 67/20. 6 further instances. *nn* **bepi** 76/25.

**bepin** 77/12. 77/12. **bapi** 76/7. *gen* **beggia** 88/12. *dat* **baþum** 73/24. *am* **bepa** 72/24. *af* **bepar** 72/24. *an* **bepi** 80/24. **bepin** 72/24. **B.** *an* **bade** 66/8. Cf. **bepi** ...ok.

**\*beproyta** *f.* bed-wetting (literally 'bed-rot'). **B.** *ds* **bedroytu** 99/15.

**beyni** see **bain**.

**biauþa** v. *with acc.* invite, offer, *with dat.* invite in, command, summon. **A.** *i* <68/13>.

68/19. 6 further instances. *3s* **biauþr** 68/10. *subj.* *3s* **biauþi** 68/4. 68/5. *pret.* *3p* **buþu** 68/11. *ptc nsm* (**o**)**buþin** 81/21. *nasn sup* **buþit** 63/8. 68/6. 69/8. *npm* (**firi**)**buþin** 62/14. **S.** *ptc nsf* (**firi**)**buþin** 96/1. **B.** *i* **biauda** 97/17. 68 note 255. *subj.* *3s* **biaudi** 58/16. 68/3. 97/9. *ptc nsf* (**fyr**)**budin** 101/6. *nsn* **budit** 97/13. 97/18. (**for**)**budit** 62 note 113.

**biera** v. carry, carry out, convey, provide, give birth to, cause; **oburit** unborn (of a child). **A.** *i* 68/7. 68/20. 80/4. *3s* **bier** <70/15>. 72/15. 5 further instances. *subj.* *3s* **bieri** 60/14. 89/11. *subj.* *3sp* **bieris** 81/20. *subj.* *3p* **bierin(t)** 83/3. *pret.* *3s* **bar** 90/5. 90/7. *ptc nasn, sup.* **burit** 60/10. 4 further instances. (**o**)**burit** 69/14. 71/6. (**firi**)**burit** 90/5. *npm* (**iem**)**burnir** 69/13. *dp* (**iem**)**burnum** 78/23. **B.** *i* 97/12. <97/21>. *3s* **bier** 70 note 293. 80 note 457. *subj.* *3sp* **biers** 81 note 479. *subj.* *3p* **bierin** 83 note 511. *pret.* *3sp* **bars** 90 note 631. Cf. **\*burin**.

**bieras** v. *md.* happen, occur. **A.** *i* 67/2. (**at**) **bieras** 93/2. *3s* **biers** 80/14. 87/1. **B.** *i* (**aat**) **biera** 67 note 220. *3s* **biers** 58/50. (**til**) **biers** 99/25.

**\*bierueldr** *m.* carried fire. See **\*eldr**.

**binda** v. prove [something] against [someone], bind [someone to a crime], convict. **A.** *i* 70/16. *subj.* *3s* **bindi** 71/7. 92/3. *imp.* *2s* **bint** 70/18. *ptc nsm* **bundin** 84/18. *asm* **bundnan** 70/4. <70/7>. 89/4. **B.** *i* 100/9. 100/9. *3s* **bind'r** 100/13. *ptc nsm* **bundin** 100/25. *asm* **bundnan** 70 note 288.

**biskupr** *m.* bishop. **A.** *ns* 62/1. *gs* **biskup** (**sak**) 65/22. *np* **biskupar** 63/7. **B.** *gs* **biscops** 65 note 194.

**bit** *n.* bite. **A.** *ns* (**hund**) **bit** 71/3. **B.** *ns* (**hunss**) **bit** 98/7.

**\*bita** v. bite; cause someone to be struck down (killed) **A.** *3p* **bita** 90/3.

\***bitas** *v.* *md.* bite. **A.** *3s* **bitz** 70/18. 88/21.

\***biti**<sup>1</sup> *m.* molar. **A.** *dp* **bitum** 73/22. **B.** *dp* **bitom** 98/20.

\***biti**<sup>2</sup> *m.* beam. **A.** *np* **bitar** 89/9.

**bipa** *v.* wait, delay; *with gen.* wait for. **A.** *i* 75/23. 89/20. *3s* (**at**) **bipar** 64/10. *subj. 3s* **bipi** 81/15.

**bipia** *v.* beg, request. **A.** *i* 60/3. 84/14. 90/19.

\***bladragning** *f.* wall covering of blue cloth. **A.** *as* **bladragning** 82/2. **S.** *ns* 95/21. See Commentary to 82/2.

**blindr** *adj.* blind. See **starblindr**.

\***blot** *n.* sacrifice. **A.** *np* **blot** <62/14>. **B.** *ns* **bloot** 62 note 111. See Commentary.

\***blotan** *f.* sacrifice. **A.** *ds* **blotan** 58/6. 62/13.

**bloþ** *n.* blood; blood tie, kinsman in the direct blood-line. **A.** *ns* 76/3. 76/24. 77/10. *gs* **blo(p)z** 76/3. 76/7. 77/12. *ds* **bloþi** 82/11. See Commentary to 76/3.

\***bloþugr** *adj.* bloody; **giera bloþugt** injure. **A.** *asn* **bloþugt** 64/25.

\***bo** *n.* property, farm, cattle. **A.** *as* **bo** 63/10. 66/9. See **bolamb**, **Atlingabo**, **nauta bo**.

**boa** *v.* live. **A.** *i* 67/24. *3s* **bor** 67/18. 67/19. 67/23. 68/1.

\***boi** *m.* dweller. See \***land boi**.

**bol**<sup>1</sup> *n.* farm, property in the form of land. **A.** *ns* 61/10. 67/22. 92/12. *ds* **boli** 68/1. *as* **bol** 87/7. *ap* **bol** 87/9. Cf. \***bolfastr**. See Commentary to 61/10.

**bol**<sup>2</sup> *n.* equipment. See **anbol**.

**bolamb** *n.* tame sheep. See **lamb** and Commentary to Chapter 42.

\***bolfastr** *adj.* resident, domiciled; landowning. **A.** *gp* **bolfasta** 74/22. *dp* **bolfastum** 69/12. 71/9. *ap* **bolfasta** 78/19. 78/22.

**bonaþr** *m.* decoration. See **kurtilbonaþr**.

**bondabarn** *n* (peasant) farmer's child. **A.** *np* **bondabarn** 63/3. **B.** *gp* **bondabarna**. 97/5.

**bondasun** *m.* farmer's son. **A.** *ns* **bondasun** 86/15.

**bondi** *m.* husband; farmer. **A.** *ns* 66/8. 92/14. 94/4. *gs* **bonda** 70/16. **bondans** 93/22. *as* **bonda** 77/1. *gp* **bonda** 64/9. *dp* **bondum** 94/3. **B.** *ns* **bondin** 94 note 704. *as* **bondan** 94 note 706. *gp* **bonda** 97/5. See also **husbondi** and Commentary to 66/8.

**bor** see **boa**.

**bort** *adv.* away; on (one's) way. **A.** 61/19. 92/10. 93/22. **B.** 100/22. **burt** 61 note 90.

\***borþ** *n.* meal (time). See **kniborþ**.

**bot** *f.* penalty, fine. **A.** *ns* 64/9. 71/25. *ds* **bot** 71/2. *as* **bot** 68/4. 68/11. 89/23.

(snattan)bot 90/11. *np* bytr 72/8. 72/11. (fe)bytr 81/9. *gp* bota 72/2. 81/1. *dp* botum 70/1. 70/11. *ap* bytr 66/14. 66/22. 66/24. 80/23. **B.** *ds* boot 58/16. 68/3. 97/13. *as* boot 97/9. 6 further instances. *dp* botom 98/8. See Commentary to 66/13-14.

\*bragþ *n.* time, point in time. **A.** *ds* bragþi (**B.** bregdi). 65/24.

\*braiþr *adj.* broad, wide. **A.** *as* adverb brat 85/5. *apf* braiþar 82/17.

\*braþr *adj.* hasty, sudden. **A.** *as* adverb brat 68/20.

\*brauþ *n.* bread. **A.** *ds* brauþi 63/19. 93/22. **B.** *ds* briaudi 93 note 697.

bregdan see brigsl.

\*bregþa *v.* dispute, claim (ownership); abuse, reproach. **A.** *3s* brigþr <83/3>. bregþr <90/23>. **B.** *3s* bregdar 83 note 513. 90 note 648. *ptc nsm* brigd'r 99/17.

\*bregþas *v. md.* quarrel about. **A.** *3p* brigþas 82/22.

brenna *v.* burn, melt down. **S.** *i* 95/18.

\*bresta *v.* break, fail. **A.** *3s* brestr 85/1.

briaudi see \*brauþ.

\*briaust *n.* breast. **A.** *as* briaust 81/6. Cf. \*brusthail.

\*briauta *v.* break, break apart, break up, infringe. **A.** *2s* briautr 85/3. *3s* briautr 81/21. 5 further instances. *3p* briauta 94/15. *sup.* brutit 65/2. 65/18. **S.** *3s* briautr 96/2. **B.** *ptc nsn* (til) brutit 100/2. 100/3.

\*brigsl *n.* blame, quarrel, dispute, (ownership) claim; peevishness, bad temper. **A.** *dp* brigslum 58/44. <82/21>. **B.** *ds* brigsl 99/16. *dp* bregdan 58 note 21. 82 note 503.

\*brigþa, brigþas, brigþr see \*bregþa.

\*brinna *v.* burn. **A.** *3p* brinna 77/13.

broa *v.* make roads good. **A.** *i* 93/9. *3s* broar 93/10.

\*broagierþ *f.* road-building, road repair. **A.** *ds* broagierþ <59/28>. 93/8. **B.** *ds* broan 59 note 33. 93 note 688.

\*brok *f.* trousers. **A.** *as* brok 74/16. **B.** *ap* broker 74 note 373.

broþir *m.* brother. **A.** *ns* broþir 67/3. 79/6. 82/6. 86/23. *ds* bryþr 77/12. 82/9. *as* broþur 68/18. 86/24. *np* bryþr 76/21. 4 further instances. *dp* bryþrum <77/17>. **B.** *np* bryd'r 97/15. brod'r 79 note 448. *dp* brydrom 77 note 423.

\*brun *f.* eyebrow. **A.** *gs* brunar 72/10.

\*brusthail *adj.* undamaged in the chest or breathing, 'sound in wind'. **B.** *dsm* brustheilom 100/4. Cf. briaust.

brut *n.* breaking, violation. See helgisbrut.

**\*brutfall** *n.* epilepsy. **B.** *ds* **brutfalli** 99/15.

**brutit** see **briauta**.

**\*brup** *f.* bride. **A.** *ds* **brup** 81/15.

**brupmessa** *f.* nuptial mass. **A.** *ns* 81/14. 81/15.

**brydir** see **broþir**.

**bryllaup**, **\*bryþlaup** *n.* wedding. **A.** *ns* 81/14. 81/16. 81/16. *gs* **bryllaups** 81/21. *gp*

**bryllaupa** 81/17. *dp* **bryllaupum** 81/12. **bryþlaupum** 58/36.

**bryttuga** *f.* chief bridal attendant. **A.** *ns* 81/15.

**\*bryþlingi** *m.* brother's child, nephew or niece. **A.** *np* **bryþlingar** (**B.** **bryllingiar**) 86/11.

**bryþr**, **bryþrum** see **broþir**.

**budi** see **bup**.

**budin**, **budit** see **biaupa**.

**\*bugi** *m.* bow, bend. See **\*alnbugi**.

**\*bukkr** *m.* billy-goat. **A.** *as* **bukk** 91/22. *dp* **bukkum** 59/20. 91/20. 91/21.

**\*bul** *m.* plank. **A.** *as* **bul** 89/10.

**bundit**, **bundnan** see **binda**.

**burgan** *f.* loan, purchase on credit against a promissory note. **S.** *ns* 96/1. **B.** *ns* 101/6. *ds* **burgan** 59/40. 101/5. See Commentary to 96/1-2.

**\*burin** or **\*burn** [form uncertain] householder; daughter of the household. **Bx.** *dat* **burnum** 76/13.

**burit**, **burnir**, **burnum** see **biera**.

**burt** see **bort**.

**\*butn** *m.* bottom; (sea-)bed. **A.** *ds* (**hafs**) **butni** 92/20.

**\*bup** *n.* command, summons, bidding; **hafa i buþi** offer; **vera i buþi** be offered. **A.** *ds* **buþi** 70/11. *as* **bup** 78/16. **B.** *ds* **budi** 97/20. 97/22. 97/24. See also **\*forbup**, **umbup**.

**buþin**, **buþit**, **buþu** see **biaupa**.

**\*byamaþr** *m.* town-dweller. **S.** *ap* **byamenn** 96/1. **B.** *as* **byaman** 101/6. *ap* **byamen** 59/40. 101/5.

**\*byggia** *v.* live; settle (down), establish oneself. **A.** *ptc dsn* **bygþu** <60/5>.

**byn** *f.* request. **A.** *ns* 68/16.

**\*byr** *m.* farm, habitation. **A.** *gs* **byar** 80/6. 80/12. Cf. **\*byamaþr** and **\*Visbyr** in the Index.

**byrd** see **byrþ**.

**byrgia** *v.* gather in the harvest. *A. i* 94/2.

**byrgslu** see **byrslu**.

**byria** *v.* begin. *A. i* 87/20. *3sp* **byrias** 58/2. *3pp* **byrias** 60/1.

**byrslufulk** *n.* workers who help with the harvest. See **fulk**.

\***byrþ**<sup>1</sup> *f.* birth. *B. as* **byrd** 97/4. Cf. \***atbyrþ**.

**byrþ**<sup>2</sup> *f.* burden. *A. ns* 63/24. *ds* **byrþi** 63/23. *as* **byrþi** (*B. byrdi*). <63/22>.

\***byrþingr** *m.* smaller cargo vessel. *A. as* **byrþing** 89/10.

**byta** *v.* replace, atone for, pay a fine, pay for, redress. *A. i* 60/20. 64/25. 67/15. 94/18.

*2s* **bytir** 73/20. 5 further instances. *3s* **bytir** 64/4. <69/13>. <75/12>. 30 further instances. *3sp* **bytis** 69/16. 4 further instances. *subj. 3s* **byti** 60/12. <86/2>. 35 further instances. *3pp* **bytas** 70/3. *subj. 3p* **bytin** 94/15. *imp. 2s* **byt** 64/22. 44 further instances. *ptc. nsm* **byttr** 75/7. *nsf* **byt** [72/22]. 73/7. *nasn, sup.* **byt** 64/9. <66/2>. [72/20]. 24 further instances. (*o*)**byt** 71/16. 71/18. *nnp* **byt** 72/3. *S. 3sp* **bytis** 95/4. 95/4. *subj. 3s* **byti** 95/7. 5 further instances. *ptc asn* (*tui*)**byt** 95/15. *B. i* 97/15. 97/25. 97/26. *2s* **bytir** 75/3 (*A. 3s*). 98/18. 65 note 201. **byt'r** 66 note 212. 66 note 213. 66 note 217. 66 note 218. 89 note 615. **byter** 64 note 169. *3s* **bytir** 97/18. 98/8. 98/17. 75 note 381. **byt'r** 100/15. 69 note 277. 71 note 303. 72 note 332. 72 note 333. **byter** 74 note 369. *3sp* **bytis** 69/18. 98/12. 5 further instances. *subj. 3s* **byti** 97/8. 9 further instances. 64 note 150. 73 note 355. 74 note 374. 75 note 376. 86 note 561. *3pp* **bytas** 69 note 278. *imp. 2s* **byt** 81 note 473. *ptc. nsf* **byt** 72/22. *nasn, sup.* **byt** 72/20. 66 note 202. 72 note 345. *Bx. 3s* **byt'r** 98/13. *3sp* **bytis** 98/17. *ptc. nsn* **byt** 98/25. *ptc asn* (*tui*)**byt** 99/4.

\***dagr** *m.* day; 24 hours; specified day. *A. gs* **dags** 68/14. *ds* **dagi** 62/1. 65/23. 81/18. (*luta*)**dagi** 84/5. *as* **dag** 60/5. 10 further instances. *np* **dagar** 64/20. *gp* **daga** 67/16. 67/17. *dp* **dagum** 58/8. 63/6. *ap* **daga** 63/7. 5 further instances. *B. ap* **daga**. 99/8. See also \***dagsverk(i)**, \***friadagr**, \***sunnudagr**, \***messudagr** and \***gangdagr**, **helgudagavika** in the Index.

\***dagsverk(i)** *n.* day's work. *A. as* **dagsverk** 93/24. *B. as* **dags wercki** 93 note 700. See **verk**.

**daila** *f.* dispute, conflict. *A. ns* 88/5. 88/7. 88/9. See also \***aignadaila**

\***daufiorþ** *f.* infertile land. *A. ds* **dauf iorþu** 83/7. *B. ds* **daufi iorþ** 83 note 519.

**daupr** *adj.* dead. *A. nsm* 84/12. *nasn* **datt** 60/10. 61/2. 71/10. *asm* **daupan** 75/14.

87/15.

**at daupum** *adv.* until death. **A.** 69/17. **B.** **at daudom** 66/15. 66/19.

**\*diauplaikr** *m.* depth. **A.** *as* **diauplaik** 71/22.

**\*diaupr** *adj.* deep. **A.** *asn* **diaupt** 71/21. 71/23. **B.** *asn* **diupt** 71 note 321.

**\*dirfas** *v. md.* dare, venture, presume. **A.** *subj. 3s* **dirfis** 83/11. 83/17.

**\*dombr** *m.* domain. **A.** *np* **domar** 87/23. Cf. **hordombr**, **\*kristindombr**.

**\*domeri** *m.* (district) judge. **A.** *gs* (**lanz**)**domera** 71/24. *gp* **domera** 74/22. 95/1. Cf. Introduction and Commentary to 71/24.

**dotir** *f.* daughter. **A.** *ns* 67/19. 76/10. 77/8. 77/14. *gs* **dotur**(**barn**) 77/8. *ds* (**py**)**dotur** 78/11. *as* **dotur** 79/17. (**py**)**dotur** 78/9. 78/9. 78/12. *np* **dytrir** <75/24>. (**sona**)**dytrir** <75/25>. 75/25. *dp* **dytrum** 77/24. *ap* **dytrir** <75/23>. 77/24. (**py**)**dytrir** 78/4. **B.** *np* **dytir** 75 note 392. (**sona**) **dytrir** 75 note 393. *ap* **dytrir** 75 note 391.

**\*doya** *v.* die. **A.** *3s* **doyr** 64/13. 75/22. 75/24. 76/18. **B.** *3s* **döyr** 97/9.

**drag** *n.* pulling. See **hardrag**.

**draga** *v.* drag, pull. **A.** *i* 67/10. *3s* **dragr** 88/16. *subj. 3s* **dragi** 67/7. 4 further instances. *pret. 3s* **drog** 67/12. *ptc. nsf* **dragin** 67/13. 73/13. *ptc. nsn* **dregit** 74/11. *sup.* **dragit** 67/7.

**dragnig** *f.* hanging. See **bladragning**.

**\*drap** *n.* killing, murder. **A.** *ds* **drapi** 63/3. See also **\*manndrap**.

**drepa** *v.* kill, murder. **A.** *i* 67/3. *2s* **drepr** 64/22. <65/25>. 66/15. 66/19. *3s* **drepr** 67/24. 6 further instances. *3p* **drepa** 68/23. *pret. 2s* **drapt** 66/1. *pret. 3s* **drap** 87/3. *ptc. nsm* **drepin** 65/6. 66/16. 69/17. **B.** *2s* **drep'r** 65 note 200. See Commentary to 69/17.

**\*driaugr** *adj.* large, heavy, strong. *comp.* **\*driaugari** larger, heavier, stronger. **A.** *apn* **driaugari** 82/25.

**\*drikka** *v.* drink. **A.** *ip* **drikkas** <81/14>. 81/16. *3sp* **drikks** <81/16>. *ptc. (active meaning)* *npm* **druknir** 71/17. **B.** *ip* **dryckas** 81 note 475. *3sp* **dricks** 81 note 476.

**drotin** *m.* lord, owner (of a slave). **A.** *ns* 61/6. 5 further instances. **B.** *ns* 99/23. 99/26. 100/8. *ds* **drotin** 100/4.

**\*drotsieti** *m.* sponsor, host (at a wedding). **A.** *dp* **drozsietum** (**B.** **drossiatel**) 81/18.

**\*drukkin** *adj.* drunk. See **\*drikka**.

**\*drunkna** *v.* drown. **A.** *3p* **drunkna** 77/13.

**\*drykkia** *f.* drinking; drink. **A.** *ds* **drykkiu** (**B.** **drykky**). 62/17. See also



**\*uppdrykkia.**

**dufl** *n.* gambling, game. *A. ns* 94/22. *ds* **dufli** 59/38. 94/21. *B. ns* **duffli** 94 note 720.

**\*dufla** *v.* gamble, play. *A. 3s* **duflar** 94/22.

**duga** *v.* suffice, benefit. *A. i* 80/7. *subj. 3p* **dugin** 83/1. *B. 3p* **dugi** 83 note 509.

**\*dula** *v.* deny. *A. 3s* **dular** 60/15. 71/7. 90/3.

**dur** *n. pl.* door. *A. nom.* 89/23. **(felli)dur** 85/12. *dat.* **durum** 70/17. 73/15.

**(kirkiu)durum** 61/15. 65/1. 70/12. *B. dat.* **(kyrckio) durom** 98/3.

**\*dygr** *n.* a day and a night, 24 hours. *A. ds* **dygri** 64/20. 71/8. *as* **dygr** 80/7. 80/12. 89/7.

**\*dylia** *v.* deny. *A. 3s* **dyl** 90/20.

**dyma** *v.* judge. *A. i* 60/25. 68/13. 90/12. *subj. 3pp* **dymins** 87/23.

**dyr** *adj.* expensive, dear; **vera dyr** cost. *A. nsm* 66/1. <73/20>. 90/6. *nsf* **dyr** 80/11. *npn (iem)* **dyr** 74/16.

**dyrt** *adv.* dear(ly). *A. (iem)* **dyrt** 75/10.

*comp.* **dyrari** more dearly. *A.* 86/16. 86/21.

**dyrþ** *f.* honour. *A. ns* 60/6.

**dytrum** see **\*dotir**.

**e** *adv.* always, (for) ever; continuously. *A.* 63/15. 12 further instances. *B.* 65/12.

65/25. 97/4. 98/6. 99/24. See also **emen**, **emipan**, **esipan**. Cf. **ai**.

**\*efla** *v.* be able to. *A. 3p* **efla** 86/1. 86/1.

**ekki** *adv.* not. (*B. ey*) *A.* 60/8. 73/17. 85/8. 89/15. Cf. **a<sup>3</sup>**, **ai<sup>1</sup>**, **engin**.

**\*eldhus** *n.* kitchen. *A. dp* **eldhusum** 93/3.

**\*eldr** *m.* fire. *A. ds* **eldi** 59/26. 93/1. 93/2. **(bieru)eldi** 59/27. 93/5. 93/6.

**ella** *conj.* or. *A.* 63/15. [72/20]. [79/12]. *B.* 58/5. 63/17. 65/7. 65/17. 72/20. 77/13.

78/8. 83/21. 83/22. 97/5. 20 further instances. 67 note 227 (twice). 72 note 344. 79 note 451. 85 note 552. *Bx.* 98/17. Cf. **ellar<sup>1</sup>**, **epa**.

**ellar<sup>1</sup>** *conj.* or. *B.* **ell'r** 97/7. Cf. **ella**, **epa**.

**ellar<sup>2</sup>** *adv.* otherwise, else. *A.* 79/1. 82/17. 85/13. *B.* 97/12. 97/21.

**\*eln** *f.* ell, about 0.52 metres (20.5 inches) in 12th century Gotland, 0.55 metres (just under 22 inches) at the turn of the 14th century, but elsewhere as much as 0.64 metres. *A. gen.* **elna** 72/15. 84/19. *gp* **elna** 72/15. *ap* **elnar** 78/3. Cf. **\*alnbugi**.

**elzti** see **gamal**.

**emen** *conj.* as long as. *A.* 85/6. (*B. e* **medan**).

**emipan, e ... mipan conj.** as long as. **A.** 76/3. 84/8. 86/25. 87/2. **B.** **emedan** 97/6.

**\*emni n. pl.** resources. **A. dat. emnum** 78/7.

**en<sup>1</sup> conj.** if. **A.** 60/17. <88/7>. <90/7>. 90 further instances. **B.** 69/1. 69/3. 97/10. 16 further instances. 88 note 597. 90 note 632. **Bx.** 98/18.

**en<sup>2</sup> conj.** but, however; and. **A.** 60/14. 99 further instances. **B.** 89/9. 97/3. 9 further instances. Cf. **ok.**

**en<sup>3</sup> conj.** than. **A.** 76/1. 87/15. 87/24. 88/9. **S.** 95/4. 95/14. 95/14. 96/1. **B.** 99/3. 101/6. 101/7. Cf. **pan<sup>4</sup>.**

**en<sup>4</sup> adv.** as part of the conjunctions **fyr en, sipan en, þa en.**

**en<sup>5</sup> = et conj.** that. **A.** 68/5. 69 note 273. **B.** 99/10. 100/5. Cf. **et, þau en, þau et.**

**\*engi n.** pasture, hay meadow (as opposed to arable field, *akr*). **A. as engi (B. engh)** 62/8. **dp engium** 85/12. **B. as engh** 58/5.

**engin pron. and adj.** none, no one; no. **pron. A.** *nsm* 60/14. 29 further instances. *nsf engun* 66/1. 68/16. *nsn ekki* 77/9. 77/10. *dsm engum* 75/11. *asm engin* 89/5. *asf enga* 89/23. *asn engti* 94/2. *npf engar* 81/9. *nps engun (B. engin)* 62/8. *apf engar* 61/3. 87/25. **S.** *nsm* 95/23. L95/23. 96/1. *nsn engti* 95/14. *apn engun* 95/20. **B. nsm** 97/8. 5 further instances. *nsn enhti* 99/3. *asm engan* 89 note 614. *asf enga* 100/5. *asn enhti* 100/4.

**adj. B. apn engin** 100/3. 95 note 745. Cf. **ekki.**

**enkia f.** widow. **A. ns** 76/17. 77/1. 77/4.

**enn adv.** still, moreover, in addition. **A.** 65/21. [68/21]. 4 further instances. **en** 60/19. 6 further instances. **B. en** 97/21. 68 note 263.

**en þau adv.** nevertheless. **A.** 61/20. **B. than en** 61 note 92.

**eptir<sup>1</sup> prp.** with acc. after. **A.** 61/14. 27 further instances.

with dat. following, in accordance with, according to. **A.** 63/11. 7 further instances. **B.** 60 note 49.

**eptir<sup>2</sup> adv.** after, afterwards, after that. **A.** 64/10. 66/7. 75/24. 80/3. **S.** 96/1. **B.** 100/15. 64 note 153.

**\*eptir<sup>3</sup> adj.** late, back. **comp. \*eptri** later, further back. **A. dsm eptra** 84/17.

**\*er<sup>1</sup> n.** scar. **A. as er** 72/9.

**er<sup>2</sup>** see vera.

**erfilytia f.** heiress. **A. ns** 76/1. 76/6. **B. ns erffilitia** 76 note 394.

**erfingi m.** heir. **A. ns** 69/4.

**\*erfisgierp f.** funeral feast. **A. np erfisgierpir** 81/24. **dp erfisgierpum** 58/37.

\***ertaug** *f.* örtug; unit of weight or value in coin or other currency equal to 1/3 öre or 1/24 mark; twelve pennies in coin in Gotland, although eight in Svealand and sixteen in Götaland. **A.** *as* **ertaug** 91/6. 91/13. 91/22. 93/23. *dp* **ertaugum** 74/15. 85/1. *ap* **ertaugar** (**B.** **ertaug'r**) 74/1. <85/4>. 11 further instances. **B.** *dp* **ertaugom** 74 note 369. Cf. **mark**, \***oyrir**, \***penningr**<sup>1</sup>. See Commentary to 74/1.

**esipan** *adv.* ever since. **A.** 62/6.

**et** *conj.* that; so that (95/18); after (71/8). (**A.** occasionally **at**; **B.** frequently **at** or **att**) **A.** 60/4. <69/10>. 91 further instances. **S.** 95/8. 95/17. **B.** 97/26. 100/11. 100/23. 69 note 273. (**thy**) **at** 97/10. 97/11. 97/23. 99/11. **Bx.** 74 note 370. See also **mip þy et**, **utan þi at ains et**, **þau et**, **þoygi et**, **þy**<sup>2</sup>. Cf. **þet**<sup>2</sup>.

\***et(t)** *f.* family, clan, dynasty. **A.** *as* **etar** 85/24. *ds* **ett** 85/25.

\***et(t)armanna skra** *f.* genealogical table. **A.** *ds* **etarmanna skra** 77/21.

\***et(t)armaþr** *m.* family member, (more distant) relative. **A.** *np* **etarmenn** 85/23. *gp* **etarmannum** 85/17. See Commentary to 85/22-24.

**epa**<sup>1</sup> *conj.* or. [Used in pairs or lists as an alternative for **ok**.] **A.** 60/21. <85/11>. 189 further instances. **S.** 95/7. 95/11. 95/11. 95/23. Cf. **ella**, **ellar**<sup>1</sup>.

**epa**<sup>2</sup> *adv.* otherwise, else. **A.** 68/21. 87/18.

\***fa** *v.* get, acquire, buy; achieve, catch, trap; beget; be allowed; give, leave. **A.** *3s* **far** 67/9. 28 further instances. *3p* **fa** 77/18. 93/4. *subj.* *2s* **fai** 85/8. *subj.* *3s* **fai** 60/9. *subj.* *3p* **fain** 87/11. *imp.* *2s* **fa** 81/1. 89/4. *pret.* *3s* **fikk** 90/1. 91/19. *ptc.* *nsn* **fangit** 90/2. **B.** *subj.* *3s* **fai** 99/18. *pret.* *2s* **ficht** 99/14. *ptc.* *nsm* **fangin** 100/17.

\***falda** *f.* bedcover. **A.** *as* **faldu** 78/3. Cf. **falling**.

**fall** *n.* failure, lack. See \***brutfall**, \***forfall**, **messufall**.

**falla** *v.* fall; die; be written off; fail in one's proof. **A.** *i* 82/9. *3s* **faldr** <78/22>. 80/24. *3p* **falla** 70/23. 77/14. *subj.* *3p* **fallin** 71/2. **B.** *3s* **fald'r** 78 note 444.

\***fallas vipr** *v. md.* be convicted of the violation of. **A.** *3s* **falz (vipr)** 78/9.

\***falling** *f.* bedcover. **B.** *as* **falling** 78 note 431. Cf. \***falda**.

\***fang** *n. pl.* acquisition; arrival. **A.** *dat.* **fangum** 89/24. *acc.* **fang** 89/25. 89/25.

**fangin**, **fangit**, **far**<sup>1</sup> see \***fa**.

**far**<sup>2</sup> *n.* danger, risk. See \***barnfar**, **sarafar**.

**fara** *v.* go (home); travel, leave, cross, pass; have passage, move. **A.** *i* 67/15. 4 further instances. **fara (haim)** 90/18. *2s* **far** 70/18. *3s* **far** 61/19. 7 further instances. *subj.* *3s* **fari** 67/16. 6 further instances. *pret.* *3s* **for** 82/18. **S.** *3s* **far** 95/9. **B.** *i* 63/17. *3s*

**far** 100/7.

**\*farvegr** *m.* (public) carriageway (across private land). See **\*vegr**.

**faruskiaut** *n.* draught animal. **A.** *ns* 83/13.

**\*fasta** *f.* lent, fast. **A.** *ds fastu* 61/12. 4 further instances.

**fastr** *adj.* fast, firm (**at fastu**: outright, definitely, without restriction, finally); entire, not gelded or castrated. **A.** *nsm* 70/15. 70/20. 91/13. 91/16. *dsm fastum* 59/18. 59/19. 91/12. 91/15. *dsn fastu* 75/19. **B.** *dsn fastu* 99/19. 99/20. See also **\*afastr**, **\*bolfastr**, **\*tafastr** and Commentary to 70/15.

**fapir** *m.* father. **A.** *ns* 67/3. 9 further instances. *gs fapurs* 79/17. 4 further instances.

**fapur** (only in compositions) 76/1. <76/11>. 4 further instances. *ds fepr* 78/2. 78/6. 87/5. <87/11>. *as fapur* 68/18. 4 further instances. **B.** *gs fadur* (*myderni*) 76 note 402. 86 note 570. **Bx.** *ds fedr'* 87 note 588. See also **mopir**, **\*myprni**, *systir*.

**\*fe** *n.* (sum of) money, payment; property in general. **A.** *gs fear*, see **fearkraf** *ds fe* 68/8. 6 further instances. *as fe* 60/20. <86/15>. 4 further instances. **B.** *ds fe* 97/21. *as fe* 60/24. 69/5. 100/4. See also **febytr**, **filepi**, **smafilepi** and Commentary to 60/20.

**fearkraf** *n.* claim for money. **A.** *ns* 88/4. *ds fearkrafi* 59/5. 88/3.

**febytr** *f. pl.* cash compensation. **A.** *nom.* 81/9.

**\*fella** *v.* condemn; dismiss. **A.** *ptc. nsm (lag)feldr* 88/1. *nsf feld* 60/22.

**fellidur** *n. pl.* trapdoor. See **dur**.

**fem** *num.* five. **A.** *nn* 90/17. *gm* 70/15. *gf* 72/15. *df* 65/23. 69/23. *am* <94/3>. *af* 70/8. 80/9. 81/6.

**fempni** *f.* ability. See **\*gangfemni**, **\*runfemni**.

**femtan** *num.* fifteen. **A.** *gn* 75/16. 82/17. *af* 78/3.

**\*femti** *num.* fifth. **S.** *gsn femta* 95/17. Cf. **half femti**.

**\*fengr** *m.* holding power, grip. **A.** *ns* <72/18>.

**\*ferp** *f.* voyage, journey, procession. **A.** *as ferp* 67/16. *ap ferpir* 81/13. **B.** *ap ferdir* 58 note 17. 81 note 474.

**festu** *v.* pledge, hold as security. **A.** *i* 75/19. 85/21. **S.** *subj. 3pp festins* 95/11.

**\*festa** *f.* engagement, betrothal. **A.** *gs festur* 79/17.

**\*festuaiga** *f.* land taken or held in pledge, land held as security (for a sum owed). **S.** *ap festuaigur* 95/11. **B.** *np festueygur* 59/41. 101/7.

**feþgar** *m. pl.* father and son. **A.** *nom.* 77/13.

**\*feprni** *n.* paternal (family), paternal inheritance, land inherited by paternal right. **A.**

*gs feþrnis* 77/24. 77/25. *ds feþrni* 69/19. 69/21. 76/12. 82/10. *as feþrni* 77/16.

\***fiandi** *m.* enemy, the devil. **A.** *gs fianda* 67/2.

**fiarþi** *num.* fourth. **A.** *nsm* 83/4. 89/12. *gsm fiarþa* 77/15. *dsm fiarþa* 61/15. *dsn fiarþa* 70/16. 70/20. *asm fiarþa* 76/13. 76/25. 77/10. **B.** *dsn fiarda* 98/6.

\***fiarþungr** *m.* fourth part. **A.** *ap fiarþunga* 82/4.

**fiauratigi** *num.* forty. **A.** *nf* 65/7. 65/11. 79/15. *gf* 70/5. 70/7. *af* 67/4.

\***fiaurir** *num.* four. **A.** *nn fiugur* 90/16. *gm fiugura* 72/6. 74/22. **fygura** 72/14. 75/8. *gn fiugura* 71/4. 72/16. 73/7. **fygura** 74/3. 75/9. *df fiaurum* 70/21. *an fiugur* <70/17>. **B.** *gm fiugura* 72 note 337. <74 note 365>. 75 note 377. **fiugra** 74 note 375. *gn fiugura* 98/7. [71 note 304]. 75 note 378. *an fiughur* 70 note 296.

**fierri**<sup>1</sup> *adv.* far away, at a distance. **A.** 92/3.

*comp.* **fierrar**, **fiarrar** further away (also used as an adjective with the meaning 'the farther'). **A.** 86/2. **fiarrar** 76/14. 82/10. Cf. **nerar**.

**fierri**<sup>2</sup> *prp.* with *acc.* far away from. **B.** 92 note 670.

**fikk**, **fikt** see \***fa**.

\***fileþi** *n.* cattle, beast, livestock. **A.** *as fileþi* 92/5. Cf. **smafileþi**.

**fingr** *n.* finger. **A.** *ns* <72/16>. 72/17. *as fingr* <74/7>. **B.** *ns fing'r* 72 note 341. *as fing'r* 74 note 368.

\***finna** *v.* find. **A.** *2s findr* 88/20.

\***firihalda** *v.* with *dat.* cover over. See **halda**.

**firi[r]**<sup>1</sup> *prp.* with *acc.* for, instead of, in punishment for, in compensation for, for the sake of, for crime against, against a compensation of; before (in time), prior to; to the notice of. **A.** 60/12. 47 further instances. **B.** **fyri** 69/1. 97/13. 10 further instances. 66 note 219. [71 note 304]. 91 note 658. **fyrir** 63 note 148.

with *dat.* for, for the sake of, applying to, in front of, before, to the disadvantage of, to the advantage of. **A.** 61/10. 23 further instances. **B.** **fyri** 80/13. 97/9. 6 further instances. 64 note 152. **fyrir** 97/21. **fyr** 87 note 584. **fore** (**spiella**) 66 note 204. See also \***verþa firi**.

postp. governing a relative pronoun **A.** 71/8. 80/16.

**firi[r]**<sup>2</sup> *adv.* previously, before, instead, therefore. **A.** 71/17. 80/3. 83/20. 84/21. 89/23. **B.** **fyrir** 98/2. 99/18. 100/4. **fyri** 100/11.

\***firibiaupa** *v.* forbid. **A.** *ptc. npn firibupin* <62/14>. **S.** *ptc. nsf firibupin* 96/1. **B.** *ptc. nsf fyrbudin* 101/6. Cf. **biaupa**.

\***firibiera** *v.* with *dat.* forfeit (something) by carrying (it into someone's property to

- implicate them in theft). *A. ptc. nasn, sup. firiburit* 90/5. Cf. **biera**.
- \*firiganga** *v. with dat.* forfeit by wandering off. *A. ptc. nasn, sup. firigangit* 91/16. Cf. **ganga, ganga firir**.
- \*firigiefa** *v. with dat.* forfeit (money) by spending (it on something which is not legally for sale). *A. ptc. nasn, sup. firigiefit* 85/18. Cf. **giefa**.
- firigielda** *v. with acc.* pay out (e.g. a ransom). *A. i* 86/15.
- \*firigiera** *v.* forfeit; misappropriate, embezzle; squander, lay waste. *A. subj. 3s firigieri* 82/8. 87/14. *ptc. nasn, sup. firigart* 80/10. *S. 3s firigier* 95/12. *ptc. nasn, sup. firigart* 95/12. Cf. **giera**.
- firirapa** *v. with acc.* betray, implicate in a crime. *A. i* 90/5. *B. i fyrrada* 90 note 630. Cf. **\*rapa**.
- \*firistiela** *v.* forfeit through theft. *B. i fyristiela* 100/12. Cf. **stiela**.
- firiutan** *conj.* except for, excepting. *A. 71/3. B. firi prp.* [71 note 304]. Cf. **firi[r]**<sup>1</sup>.
- firi þy so et** *conj.* because, since. *A. 67/20. B. fyri thy so et* 97/26. Cf. **firi[r]**<sup>1</sup>.
- \*fiskr** *m.* fish. *A. dp fiskum* 63/18.
- fiurtan** *num.* fourteen. *A. nm* 64/20. *df* 65/23. *B. nm fiugurtan* 64 note 167.
- flaira, flairi, flairin, flairum** see **\*margr**.
- \*fliauga** *v.* fly. *A. 3s fliaugr* 93/3.
- \*flut** *n.* surface of the sea (relating to flotsam). *A. ds fluti* 92/20.
- \*fluti** *m.* (small) boat. *B. as fluta* 100/18.
- flya** *v.* flee. *A. i* 67/3. *subj. 3s flyi* 60/21. 67/18. 67/23. *subj. 3p flyin* 67/3.
- flytia** *v.* direct; move forward; postpone. *A. i* 88/12. *subj. 3s flyti* [88/8]. 88/11. *S. pret. 3p flyttu* <95/18>. *B. pret. 3p flytto* 95 note 741.
- \*foli** *m.* idiot, madman. *A. gs fola* 81/9.
- for** see **fara**.
- \*fordeþskepr** *m.* witchcraft. *A. ns* <90/17>. *B. ns fordenschep'r* 90 note 640.
- fori** see **fara**.
- \*formali** *m.* restriction; condition, agreement. *B. ds formala* 99/10. *as formala* 99/13.
- \*forn** *adj.* old; second-hand. *A. gsf fornu* 61/25. *dsf fornu* 62/1. *an fornt* 82/3.
- \*forskiel** *n. pl.* conditions, reasons; full use of one's senses. *A. acc. forskiel* 74/21. 74/23.
- \*forvarþr** *adj.* sick, damaged, neglected. *B. nsm forward'r* 84 note 535.
- fotr** *m.* foot. *A. ns* 70/2. 72/22. *gs foz* 73/8. *ds foti* 70/17. 73/7. 84/17. *as fot* 78/11.

78/17. *dp fotum* 88/22. *ap fytr* 72/24. **B. ds foti** 98/12.

**fram** *adv.* forward, further. **A.** 69/16. 88/9. 88/11. **fram (leggia)** 60/24. 61/2. (**leggir**) **fram** 61/5. **B. fram** 61 note 91. **fram (biauþa)** 69/5. (**leggi**) **fram** 97/16. 100/4. (**leggia**) **fram** 100/6.

**\*fram ganga** *v.* pass, go by. **A. ptc. nþm fram...gangnir** 62/4. Cf. **ganga**, **\*fran ganga**.

**\*framlaipis** *adv.* further(more). **B. framleydis** 97/3.

**\*framlipin** *ptc.* passed away, dead. **A. ptc. asm fram...lipin** 81/25.

**frammarla** *adv.* Used in the phrase **so frammarla sum.** so long as. **A.** 87/10.

**frammi** *adv.* forwards. (**standa**) **frammi** be offered. **A.** 85/20.

*comp.* **frammar** further forward, further, more. **A.** 63/4. 11 further instances. **B.** 58/51. 97/8. 100/22.

**framraipa** *v.* pay out. **A. i.** 61/17. *ptc. nsf framraid* 61/16. *asf framraida* <61/12>. Cf. **\*ut raipa**.

**fram setia** *v.* deposit, submit. **A. i.** 86/3. *3s fram setr* 84/6. *subj. 3s fram seti* 86/4.

**fran**<sup>1</sup> *prp. with dat.* from. **A.** 62/1. 8 further instances.

**fran**<sup>2</sup> *adv.* away. **A.** 85/13. **B.** 99/16. See also **a fran**, **þar fran**.

**\*fran ganga** *v.* pass by. **A. ptc nsn** or *sup.* **frangangit** 80/13. Cf. **\*fram ganga**, **ganga**.

**frankumin** *ptc.* related. **A. (fiarþi) frankumin** (related in the fourth generation) 83/5. Cf. **\*nerkumin**, **kuma**.

**frels** *adj.* unhindered, free (person). **A. nsm** 63/25. (*weak form*) **frelsi** 75/8. *nsf frels* 60/12. 81/11. (**o**)**frels** 80/23. *dsm frelsum* 75/10. 75/11. *dsf (o)frelsi* 80/9. *asm frelsan* 75/6. **B. nsf frels** 63/25. See Commentary to 81/11.

**\*frelsi** *n.* freedom. **A. as frelsi** <70/12>. **B. as frelsi** 70 note 291.

**\*frembri** *adj. comp.* former, the first of two. **A. dsm frembra** 70/17. *dpm frembru* <88/22>. **B. dpm frembro** 88 note 609.

*superl.* **\*fremsti** the first. **A. apm fremstu** 73/20. **B. apm fremstu** 98/18.

**\*frendi** *m.* kinsman. **A. gp frenda** 79/17. 4 further instances. *dp frendum* 78/16. 81/19.

**frest** *f. or n. pl.* period, specified time, period of grace; respite. **A. asf frest** 67/16. [88/8]. [88/9]. 6 further instances. *npf frestir* <68/13>. *dpm frestum* 87/18. 90/25. *apn frest* 68/9. **B. nsf** 99/13. *asf frest* 101/7. 101/8. *npf frestir* 68 note 256. *dpm frestom* 99/11.

\***fresta** *v.* torment, torture. **B. subj. 3s fresti** 100/3. *ptc. gsm (o)fresta* 100/6.

\***friadagr** *m.* Friday. **A. as friadag** 94/19.

\***friplaus** *adj.* outlawed. **A. asm friplausan** 68/13.

**friþr** *m.* (period of) peace, security; sanctity (in combinations); freedom. **A. ns** 65/23.

66/17. (**haima**)**friþr** 66/19. (**var**)**friþr** 66/6. (**þing**)**friþr** 66/12. *ds friþi* 64/22. 8 further instances. **friþ** 58/11. (**haima**)**friþi** 58/14. (**haim**)**friþi** 66/18. (**var**)**friþi** 58/12. 66/5. (**þing**)**friþi** 58/13. 66/11. 66/16. *as friþ* 60/4. 64/21. 67/23. (**þing**)**friþ** 66/12. 66/13. *np friþir* <65/21>. **B. ns (tinghs) frid'r** 66 note 209. *ds fridi* 58 note 4. (**heim**) **fridi** 58 note 6. (**tinghs**) **fridi** 58 note 5. 66 note 209. (**tings**) **fridi** 66 note 209. *as (heim) frid* 66 note 219. (**tings**) **frid** 66 note 209. *np (heim) fridir* 66 note 215. See also \***friplaus**, \***friþvetr** and Commentary to 64/19, 65/25, 66/6, 66/12 and 66/19.

\***friþvetr** *adj.* freeborn. **A. nsf friþvet** 81/11.

\***froy(i)a** *f.* wife. See **husfroyia**.

\***fugl** *m.* bird. **A. dp fuglum** 63/18.

\***ful** *adj.* guilty, convicted. **A. nsf ful** 60/17. 60/22. 61/6. Cf. \***skir**.

\***fuldr** *adj.* full, sufficient. **A. nsn fult** 82/24. *dsn fullu* 69/14. 69/19. 71/15. *asn fult* 60/14. 70/9. 78/25. *npf fullar* 72/8. *apn ful* 80/4. **B. dsn fullu** 97/14. Cf. **fulkumin**.

**fuli** *m.* (hidden) stolen goods. **A. ns** 89/23. *as fula* 90/4. **B. ns** <100/10>. <89 note 625>.

**fulk** *n.* population; (*collective noun*) humans; people. **A. ns** 92/15. 94/2. (**byrslu**)**fulk** <93/22>. *ds fulki* 58/42. 59/33. 81/16. (**byrslu**)**fulki** <59/32>. (**byrslu**)**fulki** 93/21. (**innansokna**)**fulki** 81/25. *as fulk* 82/9. *np fulk* 66/23. **B. ds folki** 94/1. (**byrslu**)**folcki** 59 note 34.

**fulkvapn** *n.* battle weapon. See \***vapn** and Commentary to 78/3.

\***fulla** *v.* fulfil, satisfy, compensate fully. **A. subj. 3s fulli** 93/23. *3p fullas* 89/25. **B. 3s fullar** 100/17.

**fund** see **fyndr**.

\***fundarlaun** *f.* reward (for returning a lost item). **B. as fund'r laun** 100/14.

**fylgi** *n.* dowry (that goes with a woman). **S. ns** 95/21. Cf. \***haimfylgi**.

**fylgia** *v. with dat.* follow, go (along) with, accompany, take part, be followed, be found with; obey, be on someone's side. **A. i** 75/4. 89/25. *3s fylgir* 62/15. 62/18. 65/2. 78/21. *3p fylgia* 61/16. 6 further instances. *subj. 3p fylgin* <63/3>. 69/19. 69/21. 74/5. 88/23. *pret. 3s fylgþi* <76/19>. **B. 2s fylgir** 99/12. *3s fylgir* 97/4.



**fylg'r** 99/20. *3p fylgia* 62 note 121. *subj. 3p fylgin* 63 note 126. *pret. 3s fylgdi* 76 note 412. **Bx. 3p fylgia** 98/13.

**fyli** see **fuli**.

**fyndr** *f. find.* **A. ns** 87/1. *ds fynd* 92/19. 92/21. **B. gs fund'r (laun)** 100/14. *ds fund* 92 note 683.

**fyr** *adv. comp.* before, previously. **A. (B. occasionally fyrra or fyri)** 60/13. 9 further instances. **B. fyrra** 78 note 437.

*superl. fy(r)sti* first, initially. <83/1>. 90/1. **fyrst** 60/2. **fyrstu** 88/10. **fyrstum** 58/2. **B. fyrsti** 99/25.

**fyr en** *conj.* before. **A.** 86/4.

**fyr þan** *conj.* before. **A.** 66/2. 5 further instances.

**fyra** *v. bring.* **A. i (til) fyra** 61/9. *subj. 3s fyri* 61/20. 62/10. 67/21. *ptc. asf (af) fyrþa* <62/7>. *sup. fyrtr* 85/8. **B. i fyra** 63 note 132. *ptc. asf (til) fyrd* 62 note 101. Cf. **þing fyra**.

**\*fyrning** *f.* guest's contribution to a meal. **A. np fyrningar** 81/17.

**fyrnska** *f.* heathen (old) traditions and customs, superstition. **A. ns** 62/14.

**\*fyrri** *adj. comp.* the previous, former. *superl. \*fyrsti* first, initial. **A. dsn fyrsta** 68/6. 68/6. 76/16. 91/25. *asf fyrstu* <88/7>. *asn fyrsta* 62/2. 64/10. 80/5. 80/12. *dp fyrstum* 60/1. **B. gsm fyrsta** 84 note 540. *asf fyrstu* 88 note 598.

**fyrst(i)** see **fyr**.

**fyrstu(m)** see **fyr**, **\*fyrri**.

**fyrþa** see **fyra**.

**\*fyþa**<sup>1</sup> *v.* give birth to; support. **A. 3s fyþir** 91/11. *subj. 3s fyþi* 78/1. 4 further instances. *subj. 3p fyþin* 79/6. *ptc nsn fyt* 60/8. 78/21.

**\*fyþa**<sup>2</sup> *f.* fodder. **A. gs fyþur** <75/18>. 75/22. *as fyþu* 75/21. **B. gs fyður** 75 note 386.

**gaf** see **giefa**.

**\*gafl** *m.* gable. **A. as gafl** 70/19. **B. as galff** 70 note 298.

**gagn** *n.* gain. **A. ns** 87/1. **B. ns gangn** <58/50>.

**\*gait** *f.* goat. **A. as gait** 91/21. *gp gaitum* 59/20. 91/20. 91/21.

**galtr** *m.* boar. **A. ns** 70/19. Cf. **\*gris**, **smagrisir**, **\*suin**.

**gamal** *adj.* old. **A. nsm** 70/15. 75/16. 94/17. *npf gamlar* 78/5. **S. asn gamalt** 95/23. *apn gamul* 95/20.

*superl. elzti* eldest. **A. nsm** 75/15. *gsm elzta* 75/19.

**ganga** v. go (with a purpose); pass, circulate; enter; run out (of the male line). **A.** *i* 60/22. 4 further instances. *ip gangas* 77/15. *3s gangr* 71/17. <82/11>. 5 further instances. *3sp gangs* 75/24. 8 further instances. *3p ganga (atr)* 60/24. 64/14. *subj. 3sp gangis* 76/6. *subj. 3p (til) gangin* 63/13. *subj. pret. 3p gingin (...til)* 60/10. *ptc. asm gangandi* 75/2. *ptc nsn or sup. gangit* 70/20. *(firi)gangit* 91/16. *(fran)gangit* 80/13. *(ut)gangit* 67/6. 68/4. *nsn with pass. or refl. ending gangiz* 76/23. *gangit sik* 77/11. *npm (fram...) gangnir* 62/5. *nnp (ut)gangin* 68/7. 77/2. 78/6. **S.** *subj. 3s gangi* 95/14. **B.** *i* 97/22. *3s gang'r* 82 note 492. *3sp gangs* 58/29. 76/9. *subj. 3s gangi* 99/4. *ptc nsn or sup. gangit* 76 note 415. *nnp (wt)gangur* 68 note 249.

\***ganga firir** v. forfeit; prevent. **A.** *subj. 3s gangi (firir)* 68/16. Cf. **ganga**.

\***ganga viþr** v. confess; admit to. **A.** *2s gangr (viþr)* 74/2. 74/3. *3s gangr (viþr)* 61/1. 89/24. Cf. **ganga**.

\***gangfemni** f. ability to walk. **A.** *ds \*gangfemni* [72/20]. **B.** *ds gangfempni* 72/20. Cf. \***runfemni**.

\***gangkleþi** n. pl. walking or outdoor clothes. **A.** *gen. gangkleþa* 78/4. *acc. gangkleþi* 78/7.

\***gangr** m. walking; pathway; time. **A.** *as (solaupp)gang* 65/25. *gang* 85/13.

**gar** see **giera**.

\***garlacr** adj. prepared, ready. **A.** *dsm garlakum* 63/17.

**gart** see **giera**.

**garþr**<sup>1</sup> m. fence; (grazing) enclosure; (church-, grave-)yard. **A.** *ns garþr* 84/9. 84/17. 84/18. 84/21. *gs garz* 84/6. 85/7. *ds garþi* 83/19. 84/13. *(kirkiu)garþi* 65/11. 4 further instances. *(mipal)garþi* 83/20. *(ta)garþi* 83/19. *as garþin* 82/20. *garþ* 82/17. <83/22>. 9 further instances. *np (kirkiu)garþar* 65/9. *ap garþa* 64/8. 66/3. *(staf)garþa* 62/16. **S.** *ds garþi* 95/9. *as garþ* 95/8. **B.** *ds (kirckio)gardi* 65/7. See Commentary to 83/21.

\***garþr**<sup>2</sup> m. farm, (farm) estate, (priest's) holding or glebe. **A.** *ns garþin (Bx. garthinr)* 76/16. *gs garz* 89/19. 90/18. *ds garþi* 66/20. 17 further instances. *(prest)garþi* 65/10. 67/6. *as garþ* 70/5. 8 further instances. *np garþar* 93/4. *ap garþa* 76/20. **S.** *as garþ* 95/18. *gp garþa* 95/22. 95/24. **B.** *gs gars* 100/8. *ds gardi* 58/29. 76/9. 95/24. *as gard* 99/8. 83 note 530. See Commentary to 65/10.

\***gas** f. goose. **A.** *gp gasa* 84/20.

\***gata** f. road, way. **A.** *gs gatur* 85/8. *ds gatu* 75/3. 85/1. *as gatu* 72/9. 82/19. 85/13.

**gatis** see **\*gieta**.

**\*gersemi** see **\*giersemi**.

**gerþ**, **gerþa**, **gerþi** alternatives for **\*gierþ**, **gierþa**, **gierþi**.

**\*gezla** *f.* care, defence. **A.** *ds* **gezlu** 71/14. 89/8. *as* **gezlu** 71/14. 89/9. *dp* **gezlum** 59/11. **B.** *ds* **gezlu** 59 note 27.

**gialdin** see **gielda**.

**\*giarning** *f.* deed, act. **A.** *dp* **giarningum** 60/5.

**\*gief** *f.* gift. **A.** *ap* **giefar** 81/16.

**giefa** *v.* give, grant; hand out, release. (**B.** **giffua**) **A.** *i* 61/24. 64/15. (**ut**)**giefa** 78/7. *3s* **giefr** (**B.** **geffuir**) 60/22. 64/12. 85/17. *subj.* *3s* **giefi** 62/10. 13 further instances. *ptc.* *nsn*, *sup.* **giefit** 92/5. (**firi**)**giefit** 85/18. **S.** *i* 95/21. 95/23. **B.** *pret.* *2s* **gafft** 99/18.

**gield** *n.* fine, debt. **A.** *ns* 66/9. *gs* **gield** 66/9. *np* **gield** 76/12. 76/14. *dp* **gieldum** 59/2. 87/13. *acc.* [*number uncertain*] **gield** 87/14. 87/15. **B.** *gp* **gelda** 98/9. 101/7. See Commentary to 66/9.

**gielda** *v.* pay a fine, pay out; be worth. **A.** *i* (**firi**)**gielda** 86/15. *3s* **gieldr** 86/14. 92/12. *subj.* *3s* **gieldi** 70/5. 4 further instances. *subj.* *3p* **gialdin** 83/21. *pret.* *3s* **galt** 86/18. *ptc.* *nsf* **guldin** 86/9. 86/10. *dsf* (**o**)**guldni** 61/19. *nnp* **guldin** 76/12. 76/14. **S.** *3s* **gieldr** 96/1. **B.** *i* **gelda** 100/9. *subj.* *3s* **geldi** 100/10. 100/24. *imp.* *2s* **gelt** 99/14. **geld** 99/8. *ptc.* *dsf* (**o**) **guldinne** 61 note 91. *asn* **guldit** 100/12.

**\*gieldet** *n.* fine, debt. **A.** *as* **gieldet** 87/17. *gp* **gieldeta** 71/1. **B.** *as* **geld deti** 87 note 592. See Commentary to 71/1.

**giera** *v.* do; collect; make, build, work; lend; pay. **giera til sakar** commit a crime. **A.** *i* 61/22. 61/23. 63/4. <63/8>. <63/23>. 65/18. *3s* **gierir** 64/8. <87/14>. 17 further instances. *3sp* **gieris** 93/2. *subj.* *3s* **gieri** 82/6. 86/19. (**firi**)**gieri** 82/8. 87/14. *pret.* *3s* **gierþi** 61/24. 65/1. 65/19. *imp.* *2s* **gier** 74/15. 85/13. *ptc.* *nsm* **gar** 63/15. *nsn* **gart** 64/25. 65/1. 65/23. 80/21. *asm* **garran** 82/23. *asf* **garra** 61/10. *dp* **garrum** 93/13. *asn*, *sup.* **gart** 61/25. 67/13. 90/24. (**firi**)**gart** 80/10. **S.** *3s* (**firi**)**gier** 95/12. *subj.* *3s* **gieri** 95/8. *sup.* (**firi**)**gart** 95/12. **B.** *i* 97/6. 97/8. 63 note 130. 63 note 146. 89 note 622. *3s* **gier** 58/26. 75/1. 98/4. 98/6. 98/8. 64 note 155. 86 note 575. 87 note 590. *3sp* **giers** 93 note 685. *subj.* *3s* **gieri** 99/17. *sup.* **gart** 99/13.

**\*giersemi** *f.* valuable. **A.** *dp* **gersemum** 93/13.

**\*gierþ** *f.* making, construction; tribute, (in *Guta saga*) tax. **A.** *ds* **gierþ** 62/6. (**broa**)**gierþ** <59/28>. 93/8. (**kirkiu**)**gerþ** 62/4. *np* (**erfis**)**gierþir** 81/24. *dp*

(erfis)gierpum 58/37. B. *dp* (erfis)gierpum 81/23. See also \*gierpamapr.

**gierpa** *v.* surround, fence in, erect (a fence). A. *i* 82/16. **gerpa** (B. **gierda**) 83/17. *3s* **gierpir** 82/17. 82/19. 84/7. *subj. 3s* **gierpi** 82/18. 82/19. *imp. 2s* **gierp** 84/4. 85/5. *ptc. nsm* (lag)**giertr** 84/16. 84/17. 84/18. 84/21. *nsn* **gert** 84/8. (o)**gert** 84/8. *dsm* (lag)**giertum** 84/13. *asm* (lag)**giertan** 83/21. 83/22. *sup.* **giert** 83/19. 84/6. See **garpr**<sup>1</sup>.

\***gierpamapr** *m.* master of the feast, one who leads the arrangements at a wedding; spokesman for the witnesses at a wedding, etc. A. *dp* **gerpamannum** 81/18.

\***gierpi** *n.* fenced enclosure for pasture or woodland. A. *gp* **gierpa** 82/16. 84/23. See also **halfgierpi**.

\***gieta**<sup>1</sup> *v.* be able to, have strength to; *pass.* please, satisfy. B. *3sp* **gies** 99/9. *pret. subj. 3s* **gatis** 99/10. 99/12.

**gieta**<sup>2</sup> *v.* watch over, look after. A. *i* 71/20. *subj. 3s* **gieti** 84/20.

\***gifta** see **gipta**.

**gildi** *n.* penalty, fine. See **piaufgildi**, **þrigildi**.

\***gildri** *n.* gin. A. *ds* **gildri** 94/10.

**gikk** see **ganga**.

**gin** *prp.* with *dat.* against. A. 75/6. 4 further instances. B. 99/11. See also \***ginmela**, **ginmeli**, **agin**.

**gingu** see **ganga**.

\***ginmela** *v.* contradict, deny; refuse. See \***mela**.

\***ginmeli** *n.* denial, excuse. A. *as* **ginmeli** 94/2.

**ginum**<sup>1</sup> *prp.* with *acc.* through. A. 72/7. 89/10. 89/10.

**ginum**<sup>2</sup> *adv.* through there. S. 95/8.

**gipta**<sup>1</sup> *v.* give in marriage; *pass.* get married. A. *i* 78/5. *3s* **giftir** 75/22. *3sp* **giptis** 76/18. 76/23. 77/3. 87/6. *ptc. nsm* **gipttr** 79/13. *nsf* **gipt** 76/20. 76/22. 77/5. (o)**gipt** 79/6. (lag)**gipt** 79/14. 80/10. *asm* (o)**giptan** 79/14. *asf* (o)**gipta** 79/13. *npf* **giptar** 76/11. 76/22. 78/5. (o)**giptar** 76/11. 76/12. 76/22. *apm* **gipta** 87/11. (o)**gipta** 87/11. S. *i* 95/22. B. *ptc. nsm* (o)**gipter** 79 note 448.

\***gipta**<sup>2</sup> *f.* marriage, wedlock. A. *gs* **giptur** 82/7. S. *ds* **giptu** 95/23.

\***glugga** *f.* hole, opening. S. *as* **gluggu** 95/9.

\***goymsla** *f.* care. See \***ogoymsla**.

\***gopr** *adj.* good, in good condition. A. *asm* **gopan** 83/23. (iem)**gopan** 85/6. *asf* (iem)**goþa** 85/13. *asn* (iem)**gut** 74/15. (iem)**gutt** 85/9.

*superl.* \*bestr the best. *nsn* best 80/7.

\*grafa *v.* dig. *A.* 2s grafr 85/12.

\*grankuna *f.* female neighbour. *A.* as grankunu 60/10.

\*granni *m.* neighbour. *A.* gp granna 84/2. 4 further instances. *ap* granna 89/20.

**gripr**<sup>1</sup> *m.* grip, hold, grasp. *A.* ns 81/8. 81/9. *dp* gripum 58/35. *ap* gripi 80/19. 80/14. 81/10. *B.* *dp* gripom 80 note 459.

\*gripr<sup>2</sup> *m.* valuable, article of value. *B.* *ap* gripi 100/20. 100/20. 100/22.

\*gris *m.* pig; (sma)gris piglet. *A.* np (sma)grisir 91/5. *gp* grisa 84/20. Cf. galtr, \*suin.

\*gripkuna *f.* midwife. *A.* as gripkunu 60/10.

\*groa *v.* sprout, grow. *A.* ptc. *nsn* groit 72/8.

\*gulf *n.* floor. *A.* as gulf 71/15. Cf. staurgulf.

\*gull *n.* gold. *A.* gs gulz 69/17. 88/6. 88/7. 88/9. *S.* gs gulz 95/20.

\*gullap *n.* golden ornament for the head. *S.* np gullap <95/19>. *B.* np gullad 95 note 742.

**gutniskr** *adj.* Gotlandic. *A.* nsm <68/1>. <69/6>. <69/18>. 77/22. 7 further instances.

(o)gutniskr 67/24. <69/7>. <79/7>. 4 further instances. *nsf* gutnisk 78/12. 78/25.

79/20. 80/10. (o)gutnisk 79/21. 80/10. 81/10. *gsm* gutnisk 69/16. 69/23. 87/5.

(o)gutnisk 69/23. <70/2>. *dsm* gutniskum 70/23. *dsf* gutniskri 78/15. 79/3. 80/9.

81/11. (o)gutniskri 79/1. 80/9. *dsn* (o)gutnisku <58/42>. *asm* gutniskan 69/7.

70/4. 70/10. 86/21. (o)gutniskan 68/1. 4 further instances. *asf* gutniska 69/20.

77/23. 80/16. (o)gutniska 69/19. 78/1. 78/9. 79/7. *asn* gutniskt 77/20. (o)gutniskt

82/9. *npm* gutniskir 85/25. (o)gutniskir <85/25>. *npf* gutniskar <77/22>. *gpm*

(o)gutniska *dpm* 77/17. gutniskum 69/12. *dpf* gutniskum 58/41. *apf* gutniskar

82/6. *B.* nsm gutnisch'r 68 note 243. 69 note 280. gutnisk'r 69 note 267.

(o)gutnisker 69 note 270. (o)gutnisch'r 79 note 449. *gsm* gutnisch 59/1. 87/4.

(o)gutnischs 70 note 285. *dsf* gutnisch 82/5. 58 note 18. (o)gutniski elsewhere.

*dsn* gutnisku 97/4. *npm* (o)gutnisch'r 85 note 560. *npf* gutniskar 77 note 426.

*apn* gutnisk 77 note 424. *dpm* (o)gutniscum 58 note 18.

\*Gup *m.* God. *A.* gs guz 63/9. 65/2. *ds* gupi 60/6. *as* gup 60/3. *B.* gs guds 97/23.

\*gup *n.* idol. *A.* *ap* gup 62/16.

**gylning** *f.* gilding, especially on clothing. *S.* ns 95/18.

\*gylla *v.* gild. *S.* ptc. *asm* gyltan 95/18. *apn* gylt 95/19.

\*gyrpa *v.* girdle, surround. *A.* ptc. *nsm* (laus)gyrtr 89/21. *nsn* (linda)gyrt 76/3. *apm*

(linda)gyrta 76/4.

**\*gyrpla** *f.* woman's girdle. A. **\*gyrplu(-gyrt** understood) girdled with a **gyrpla**; female gender, distaff-side; cognate (i.e. through the mother's side). 76/3.

**\*gyþa** *v.* make good, certify, acknowledge. A. *ptc. asn gyt* 77/20.

**\*haf** *n.* sea. A. *gs hafs (butni)* 92/20. B. *ds haffi* 100/23. See also **\*hafrek**.

**hafa** *v.* have (also as an auxiliary verb), own; take, receive; hold, retain, keep. A. *i* 61/9. <63/11>. 23 further instances. *2s hafr* 66/2. 87/17. 88/22. <89/6>. 89/6. *3s hafr* 60/20. 30 further instances. *3p hafa* 63/7. 11 further instances. *3pp hafas* 94/19. *subj. 3s hafi* 60/12. 60 further instances. *subj. 3p haffin* 68/23. 81/18. *imp. 2s haf* 74/3. *pret. 3s haffpi* 61/22. 67/13. 76/15. *ptc. nsf hafandi* 69/10. 80/14. *sup. haft* 91/17. **hapt (B. hafft)** 91/10. *npf hafpar* 63/10. S. *i* 95/20. *subj. 3s hafi* 95/12. B. *i haffua* 95/24. 97/11. 9 further instances. *2s haffuir* 99/11. 99/12. **haffu'r** 99/12. **haffu** 66 note 203. **haffuer** 74 note 366. 89 note 616. *3s haffuir* 99/14. 100/20. 74 note 364. 83 note 521. **haffu'r** 99/19. **haff'r** 100/11. **haffuer** 82 note 497. **haffua** 78 note 436. *subj. 3s haffui* 97/17. 99/24. 100/5. 68 note 264. **haffi** 101/8. 92 note 675. **hafu** 61 note 76. *subj. 3p haffin* 67 note 234. *imp. 2s haff* 99/14. *pret. 3s hafdi* 60 note 54. **haffdu** 76 note 406. *ptc. nsf haffandi* 80/14.

**\*hafall** *f.* autumn [meaning uncertain]. A. *gs hafallar (B. haff fallar)* 82/24.

**hafandi** *ptc. f.* pregnant. See **hafa**.

**\*hafrek** *n.* shipwreck, salvaged goods, jetsam. A. *ds hafreki* 59/25. <92/18>. *as hafrek* 92/19. B. *ds haffreki* 92 note 679.

**hafup** *n.* head. A. *ns* 80/21. *ds hafpi* 73/2. 4 further instances. *as (axlar) hafup* 81/6. B. *ds haffdi* 98/18.

**\*hafuplutr, \*hafupluti** *m.* personal share. See **\*lutr, \*luti** and Commentary to 64/14-15 and 76/13-14.

**\*hafþatal** *n.* head-count. **at hafþatali** per capita. A. *ds hafþatali* 75/24. 77/24. 77/25. See **\*tal**.

**\*hagg** *n.* blow. A. *as hagg* 74/4. *ap hag* 75/6. 75/8. B. *dp haggom* 97/24. *ap hag* 75/9. See also **afhagg, lukahagg**.

**hagg(u)a** *v.* cut down, fell; strike. **af hagg(u)a** cut off (a limb). A. *i* 83/10. (**af**) **hagga** 78/17. *3s haggr* 64/7. 84/23. **haggr (af)** 72/24. *subj. 3s haggi* 85/1. *ptc. nsf haggvin* 74/11. *nsn (af) hagguit (B. haggit)* 73/18. S. *3s haggr* 95/7. B. *3s haggr* 58/46. 84/22. Bx. *ptc. nsf haggin* 98/25.

- \***hagi** *m.* grazing land, (enclosed) pasture, enclosure. **A. as haga** 82/18.
- \***hagri** *m.* oats. **A. as hagra** 94/4.
- \***hail** *adj.* whole, complete, unharmed, undamaged; healed. **A. nsn hailt** 73/9. *dsm hailum* 89/7. *asm (band)hailan* 84/15. *asn hailt* 74/15. 85/1. 89/4. **S. asn hailt** 95/8. **B. dsm heilom** 100/6. **(bein)heilom** 100/4. **(brust)heilom** 100/4.
- \***haildir** *f. pl.* damages. **A. acc. haildir** 83/22.
- \***hailigr** *adj.* holy, sacred; protected, in sanctuary; **ohailigr** working (day); unprotected, with immunity forfeit (of a door to a dwelling). **A. dsm helgum** 65/22. *asm helgan* 63/9. 64/1. 64/3. 94/17. **(o)helgan** 93/22. *npm (verk)helgir* 64/19. *npf (iem)helgar* 65/9. *npn (o)hailig* 89/22. *gp helgra (manna)* 67/15. *dp helgum* 58/8. 63/6. *apm helga* 63/7. 63/7.
- superl.* \***helgrastr** most sacred, offering most sanctuary. **A. npm helgastir** 65/10.
- hailna** *v.* make whole. **A. i** 72/8.
- \***hailsa** *f.* health. **A. as hailsu** 60/4.
- hailzlu** see \***upphaizlusoypr**.
- haim**<sup>1</sup> *n.* home. **A. ns** 79/2. See also **haimafripr**, \***haimfylgi**, \***haimluf**, \***haimsokn**, \***haimþorp**, **Farþaim**.
- haim**<sup>2</sup> *adv.* home(wards). **A.** 62/10. 84/24. 86/15. 90/18. **B. heim** 89/7.
- haima**<sup>1</sup> *adv.* at home. **A.** 66/9. 66/23. **B. heima** 68/11.
- \***haima**<sup>2</sup> *v.* house, shelter. **A. 3s haimir** 60/21.
- haim(a)fripr** *m.* the sanctity of one's home. See **fripr**.
- \***haimfara** *v.* travel home. See **fara**.
- \***haimfylgi** *n.* dowry; advance on inheritance. **A. ds haimfylgi** 76/22. 86/10. 92/5. **B. ns heim fylgi** 95/21. See Commentary to 76/22-23.
- \***haimluf** *n.* leave to travel home. **A. as haimluf** 81/20.
- \***haimsokn** *f.* fines for aggravated burglary. **A. as haimsokn** 66/23.
- \***haimul** *adj.* lawful, legitimate. **B. asm heimulan** 99/18.
- \***haimþorp** *n.* farm, where people live. **A. ds haimþorpi** 67/22. 67/24. *dp haimþorpum* 67/8. 67/8. *ap haimþorp* 67/7.
- haita** *v.* be called, be named; **haita a** *with acc.* call upon. **A. i haita (a)** <62/15>. *3s haitir* <81/9>. **B. i heyta (a)** 62 note 115.
- haita upp** *v. with dat.* announce, proclaim. **A. i haita (upp)** 91/21. 91/24. 91/25. *subj. 3s haiti (upp)* 91/9.
- \***haizl** *f.* invocation. **A. as haizl** 62/17.

\***haizla** see \***upphaizlusoypr**.

\***haipin** *adj.* heathen. A. *apn* **haþin** 62/16. A. *apn* **heydin** 62 note 116.

\***haipna** *f.* heathendom. A. *ds* **haipnu** 62/15. *as* **haipnu** 60/2.

\***haipverpr** *adj.* decent, proper. See \***ohaipverpr**.

**halda** *v.* with *dat.* or *acc.* hold, keep; retain, confiscate; abide by; support, protect;

**halda firi** cover, cover up; **halda uppi** nourish, substantiate, fulfil, pay for, provide oneself. A. *i* 60/4. 6 further instances. **halda (a)** 72/19. (**uppi**)**halda** 69/10. 3s **haldr** 66/1. 6 further instances. **haldr (firi)** 73/17. *subj.* 3p **haldi (...uppi)** 93/15. *ptc. asn* (**uppi**)**haldit** 70/9. 90/22. B. *i* (**vidir**) **halda** 99/10.

**halffemti** *num.* indeclinable four and a half. A. 69/18. 70/11.

\***halfgierþi** *n.* ‘half-fencing’, shared (boundary) fencing, the division of fencing costs between two neighbours. A. *ds* **halfgierþi** 58/45. 84/1. *as* **halfgierþi** 84/2.

\***half manap** *m.* half a month, fortnight. A. *as* **half manap** 88/8. [88/9]. See \***halfr**.

**half mark** *f.* indeclinable half a mark. A. (following preposition governing the genitive) 84/8. (following preposition governing the dative) 71/21. 75/8. (as direct object or following preposition governing the accusative) 72/5. 13 further instances. B. **halff M.** (following preposition governing the dative) 98/14. (as direct object or following preposition governing the accusative) 100/18. See Commentary to 84/8.

\***halfr** *adj.* half. A. *nsf* **half** 67/21. *nsn* **halft** <80/21>. 80/23. *gsm* **halfs** 92/15. *gsn* **halfs** 63/11. *dsm* **halfum** 66/6. 84/6. 84/7. *dsn* **halfu** 63/24. <73/23>. 8 further instances. *asm* **halfan** 66/7. 88/10. *asf* **halfa** 63/20. 63/20. 67/21. *asn* **halft** 64/2. 4 further instances. S. *nsf* **half** 95/14. B. *nsf* **halff** 99/4. *nsn* **halfft** 67 note 242. 80 note 460. *gsn* **halffs** 98/6. *dsn* **halffu** 98/4. 98/5. *asm* **halffuan** 88 note 599. *asn* **halfft** 63 note 134. 71 note 307. *dp* **halffuom** 98/8.

\***halfþriþi** *num.* two and a half. A. *gsf* **halfþriþi** 84/19.

**halp** see \***hielpa**.

\***hals** *m.* neck, throat; life (in relation to death sentence). A. *ds* **halsi** 79/19. 79/21. S. *ds* **halsi** 95/13. See Commentary to 79/14-16.

**hamar** *m.* hammer; iron cross-piece or butt (of an axe-head). A. *ns* 89/12. *ds* (**yxar**) **hambri** 64/23. 4 further instances.

**hand** *f.* hand. A. *ns* 70/2. 72/22. *gs* **handar** 73/8. *ds* **hendi** 62/20. 4 further instances. *as* **hand** 62/17. 4 further instances. *gp* (**til**) **handa** 78/18. 87/1. *dp* **handum** 64/1. 86/14. 86/16. 86/25. *ap* **hendr** 72/24. 86/23. B. *ds* **hendi** 98/12. 86 note 577. *as*



**hand** 99/17. 73 note 351. 73 note 362. *gp* (**til**) **handa** 58/50. 100/4. *dp* **handom** 58/49. 86/13. 100/20. 100/22. *ap* **hend'r** 97/16.

**handalestr** *m.* deformity in or damage to the hand. See **\*lastr**.

**handar mair** *adv.* higher up. **A.** 81/8.

**handaverk** *n.* violence. See **verk**.

**\*hani** *m.* cockerel. **A.** *as* **hana** <73/15>. **B.** *as* **hana** 73 note 354.

**hann** *m.*, **han** *f.* *pers. pron.* he, she. **A.** *nm* **hann** 60/3. <62/3>. 219 further instances.

**han** [error or variant] 61/9. 69/11. 78/22. *nf* **han** 60/9. <69/19>. <71/8>. <76/15>. <76/19>. <80/12>. <81/5>. 50 further instances. **haan** 60/12. 60/19. *gm* **hans** 63/5. 20 further instances. *gf* **hennar** 60/10. 9 further instances. *dm* **hanum** 61/10. 35 further instances. *df* **henni** (**B.** occasionally **henne**) 60/14. 22 further instances. *am* **hann** 60/3. 18 further instances. *af* **hana** 60/16. 14 further instances. **S.** *nm* **hann** 95/19. 96/1. *gm* **hans** 95/13. **B.** *nm* **han** 62/23. 69/1. 70/21. 71/6. 74/24. 78/24. 97/4. 39 further instances. 61 note 82. 62 note 98. 66 note 219. 67 note 235. 68 note 251. 68 note 260. 69 note 274. 78 note 443. 79 note 448. 82 note 502. 83 note 526. 90 note 642. *nf* **haan** 81/1. 69 note 281. 71 note 309. 76 note 413. 80 note 456. 81 note 468. *gm* **hans** 97/5. 97/8. 100/26. *dm* **hanom** 97/25. 98/6. 99/17. 99/18. 70 note 289. 88 note 608. **hannom** 64 note 159. *am* **han** 97/11. 99/8. 99/23. 100/3. 100/17. 90 note 645.

**har** *n.* strand of hair, hair. **A.** *ns* **har** 74/10. 74/11. *acc.* **har** 64/24. 65/15. 65/17. 66/13. <73/24>. **S.** *ns* 95/4. **B.** *ns* 98/24. *acc.* **har** 73 note 361.

**\*hardrag** *n.* pulling a person's hair, hair-pulling. **A.** *ap* **hardrag** 74/7. **B.** *np* **haardrag** 98/26.

**\*hari** see **\*heri**.

**\*harund** *f.* *but gender uncertain.* flesh, meat. **A.** *as* **harund** 74/17.

**hattr** *m.* hat. **A.** *ns* 72/9. *as* **hatt** 74/16.

**\*haugr** *m.* grave howe. **A.** *ap* **hauga** 62/15.

**haur** *adj.* high. **A.** *nsm* 84/19. *nsn* **haut** 81/4. *asf* **hauga** <72/15>. **B.** *nsn* **haut** 81/3. *asf* **hauga** 72 note 339.

*comp.* **\*hoygri** higher. **A.** *apn* **hoygri** 88/4.

*superl.* **hoygstr** highest; also courtesy title, equivalent to 'Lord'. **A.** *nsm* 66/23.

**haut** *adv.* highly (rated). **A.** 87/25. **B.** **haucht** 87 note 595.

*comp.* **hoyrin** more highly. **A.** 87/25.

**hei-** see **hai-**.

\***hel**<sup>1</sup> *m.* heel. **A.** *gs* **hels** 72/21.

**hel**<sup>2</sup> *m.* stopper, bolt. **B.** *ns* **hell** 100/3.

\***heldi** *n.* possession. **B.** *ds* **heldi** 99/17. Cf. **uppheldi**.

**heldr** *adv. comp.* rather. **A.** 80/17. **B.** **held'r** 97/20. See also **hua(r)t (sum) heldr**, **huat sum helzt**.

\***helg** *f.* sanctity; protection, peace, safety; sanctuary. **A.** *ds* **helg** 65/12. *as* **helg** 65/2. 5 further instances. **B.** *as* **helgh** 97/17. 67 note 224. See also **mannhelg** and Commentary to 67/6.

\***helga**<sup>1</sup> *v.* shield, protect, validate. **A.** *3p* **helga** 82/17.

**helga**<sup>2</sup>, **helgi** see \***hailigr**.

**helgisbrut** *n.* (fines for) violation of holy seasons or places, Sabbath-breaking. **A.** *ns* 63/25. 65/18. *ds* **helgisbruti** 65/2. *as* **helgisbrut** 63/13. 64/2. 65/6. See Commentary to 63/13.

\***heli** *n.* hiding-place, sanctuary. **A.** *as* **heli** 67/6.

**hemd** *f.* revenge. **A.** *ns* (**B.** **hempd**) 69/3. *dp* **hemdum** 66/16. See Commentary to Chapter 13.

**hemna** *v.* take revenge. **A.** *i* 69/2. 71/1. *3s* **hemnar** 69/2. *subj. 3s* **hemni** 69/4. *ptc. nsn* **hemnat** (**B.** **hempt**). 69/2. **B.** *i* **hempna** 69/1. 97/19. 97/20. 98/8. *sup.* **hempnat** <97/13>.

**hen** see **þa en**.

\***hendas** *v.* occur, happen. See \***afhendas**.

**hengia** *v.* hang (on a gallows). **A.** *i* 90/13. 90/14.

**hennar**, **henni** see **hann**.

**hepta**<sup>1</sup> *v.* withhold (holy offices). **A.** *i* 61/15. 65/1.

**hepta**<sup>2</sup> *v.* tether (something to something else), capture. **A.** *i* 78/16. 84/14. *ptc. nsm* **heptr** 84/17.

\***heptalauns** *f.* redemption fine (for confiscated animals). See \***launs**.

\***her** *m.* armed force. **i** **hers handum** hostage. **A.** *gs* **hers** 86/14. 86/15. 86/23. 86/24. **B.** *gs* **hers** 58/49. 86/13.

\***herbergi** *n.* accommodation, lodgings. **A.** *as* **herbergi** 77/4.

\***heri** *m.* hare. **A.** *dp* **herum** 59/35. 94/9. 94/10. **B.** *dp* **harum** 59 note 35. 94 note 707. **harom** 94 note 708.

\***hestatekt** *f.* unlawful use of another's horse. **A.** *ds* **hestatekt** 59/10.

\***hestr** *m.* horse. **A.** *ds* **hesti** 59/9. 4 further instances. *as* **hest** 66/7. 5 further instances.

**B. as hest** 59 note 26. 89 note 611. **gp hesta** 59 note 25. 88 note 606.

**\*heta** v. risk, jeopardize; endanger. **\*heta viþr** (with *dat.*) lose, forfeit. **A. subj. 3s heti (viþr)** 63/20. 94/11.

**hial** n. wheel. **A. ns** 85/11.

**hieldu** see **\*halda**.

**hier** adv. here. **A.** 58/2. 4 further instances.

**hiernskal** f. cranium, skull, brain-pan. See **skal**.

**himin** m. membrane. **A. ns** 72/13.

**hinn** pron., def. art. the other, the one (that, who). **A. nsm hin(n)** 65/1. <70/24>. 19 further instances. **nsf hin** 61/24. **dsm hinum** 84/10. 4 further instances. **dsf hinni** 62/1. **asm hin** 75/15. **npm hinir** 60/24. 62/3. **npn hin** 63/3. **B. nsm hin** 97/9. 13 further instances. 70 note 300. **dsm hinom** 97/11. 99/14. 100/10.

**hinna** f. membrane. **A. ns** 72/13.

**\*hitta**<sup>1</sup> v. discover, find; chance to, happen to; **hitta sakir giera** commit a crime subject to compensation. **A. 3s hittir** 63/4. <67/2>. 5 further instances. **(a)hittir** 89/14. **3sp hittis** 89/23. **3pp hittas** 94/25. **subj. 3sp hittis** 89/23. **pret. 3s hitti** 92/22. **S. 3sp hittis** 95/19. **B. 3s hittir** <97/5>. 97/8. **hitter** 67 note 221. 97 note 753. **3sp hittis** 100/10.

**hitta**<sup>2</sup> see **þissi**.

**\*hogsl** n. 1) consolation, a sum of money that an unmarried woman could demand from the father of her child; maintenance. 2) **hogsl (ok iþ)** a widow's right through marriage to monetary support from the estate. **A. as hogsl** 78/25. 79/4. 79/6. 79/7. **as hogsl ok iþ** 77/1. 77/4. See Commentary to 77/1.

**hogsla** v. give **hogsl** (1). **A. i** 79/13. 79/14. **subj. 3s hogsli** 78/10. **B. subj. 3s høgsl** 78 note 435.

**\*hor** n. adultery, **yfirhor** double adultery. **A. as hor** 79/10. 79/11. 79/13. 79/14. **(yfir)hor** 79/12. **B. ds hori** 58 note 14. 79 note 450.

**hordombr** m. adultery. **A. ns** 90/17.

**\*horkarl** m. adulterer. See **\*karl**,

**\*horn** n. horn. **A. ap horn** 84/18.

**hornband** n. tether, horn hobble. **A. ns** 84/17.

**\*hoy** n. hay. **A. acc. hoy** 62/9. Cf. **\*hoyslet**.

**\*hoygri, hoy(g)str** see **haur**.

**hoyra** v. belong. **A. 3s hoyrir** 73/14. 4 further instances. **subj. 3p hoyrþin** 78/21. **B. i**

100/25. *3p hoyra* 101/1.

**\*hoyslet** *f.* haymaking. **A. as hoyslet** 92/11.

**hoystu** see **\*haur**.

**huaifibain** *n.* larger bone splinter **A. ns** 72/15.

**huar**<sup>1</sup> *pron.* each of two. **A. nsm** 73/4. 89/21. **nsn huart** (**B. hwat**) 69/20. **huat** (**B. hwart**). 83/7. **dsm huarum** (**B. huarion**) 81/13. **dsn huaru** (**B. huario**) 65/24. **asm huarn** 73/21. 73/22. **B. nsm hwar** 58/46. 84/22. 97/18.

**huar**<sup>2</sup> *pron.* whichever of two. Cf. *conj.* **hua(r)t**, **hua(r)t** (**sum heldr**).

**huar**<sup>3</sup> see **huer**.

**\*huargi** *pron.* neither of two. **A. nsn huatki** 83/8. **dsm huargum** 83/2. Cf. *conj.* **huatki**.

**huarki** see **huatki**.

**\*hua(r)t** (**sum heldr**)<sup>1</sup> *conj.* whichever, whether. **A. huart** (**B. hwat**) **heldr** 92/9. **huat** (**B. hwat held'r**). 72/2. **huat heldr** 79/16. **huat sum heldr** (**B. hwat som**). 80/22. **B. hwat** 100/26. [101/1].

**\*hua(r)t** (**sum heldr**)<sup>2</sup> *conj.* whether. **A. huart** (**B. hwat**) **sum** 61/11. **huart** (**B. huat**) **sum heldr** 69/3. 76/2. **huat heldr** 78/10. **huat sum** 76/21. **huat sum heldr** 75/20. 76/24. 77/12. **B. hwat som** 97/6. 99/10.

**huaski** *conj.* neither. **B.** 100/3. 66 note 204. Cf. **huatki**.

**huat** *pron.* what. **A. nom.** 71/16. 85/19. *acc.* **huat** 63/14. 70/13. See also **huar**, **\*huargi**, **huatki**.

**huat sum helzt** *conj.* whatever. **A.** 71/16. See previous entry.

**huatki** *conj.* neither. **A.** 62/15. 9 further instances. **S. huarki** 95/23. **B. hwatki** (**ma**) <97/26>. Cf. **huaski**.

**huer** *pron.* and *adj.* each one; every, each. **A. nsm** 61/9. 41 further instances. *nsf* **hueriun** 60/9. 71/13. [72/22]. **nsn huert** (**B. hwart**) 72/14. <72/15>. 8 further instances. **dsm huerium** 60/21. 66/19. 78/2. *dsf* **hueri** 78/6. **dsn hueriu** 71/12. 91/22. **asm huern** 60/5. 8 further instances. *asf* **hueria** 76/2. 80/25. *asn huert* 60/8. <71/3>. 9 further instances. **S. nsm** 95/8. 95/9. 95/12. 95/15. **huar** 95/7. 96/2. **nsn huart** 95/4. **B. nsm hwar** 98/14. 4 further instances. **huar** 60 note 48. *nsf hwarion* 72/22. **nsn hwart** 72/14. 98/12. 98/24. 87 note 579. **huart** 72 note 338. **dsm hwaru** 71 note 322. 72 note 326. 76 note 411. *asm hwarn* <98/19>. **hwarin** 93 note 699. *asn hwart* 98/7. [71 note 305].

**huergi(n)** *adv.* not at all, no, never, in no way (**B. hwargin** or **huerghin**). **A.** 65/6.

82/8. 82/13. 89/15.

**huert** *adv.* wherever. **A.** 87/8.

**hufa** *f.* hood. **A.** *ns* 72/9.

\***hugund** *f.* comfort, relief, 'call of nature'. **A.** *gp* **hugunda** 73/5.

**hugþi** see \***hyggia**.

\***huifr** *m.* headdress. **A.** *as* **huif** 80/20.

\***huilikin** *pron.* whichever. **A.** *nsf* **huilikin** 93/9.

\***huiligr** *pron.* whichever. **A.** *nsf* **huilik** 92/16.

\***huitr** *adj.* white. **S.** *dp* **huitum** 95/22.

\***hulseri** *n.* wound that has penetrated the abdominal or breast cavity. **A.** *np* **hulseri** 72/3.

\***hult** *n.* grove, copse or small wood, most often of deciduous trees. **A.** *ap* **hult** 62/15.

\***humbli** *m.* hop. **A.** *as* **humbla** <62/9>. **B.** *as* **humbla** 62 note 106.

**hun** *m.* beam, bar. **B.** *ns* 100/3.

**hundbit** *n.* dog-bite. See **bit**.

\***hunderi** *n.* hundred, district. **A.** *gs* **hunderis(menn)** 86/1. **hunderis (þing)** 86/3. 87/21. **hunderis (raþmenn)** 88/6. *ds* **hunderi** 71/24. 86/1. **B.** *ds* **hunderi** 100/26. See Introduction, pp. 34-35.

\***hunderismaþr** *m.* men from the same hundred or district. See **maþr**.

**hundr** *m.* dog. **A.** *ns* 70/20. *as* **hund** 73/14. **B.** *ns* **hunder** 98/5. See also **bit**.

**hur** *adv.* where. **A.** 82/14. **S.** 95/19. Cf. **hurvitna**.

**huru** *adv.* how. **B.** 100/1.

**hurvitna** *adv.* everywhere. **A.** 65/5. **B.** **hurwitna** 65 note 172.

**hus** *n.* house. **A.** *ds* **husi** 77/13. *as* **hus** 84/5. 7 further instances. *np* **hus** 62/8. 62/11. *dp* **husum** 59/31. 93/17. (**eld**)**husum** 93/3. *ap* **hus** 66/3. **B.** *ns* 100/2.

**husbondi** *m.* householder, head of the household; husband. **A.** *ns* 66/22. 69/11. 81/19. 89/12. *gs* **husbonda** 93/23.

**husfroyia** *f.* (house)wife. **A.** *ns* 89/11.

\***husþiaup** *n.* person employed in the household, servant. **A.** *as* **husþiaup** 93/19. *dp* **husþiaupum** 59/31. 93/17.

\***huta** *v.* shout (out), declare, summon. **B.** *subj.* 2*s* **huti** 99/17.

\***hylia** *v.* cover, hide. **A.** 3*s* **hyl** 72/9. **S.** 3*s* **hyll** 95/4. **B.** 3*s* **hyl** 98/24.

\***hysa** *v.* accommodate, shelter. **A.** 3*s* **hysir** 60/21.

**høgsli** see **hogsla**.

**i**<sup>1</sup> *prp.* with *dat.* in, by; on; of, within, during. A. 60/2. 96 further instances. S. 95/7. 95/11. 95/13. B. 58/29. 58/49. 65/7. 76/9. 86/13. 95/24. 97/20. <97/24>. 6 further instances. 86 note 577.

with *acc.* into; to; by, around. A. 60/20. 37 further instances. S. 95/18. B. 97/16. 99/8. 67 note 224.

governing a preceding relative pronoun in. A. 60/6. <76/20>. 18 further instances. B. 76 note 413.

**i**<sup>2</sup> *adv.* inside. A. 65/9. 5 further instances. S. 95/15. B. 97/4. 99/4. 76 note 413.

**iatta** *v.* accept, acknowledge. A. *i* 60/2. B. *i* 60 note 43.

**idir** see **\*ir**<sup>1</sup>.

**\*iefa** *v.* doubt, suspect. A. *3p iefa* 89/24.

**\*iek** *pers. pron.* I. B. *ns iach* 97/23. 97/24. *iac* 97/24. 97/25.

**\*iemburin** *adj.* equal in birth. See **biera**.

**\*iemdyr** *adj.* just as expensive, subject to equally high fines. See **dyr**.

**iemdyrt** *adv.* equally dearly, just as much. See **dyr**.

**\*iemgoþr** *adj.* just as good. See **\*goþr**.

**\*iemhailigr** *adj.* equally sacred. See **\*hailigr**.

**\*iemlangi** *m.* the same time the following year. A. *gs iemlanga* 68/20. 74/20.

**\*iemlangr** *adj.* equally long. See **\*langr**.

**\*iemmikil** *adj.* just as large, just as much. See **\*mikil**.

**\*iemn** *adj.* even, equally-placed, quits. A. *nsn iemt* 75/7. *npm iemnir* 70/1. Cf. **iemt**.

**iemner** *adv.* equally (related, in rights). A. 76/7. 4 further instances.

**iemt** *adv.* evenly, often. A. 75/19. Cf. **\*iemn**.

**iemvel** *adv.* equally well, as nearly. A. 61/23. 62/12. 65/10. B. **iemwel** 97/26. 67 note 229.

**ier(u)** see **vara**.

**\*ieta** *v.* eat. B. *ptc. nsn ietit* 100/16.

**\*ikorni** *m.* squirrel. A. *dp ikornum* 59/34. 94/6. 94/7.

**\*ildr** *adj.* evil. B. *asm illan* 97/11.

**illa** *adv.* unfortunately, badly, illicitly. A. 67/2. [90/2]. 93/2. B. 90/2.

**\*-in** *suffixes def. art.* A. *nsm (sun)inn* 75/22. **(garþ)in** 76/16. **(karl)in** 75/24. *nsf (kuna)n* 78/20. *gsm (bonda)ns* 93/22. *gsf (kirkiusokn)innar* <63/16>. **(sokn)inna** <93/18>. 93/19. *dsf (sokn)inni* 60/17. 94/18. 94/20. *asm (garþ)in* 82/20. **(soyþ)in**

70/24. 71/3. 84/11. 84/15. *asn* (**barn**)**it** 69/14. **B.** *nsm* (**bond**)**in** 94 note 704. *nsn* (**mal**)**it** 64 note 153. *gsf* (**sochn**)**innar** 93 note 695. (**sochn**)**inna** 93 note 694. *asm* (**tiauffnad**)**in** 100/1. (**trel**)**in** 100/3. 100/12. 100/20. 100/21. (**bonda**)**n** 94 note 706. (**oyk**)**in** 92 note 676. *asn* (**skip**)**it** 100/19. 100/21. 100/24. (**typti**)**t** 99/24. 100/10. 100/12.

**-ingi** *masculine ending* –er. See **erfingi**, **mörpingi**.

**inn** *adv.* in. **A.** **in** 81/20. 89/21. **inn** 89/21. **B.** **in** 85/24. Cf. **intekt**.

**\*inna** *v.* complete, finish. **A.** *subj. 3s inni* 60/14. *ptc. nsm intr* <61/7>. <64/5>. **B.** *ptc. nsn int* 64 note 153.

**innan**<sup>1</sup> *prp. with gen.* inside, within. **A.** 77/16. 4 further instances. **S.** 95/7. **B.** <97/7>.

**innan**<sup>2</sup> *adv.* in existence. **B.** 76 note 395.

**\*innansoknafulk** *n.* parishioners, particularly the poor of the parish. See **fulk**.

**innat** *adv.* inside. **Bx.** 89 note 623.

**inni** *adv.* inside. **A.** 75/21. 77/13. 89/23. 89/23. **B.** 100/10.

**innitakin** *ptc.* discovered in the act (of illicit intercourse), caught *in flagrante delicto*.

See **taka**.

**\*intekt** *f.* discovery in the act (of illicit intercourse). **B.** *ds intecht* 58 note 13. 78/14.

**iorþ** *f.* earth, ground; property. **A.** *ns* 83/6. 83/6. 86/8. *ds* (**dauf**)**iorþu** 83/7. *as iorþ* 75/18. 4 further instances. **B.** *ds* (**daufi**) **iord** 83 note 519.

**iorþaign** *f.* property. See **aign**.

**\*ir**<sup>1</sup> *pers. pron. pl.* you. **B.** *dat. or acc. id'r* 99/18.

**ir**<sup>2</sup>, **iru** see **vara**.

**ip** *f.* provision. See **hogsl** and Commentary to 77/1.

**\*kaldr** *adj.* cold. **A.** *asn kalt* 73/12.

**\*kalla** *v.* call, name; request, call for. **A.** *3s kallar* <61/2>. 68/9. 4 further instances.

*3p kalla* 67/13. 70/24. **B.** *2s refl. kallas* 99/13. <99/19>. *3s kallar* 61 note 75. *3s refl. kallas* 99/19. *3p kalla* 74 note 372.

**\*kalfi** *m.* calf (of the leg). **A.** *gs kalva* 81/7.

**kann** see **\*kunna**.

**kapulaus** *adj.* without a coat or cloak. **A.** *nsm* 89/22.

**kar** *n.* vessel, drinking-pot. **S.** *ns* 95/14. *ap kar* 95/19.

**\*karl** *m.* man, householder, head of the family. **A.** *ns karlin* 75/24. *gs karls* 75/23. 75/25. *dp* (**hor**)**karlum** <58/33>.

**kasnavargr** *m.* murdering arsonist. **A.** *ns* 90/16. 90/17.

**kasta** *v.* throw; **ut kasta** throw out, expose. **A.** *i* (**ut**) **kasta** 60/8. *3s* **kastar** 72/4.

\***kaup** *n.* purchase. **A.** *ds* (**aigna**)**kaupi** 58/48. 85/15. **B.** *ds* **kaupi** 88/13. 96/3. 99/7. 99/19. 59 note 23. 59 note 24. 59 note 25. 88 note 604. 88 note 606.

**kaupa** *v.* purchase. **A.** *i* <85/21>. *2s* **kaupir** 88/14. 4 further instances. *3s* **kaupir** 86/2. 86/8. *subj.* *3sp* **kaupis** 85/24. *subj.* *3p* **kaupin** 85/23. 86/1. 86/6. *ptc.* *nsf* (**lag**)**kaupt** 85/19. *nsn* **kaupt** 92/5. *dsm* **kaupum** 59/6. 59/7. 59/9. *dsf* **kauptri** 59/8. *asn* **kaupt** 85/23. **S.** *i* 95/23. *subj.* *3s* **kaupi** 96/1. **B.** *i* 85 note 556. *2s* **kaup'r** 99/8. *3s* **kaupir** 99/20. *subj.* *3s* **kaupi** 101/6. *sup.* **kaupt** 99/19.

**kaupskip** *n.* merchant ship (here a small ship with thirteen ribs and three beams). **A.** *ns* 89/9.

\***kaupungr** *m.* marketplace. **A.** *gs* **kaupungs** 63/17. *as* **kaupung** 67/10.

\***kenna**<sup>1</sup> *v.* know; charge (someone with something); **kenna atr** recognise, identify. **A.** *3s* **kennir** 71/7. 78/18. 79/5. 80/11. *3sp* **kennis** <91/2>. 91/6. 91/13. 91/25. *pret.* *3p* **kendu** 60/24. *ptc.* *nsn* **kient** 61/5. *sup.* **kient** 80/13. **B.** *3s* **kennir** 100/8. *3sp* **kennis** 91 note 654.

\***kenna**<sup>2</sup> *f.* teaching. **A.** *ds* **kennu** 92/2.

**kera** *v.* lay a complaint, make an accusation, sue; plead a case. **A.** *i* 81/5. *3s* **kerir** 80/7. **B.** *i* **kera** 97/23. Cf. **sykia**.

**kerldi** *n.* the male gender. **A.** *ns* 76/7. 5 further instances. **B.** *ds* **kerldi** <97/3>. *np* **kerldi** 76 note 398.

\***kerldismaþr** *m.* man. **A.** *ns* **kerldis** (-**maþr** understood) 69/3. 75/21.

\***kerra** *f.* cart, trap. **A.** *as* **kerru** 85/2.

\***ketti** *m.* cradle. **A.** *as* **kietta** 71/12.

**kexi** *n.* grapnel. **A.** *as* **kexi** 92/21.

**kirkia** *f.* church. **A.** *ns* 61/18. 6 further instances. *gs* **kirkiur** 64/16. 4 further instances. *ds* **kirkiu** 61/9. 6 further instances. *as* **kirkiu** 61/13. 5 further instances. *np* **kirkiur** 65/9. **B.** *gs* **kirckior** 67 note 223. *ds* **kyrckio** 100/15.

**kirkiudur** *n. pl.* church door. See **dur**.

**kirkiugarþar**, **kirkiugarþi** see **garþr**<sup>1</sup>.

\***kirkiugarþr** *m.* graveyard, churchyard. See **garþr**<sup>1</sup>.

**kirkiugerþr** *f.* church-building. See **gierþ**.

**kirkiumenn** *m. pl.* parishioners, men of the parish. See **maþr**.

**kirkiur** see **kirkia**.



**kirkiurum** *n.* place in church, pew space. See **rum**.

**kirkiusokn** *f.* church parish. See **sokn**.

\***kirkiustepr** *m.* church place. See \***stepr**.

**klanda** *v.* complain, prosecute. *A. i* 63/22. *ptc. nsm* **klandapr** 63/15.

\***klappa** *v.* cut off. *A. sup.* **klappat** 82/23.

\***kleti** *n.* storehouse. *A. gs* **kletis** 70/18.

\***klepi** *n.* clothing, garments; (bed)clothes; (broad)cloth; (outdoor) clothes; (saddle) cloth. *A. gs* **klepis** <78/3>. *as* **klepi** 74/14. 74/15. 74/18. (**yfir**)**klepi** 74/14. *np* **klepi** 81/2. (**raip**)**klepi** 82/4. *gp* (**gang**)**klepa** 78/4. *dp* **klepum** 71/18. (**raip**)**klepum** 58/40. *ap* **klepi** 81/24. (**gang**)**klepi** 78/7. (**senga**)**klepi** 78/3. *B. as* **kledi** 58/24. 74/13. 78 note 433. See Commentary to 78/3.

\***klaufa** *v.* split. *A. sup.* **klufit** 82/23.

\***klippa** *v.* shear, cut; castrate, geld. *A. ptc. nsm* **kliptr** 91/16. (**o**)**kliptr** 91/13. *dsm* **kliptum** 59/19. 91/15. (**o**)**kliptum** 59/18. 91/12.

\***klostr** *n.* cloister, monastery. *A. gs* **klostrs** 64/12. 64/15. *ds* **klostri** 64/14.

\***kni** *n.* knee, lap. *A. gs* **knis** 81/7. *as* **kni** 81/8. *dp* **knium** 71/13.

\***kniborþ** *n.* kneecap. *A. ap* **kniborþ** (**B. knibor**) 81/3.

\***knifr** *m.* knife. *A. ds* **knifi** 72/3.

\***ko** *f.* cow. *A. ds* **ko** 59/8. *as* **ko** 78/7. 88/17.

\***korn** *n.* grain, barley. *A. gs* **korns** 76/18. *ds* **korni** 63/19. *as* **korn** 94/3.

**korntiunt** *f.* tithe in grain. See **tiunt**.

**kraf** *n.* demand, claim. See **fearkraf**.

\***krafarvereldi** *n.* wergild subject to claim. *A. as* **krafarvereldi** 70/25.

\***krefia** *v.* demand. *A. i* <71/1>. *B. i* **kreffuia** 71 note 301. 98/8.

**kringum**; **umkring** *adv.* around, approximately. *A.* **kringum** 83/3. **umkring** 82/25.

\***kristin** *adj.* Christian. *A. dsm* **kristnum** <62/18>. *B. dsm* **chrisnom** 62 note 121.

\***kristindombr** *m.* Christianity. *A. as* **kristindom** 61/10. 62/11. *ds* **kristindomi** 60/4. *B.* **kristindomb'r** 97/27.

\***kristna** *f.* Christianity. *A. ds* **krisnu** 60/3.

**kristnum** see **kristin**.

\***krokr** *m.* boat-hook. *A. as* **krok** 92/20.

\***kufna** *v.* choke, suffocate. *A. 3s* **kufnar** 71/18. *B. 3s* **kumpnar** 71 note 319.

**kuma** *v.* come; include; *with dat.* bring; **viþr kuma** be able to. *A. i* 70/1. 71/17. (**viþr...**) **kuma** 86/20. *3s* **kumbr** 61/14. <65/5>. <65/6>. 19 further instances. *3p*

**kuma** 84/5. 89/19. 91/5. 91/9. *pret.* 3s **quam** 76/20. *imp.* 2s **kum** 89/7. *ptc nsm* **kumin** <87/22>. (**fran**)**kumin** 83/5. *nsn* **kumit** 69/5. 5 further instances. (**o**)**kumit** 76/4. *S. ptc.* *npf* **kumnar** 95/12. **B.** 3s **kumb'r** 65 note 173. **komb'r** 97/3. 100/18. 100/19. *subj.* 3s **kumi** 100/4. <100/6>. *pret.* 3s **quam** 100/22. *ptc. nsm* **kumin** 87 note 594. *sup.* **kumit** 100/20. Cf. **\*nerkumin**.

**kuma upp** v. discover, detect. **A.** 3s **kumbr (upp)** 60/13. 5 further instances. **B.** 3s **kumb'r (up)** 99/24. 99/26. 100/13. (**up**)**kumit** 100/11. Cf. **kuma**.

**kuna** f. woman, wife. **A.** *ns* 60/9. 24 further instances. **kunan** 78/20. (**prest**)**kuna** 63/2. *gs* **kunur** 80/20. 80/24. 80/25. *ds* **kunu** <58/21>. 78/15. 10 further instances. *as* **kunu** 69/19. 10 further instances. 90/17. (**gran**)**kunu** 60/10. (**griþ**)**kunu** 60/10. *gp* **quinna** <58/34>. 58/35. 5 further instances. *dp* **kunum** 58/41. (**prest**)**kunum** 63/1. *ap* **kunur** 82/6. (**vitnis**)**kunur** 60/10. 61/3. *S. ns* 95/13. *gp* **quinna** [59/43]. 95/16. 95/17. **B.** *ns* 80/1. 58 note 16. *ds* **kuno** 80/9. 82/5. 58 note 18. *as* **kuno** 58 note 11. *gp* **qwinna** 58/30. 58/38. 77/7. 82/1. **L Bx.** *gp* **qwinna** 76/14.

**\*kunna** v. may, should. **A.** 3s **kann** 67/2. 4 further instances. **kan** 70/1. 71/17. 88/4. 93/2. 3p **kunnu** 94/25. **B.** 3s **kan** 93/18.

**\*kupar** m. copper. **S.** *as* **kupar** 95/18.

**\*kurti** m. kirtle, gown. **A.** *as* **kurti** 74/14.

**kurti** bonapr m. kirtle decoration. **S.** *ns* 95/25.

**kustr** m. (financial) means; possession. **A.** *ns* 63/5. 76/19. 87/15. *ds* **kust** 82/8. *as* **kust** 66/10. **B.** *ns* 97/8. See Commentary to 63/4-5.

**\*kyn** n. family, relatives. **A.** *ds* **kyni** 63/4. **B.** *ds* **kyni** 97/4.

**\*kyrkia** see **kirkia**.

**la** see **liggia**.

**lad** gender uncertain. meaning uncertain. **B.** 82 note 501.

**\*lag** n. condition, order; place; *pl.* law, legislation, right, oath, oath-taking. **A.** *ds* **lagi** 81/2. *np* **lag** 60/1. 10 further instances. *gp* **laga** indeclinable adjective; see following entry. *dp* **lagum** 60/2. 4 further instances. *ap* **lag** 65/10. 88/4. **B.** *dp* **lagum** 99/12. 99/20. **lagom** 99/14. Cf. **a lag**, **viþr lag**.

**laga** indeclinable adj. lawful, legal. **A.** 66/13. <82/19>. 4 further instances.

**lagfeldr** adj. lawfully dismissed. See **\*fella**.

**laggiertr** adj. lawfully enclosed, according to the law (of a fence). See **gierþa** and Commentary to 83/21.

**laggipttr** *adj.* lawfully married. See **gipta**.

**lagkauptr** *adj.* lawfully purchased. See **kaupa**.

**laglika** *adv.* lawfully, legally. A. 84/12. 86/4.

**\*lagr** *adj.* low. See **legra**.

**lagreka** *v.* lawfully secure. See **reka**.

**lagrypia** *v.* lay a legal claim (to what is due). A. *i* 71/1. *ptc. nsn lagrytt* (B. **lag ryt**) 66/9. B. *i lagrydia* 98/8.

**laifa** *v.* leave. A. *i* 62/9. 62/11. <82/17>. 2*s* **laifir** <89/4>. 3*s* **laifir** <75/23>. 85/8. *subj.* 3*s* **laifi** 93/23. *sup.* **laift** 89/6. B. *i* **leyffua** 62 note 105. **leiffua** 82 note 499. 2*s* **leiffuir** 89 note 613. 3*s* **leiffu'r** 75 note 390. **leiffuir** 77 note 429. Cf. **\*loyfa**.

**\*laiga** *f.* hire, payment; (land) rent. A. *ds* **laigu** 93/23. *ap* (landz)**laigur** 87/8.

**laigi** *n.* land yielding, or valued at a certain rent. A. *ns* **mark laigi** land yielding a mark of silver in rent. 86/10. *as* **þriggia marka laigi** land yielding three marks of silver in rent. 77/18. S. *as* **þriggia marka laigi** 95/12. B. *ns* **markleygi** 86 note 566. See Commentary to 77/18.

**\*laigia** *v.* lease. A. 3*s* **laigir** 62/8. B. 2*s* **leyg'r** 58/5.

**\*laigulenningr** *m.* tenant; lessee. A. *ns* <61/19>. B. *ns* **leygu lenningh'r** 61 note 89.

**\*laigumal** *n.* period of hire (of a slave). B. *ns* **leygu malit** 64 note 153.

**\*laika** *v.* trifle with; assault (at **manni**). A. 3*s* **laikr** 72/23.

**\*laita** *v.* seek; have responsibility. A. 3*s* **laitar** <75/17>. *subj.* 3*s* **laiti** 63/15. B. 3*s* **leitar** 75 note 385.

**\*laipa** *v.* lead, direct; pursue. A. 3*s* **laipir** 63/23. 90/2. *subj.* 3*s* **laipi** 70/4. 70/9. 80/2. 92/2. 3*pp* **laipas** 62/16. *imp.* 2*s* **laip** 88/20. B. *i* **leyda** 99/10. 99/11. 99/13. 2*s* **leydir** <99/12>. *imp.* 2*s* **leyd** 99/9. 99/17.

**\*laizn** *f.* warrant for ownership, trail from one man to the next in the search for the legal owner of a disputed object. A. *dp* **laipznum** (B. **leysnom**) 89/25.

**\*lamb** *n.* sheep. A. *np* (bo)**lamb** 91/9. *dp* (bo)**lambum** 59/17. 91/8. *ap* **lamb** 91/14. S. *ap* **lamb** 95/17.

**land** *n.* land; (dry) land; district, province, island, country, realm; people of the island, islanders, population; **land** (**alt**) authorities (general assembly in a province, for example). A. *ns* 68/13. 4 further instances. *gs* **lanz(domera)** 71/24. **lanz(syn)** 92/21. **landz** 93/12. **landz(laigur)** 87/8. *ds* **landi** 60/5. 10 further instances. (**laups**)**landi** 94/3. *as* **land** 60/21. (**laups**)**land** 92/10. 92/14. 92/15. *gp* **landa** 86/21. S. *ds* **landi** 95/15. 96/2. B. *gs* **lands** 97/7. **lands(syn)** 100/18. *ds* **landi** 99/4.

- 100/18. *as* **land** 60 note 67. 65 note 183. See also **\*Gutland**.
- \*landboi** *m.* tenant. **A.** *np* **landboar** 92/10.
- \*landi** *m.* countrymen; **landar** (**allir**) general assembly; **landa sak** case for the general assembly. **A.** *gp* **landa** 64/11. 4 further instances. *ap* **landa** 60/20. 62/23. 66/1. 66/20. **B.** *np* **landar** 97/16. 97/25. *dp* **landom** 97/14. See Commentary to 60/20.
- \*langlaikr** *m.* length. **A.** *as* **langlaik** 71/22.
- \*langr** *adj.* long. **A.** *asm* **langan** 72/15. (**iem**)**langan** 85/6.  
*comp.* **\*lengri** longer. **A.** *npl* **lengrin** 89/12. Cf. **\*iemlangi**.
- lang(t)** *adv.* for a long time. **A.** **lang** 67/7. **B.** **langht** 67 note 230.  
*comp.* **lengra** 76/24. 80/13.
- \*lanzdomeri** *m.* district judge. See **\*domeri**, **land**.
- \*lanzlaiga** *f.* land rent (paid instead of property division). See **\*laiga**, **land**.
- \*lanzsyn** *f.* sight of land. See **land**, **\*syn**<sup>1</sup>.
- las** *m. or n. gender uncertain.* lock, padlock. **A.** *ns* 89/11. 90/5. **B.** *ns* **laas** 100/2. *ds* **lasi** 100/2. 100/21.
- \*lass** *n.* (wagon-)load. **A.** *ds* **lassi** 63/12. 63/20. *gp* **lassa** 92/12. See Commentary to 92/12.
- lasta** *v.* blame; censure, find fault with, dispute. **A.** *i* 67/14.
- \*lastalaus** *adj.* without defect. **A.** *nsn* **lastalaust** 73/9.
- \*lastr**, **lestr** *m.* damage, fault, defect, disability. **A.** *ns* (**handa**)**lestr** 73/11. *ds* **lasti** 88/20. *np* **lastir** 74/5. 88/15. 88/17. <88/21>. 88/23. (**lima**)**lastir** 73/9. *ap* **lasti** 71/2. **B.** *np* **lastir** 88 note 607. **last'r** 98/5. *dp* **lastum** 99/15. **Bx.** *np* (**lima**)**lastir** 98/13. Cf. **lyti**.
- lata** *v.* leave, allow, permit; force, cause, arrange (for); *refl.* pretend, claim. **A.** *i* 91/17. 92/8. 92/9. *3s* **latr** 75/4. **latr** (**til**) 74/8. *3s refl.* **latz** 80/12. *subj.* *3s* **lati** 68/4. 78/17. 91/3. **lati** (**til**) 92/15. *imp.* *2s* **lat** 84/5. *ptc.* *nsn* **latit** 68/12. *sup.* **latit** 82/24. **B.** *i* 100/8. 100/10.
- \*laun** *n. pl. or f. sing.* compensation, reward; payment, wages. **A.** *a* **laun** 91/10. <91/14>. (**pings**)**laun** <91/3>. **B.** *a* **laun** 91 note 662. (**tings**) **laun** 91 note 655. (**fund'r**)**laun** 100/14. (**pings**)**laun** 91/7. See Commentary to 91/3.
- \*launs** *f.* fee, fine, ransom. **A.** *as* (**hepta**)**launs** 91/13. **B.** *as* (**hepta**)**laun** 91 note 661. See Commentary to 91/3.
- laupa** *v.* run, go; **laupa a** begin; **laupa af** end; **laupa i** catch; incur. **A.** *i* 61/25. *3s*

**laupr** 60/20. <65/23>. 4 further instances. *3p laupa* 84/19. **B.** *3s laup'r* 100/23. 65 note 195.

**\*laupr** *m.* bushel, a quarter of a barrel. **A.** *as laup* 76/18.

**laupsland** *n.* bushel-land, a quarter of an acre. See **land** and Commentary to 92/10.

**\*laupstigr** *m.* (on the) run, fugitive. **B.** *ds laupstigi* 100/14.

**laus** *adj.* loose, free; free from; lacking. **A.** *nsm laus* 90/3. 91/16. See also

**\*afrapalaus**, **agripslaus**, **\*barnalaus**, **\*friplaus**, **kapulaus**, **\*lastalaus**, **\*saklaus**,  
**\*sepalaus**, **\*varpalaus**, **\*pranglaus**.

**lausgyrtr** *adj.* loosely girded. See **\*gyrpa**.

**laust** *adv.* loose. **A.** 91/17. See also **saklaust**.

**\*laut**<sup>1</sup> *f.* pasture-land. See **\*talaut**.

**laut**<sup>2</sup> see **liauta**.

**\*laþ** see **\*gullap**, **lad**.

**laþigs** *adv.* in spring. **A.** 82/23.

**\*leggbain** *n.* shin-bone, tibia. **Bx.** *ns leggbain* 98/17.

**leggia** *v.* lay; **leggia** a place upon. **A.** *i* 60/24. 61/2. (**a**) **leggia** 74/9. *3s leggir* 61/5. 64/8. 71/15. 71/16. *subj. 3s leggi* 61/7. 4 further instances. *pret. 3s legþi* 62/1. *pret. 3p legþu* 61/1. *sup. legþ* 82/23. **B.** *i* 100/6. *subj. 3s leggi* 97/16. 100/3. **Bx.** *i* 74 note 370.

**\*leggr** *m.* leg. **A.** *as legg* 81/2. Cf. **\*armleggr**, **\*leggbain**.

**legra** *adv. comp.* lower. **A.** 73/23.

**\*legvita** *f.* under blanket, thin piece of woollen cloth, which is laid between the straw and the bedclothes. **A.** *as legvitu* 78/3.

**\*lekkio** *f.* (Bible) reading. **A.** *np lekkior* 94/19.

**\*lekisskepr** *m.* medical treatment. **A.** *as lekisskep* 71/23.

**\*lend** *f.* loin. **A.** *as lend* 81/4.

**lendingr** *m.* person belonging to a certain group. See **\*laigulennigr**, **\*utlendingr**.

**\*lengi** *adv.* for a long time. *comp. lengr* for a longer time. **A.** 75/4. 11 further instances. **B.** **leng'r** 99/12.

**\*lerept** *n.* linen. **S.** *dp lereptum* 95/22.

**lerþr** *adj.* learned. **lerþr maþr** = priest. **A.** *nsm* <63/4>. [79/12]. 79/15. **lerþr (maþr)** 60/14. <63/13>. (**o**)**lerþr** 63/4. 79/12. 79/15. *dsm lerþum (manni)* 61/12. *asm (weak form) lerþan (mann)* 63/16. *nþn lerþ* 63/13. (*weak form*) (**o**)**lerþu** 63/3. **B.** *nsm lerd'r* 97/8. 97/15. 63 note 128. 79 note 451. **lerd'r (mad'r)** 97/23. 63 note

136. (o)lerd'r 97/5. 97/8. 97/15. (*weak form*) **lerdi** 97/9. 97/15. 97/16. 97/19. (o)lerdi 97/16. *dsm* **lerdum** (**manni**) 97/22. *asm* **lerdan** (**man**) 97/11.
- \*lesa v. read. A. 3pp. **lesas** 94/19.
- \*lesta v. damage, maim. A. 2s **lestir** 70/25. *ptc. nsm* **lestr** 72/19. [72/20]. 73/3. 73/17. *npm* **lestir** <73/4>. B. *ptc. nsm* **lest'r** 72/20.
- lestr** m. damage, fault. See \*lastr.
- leti n. shape. See **misleti**.
- lepi n. creature. See **filepi**.
- \*liausta v. strike. A. *ptc. nsn* **lustit** 73/14.
- liauta** v. receive, be given; inherit. A. i 69/1. 86/1. <86/6>. 2s **liautr** 84/4. 3s **liautr** 76/2. 7 further instances. 3sp **liau(t)z** 76/1. 76/23. *subj. 2s* **liauti** 84/3. *subj. 3s* **liauti** 76/6. 7 further instances. *subj. 3p* **liautin** 75/25. 76/13. 77/12. 82/9. *ptc. asf* **lutna** 76/2. 86/19. *dp* **lutnum** 58/17. 68/17. *apm* **lutna** 76/6. *apf* **lutnar** 68/18. B. i 86 note 562. 3s **liauth'r** 97/9. **liauter** 97/19. 3p **liauta** 97/15. 76 note 398. *ptc. apf* **lutuar** 58 note 7. 68 note 259 (twice).
- lif** n. body, torso. A. *ns* 79/16. *gs* **lifs** 60/6. *ds* **lifi** 80/10. *as* **lif** 79/16. 80/17. B. *gs* **liif** 60 note 50.
- \*lifa v. live. A. 3s **lifr** 64/13. 72/14. 76/1. *pret. 3p* **lifpu** 77/3. *ptc. dp* **lifandum** 77/3. B. 3s **liffuir** 97/6.
- liggia** v. lie, be placed. A. i 92/8. 92/9. 3s **liggr** 60/9. 74/21. 86/2. 86/3. *subj. 3s* **liggi** 67/21. 71/13. 71/18. <85/11>. 3p **liggia** 67/9. 71/17. B. *subj. 3s* **liggi** 85 note 551.
- \***liggia viþr** v. *with dat.* be punished, e.g. **hanum liggia bytr viþr** he is punished with fines. A. 3s **liggr (viþr)** <64/9>. 65/22. *subj. 3s* **liggi (viþr)** 60/21. 64/2. 68/15. 79/15. 3p **liggia (viþr)** 64/10. 6 further instances. B. 3s **ligg'r (wid'r)** 64 note 157. 3p **liggia (wid'r)** 65/7. 60 note 68.
- \***ligsvitni** or \***liksvitni** n. evidence of neighbours in disputes about woodland. A. *as* **liksvitni** <82/22>. *ap* **liksvitni** 82/25. B. *as* **lichs witni** 82 note 504. Cf. \***vitni**<sup>2</sup>. See Commentary to 82/22.
- lika *adverbial ending*. See **laglika**, **oraplika**, **oskellika**.
- likin *adjectival ending*. See **huilikin**.
- \*-likr *adjectival ending*. See \***huilikr**, \***synlikr**.
- \***likvari** m. articles of clothing worn nearest to the body, undergarments. A. *as* **likvara** 74/15. 74/16.
- limalastr** m., **limalyti** n. maiming, disfigurement, disability. See \***lastr**, **lyti**.

\***limbr** *m.* limb. A. *gp lima(lastir)* 73/9. **lima(lyti)** 70/1. 70/1. *dp limum* 70/25. B. *gp lima(lyti)* 98/8. Bx. *gp lima(lastir)* 98/13.

\***limna** *v.* stay behind, remain. A. 3s **limnar** 76/17.

\***lindi** *m.* man's belt or girdle. \***lindagyrtr** girdled with a **lindi**; male gender, spear side; agnate (through the father's side). See \***gyrþa**.

**lit, litu** see **lata**.

\***lita** **viþr** *v.* with *acc.* content oneself with, be satisfied with. A. *subj. 3p litin (viþr)* 93/4.

**littryggum** see \***lyktryggvar**.

\***litvan** *n.* facial defect. A. *as litvan* 72/7. 72/9.

\***lizmeli** *n.* a gap (in a fence) wide enough to drive through. A. *ns lipzmel* 85/5.

\***lip** *n.* gap (in a fence for passage). A. *as lip* 82/19. *dp lipium* 82/20. *ap lip* 82/19. Cf. \***lizmeli**, \***lipstukkr**.

\***lipa** *v.* go, suffer, pass by, expire. A. 3p **lipa** 77/6. *ptc. nsm (fram...)lipin* 81/25. *asn lipit* 68/10. *npf lipnar* 68/13. *apn lipin* 68/9. 68/9. B. *ptc. nsf (ut)lidin* 99/13.

\***lipr** *m.* joint. See \***bauglipr**, \***lipstarkr**.

\***lipstarkr** *adj.* stiffened, stiff-jointed, disabled. A. *nsn lipstarkt* 72/18.

\***lipstukkr** *m.* door-post. A. *ds lipstukki* 70/17.

**lofi** *m.* the flat of the hand. A. *as lofa* 74/9. S. *ns* 95/4. B. *ns* 98/24. Bx. *as lofa* 74 note 370.

\***loyfa** [form uncertain] *v.* leave. A. 3s **loyfir** 77/23. *subj. 3s loyfi* 92/14.

\***loyfi** *n.* permission, leave. A. *as loyfi* 67/9. Cf. **oloyfi(n)s**.

\***loyndir** *f. pl.* private parts. A. *ap l<o>yndir* <81/4>. B. *ap loyndir* 81 note 467.

\*-**loypr** *adj.* being. See \***ainloypr**.

**loysa** *v.* pay fee or fine; give absolution, redeem. A. *i* 86/25. (**atr**) **loysa** 86/15. 91/18. 91/21. [**atr**] **loysa** 86/16. (**ut**) **loysa** 84/11. *i refl.* **loysas** 69/5. *subj. 3s loysi* 78/11. 80/11. 86/21. 86/24. **loysi (atr)** 87/18. *subj. 3p loysin* 86/23. **loysin (undan)** 78/16. *ptc. asn (undan) loyst* 78/17. S. *subj. 3p loysins* 95/11. B. *i (at'r)* **loysa** 100/19. 100/20. *subj. 3s loysi (...at'r)* 100/21. *imp. 2s loys (...at'r)* 100/17.

**loyski** *n.* bald patch (on the head). A. *ns* 74/9. *as loyski* 74/7. S. *ns* 95/4. *as loyski* [59/39]. 95/3. B. *ns* 98/24. *ds loyski* 58/23. 74/6. 98/23. Bx. *ns* 74 note 370.

**loyst** *adv.* loosely. B. 91 note 665.

\***luf** *n.* permission. A. *as luf* 63/9. 93/18. 93/19. 94/8. (**haim**)**luf** 81/20.

**lufa** *v.* I. grant, allow, give permission. II. **lufa ut** promise. A. *i* 63/14. *subj. 3s lufi*

83/10. *subj.* 3p **lufin** 64/17. *ptc. nsn lufat* (B. **luffuat** or **luffad**) 63/17. (**ut**)**lufat** 86/10. S. *ptc. nsn lufat* 95/20.

**luka** v. shut, enclose. A. *i* (**atr**) **luka** 61/15. 65/2. *ptc. asf lukna* 82/15.

\***lukahagg** *n.* blow that does not cause blood to be spilt, or cause an open wound. A. *as lukahagg* 74/5. *dp lukahaggum* 72/5. 74/21. B. *dp luka haggum* 74/19.

\***lukka** v. entice, lure, seduce. A. 3s **lukkar** 79/16.

**-lund** *adverbial ending*. See **samulund**.

**lustit** see \***liausta**.

\***lutadagr** *m.* the day upon which partition (of goods) occurs. A. *ds lutadagi* 84/5.

\***luti** *m.* portion. A. *ds luta* 75/21. *as luta* 61/13. *ap luta* 77/11. B. *as (hafud)luta* 97/18. Cf. \***lutr**.

\***lutin** see **liauta**.

\***lutr** *m.* part, share, lot (*ap luti*); inheritance (*pl.*; *acc. lutu*); **at allum lutum** in all respects. A. *gs lutar* 84/3. *ds lut* 87/14. (**hafud**)**lut** <64/15>. *as lut* 61/23. 5 further instances. (**hafud**)**lut** 76/13. 87/7. 87/8. *np lutir* 64/14. 70/24. 71/2. *gp luta* 75/23. 77/20. *dp lutum* 58/28. 6 further instances. *ap lutu* 69/1. 4 further instances. **luti** 83/6. B. *ds (hafud) lut* 64 note 165. *as lut* 65/13. 100/14. 76 note 396. (**hafud**)**lut** 97/16. *dp lutum* 58/30. 77/7. *ap lutu* 77 note 421. Bx. *np lutir* 76/14. Cf. \***luti**.

**lykil** *m.* key. A. *ns* 97/11.

\***lyktrygguar**, \***lyktryggiar** *f. pl.* expiry date for a contract concerning mortgaged property. S. *dp lyktryggum* <95/11>. B. *dp lyctryggiom* 95 note 733.

\***lypta** v. lift, lay aside (an oath). A. *subj.* 3pp **lyptins** 87/24.

**lysa** v. proclaim, announce, declare. A. *i* 61/14. 3s **lysir** 64/20. *subj.* 3p **lysin** 85/21. B. *ptc. nsn lyst* 100/15.

**lyti** *n.* defect, disfigurement, deformity. A. *ns* (**lima**)**lyti** 70/1. 70/1. B. *as* (**lima**)**lyti** 98/8.

**-lytia** *feminine ending equivalent to -ess*. See **erfilytia**.

\***lyt(t)r** *adj.* injured, disfigured, damaged. A. *nsn lyt* 73/19. B. *nsn lyt* 98/17.

**lypa** v. hear, listen to; obey. A. *i* 63/9.

**lypi** *n.* hearing. A. *ns* 73/14. *ds lypi* 73/17.

**lypir** *m. pl.* people, persons. A. *nom.* 68/8. 68/21. 76/9. *acc.* **lypi** 60/19. 68/8. 68/21. B. *nom.* **lyd'r** 97/12. *acc.* **lydi** 97/12. 97/21. 97/23.

\***maga** v. be able to; be of age. A. 3s **ma** 61/13. <78/15>. 42 further instances. *subj.*



*3s magi* 92/3. *subj. 1p magin* 60/4. 60/5. *3p magu* 67/20. 67/24. *ptc. nsm magandi* 75/15. 75/21. *npm magandi* 75/14. 75/18. 78/1. *S. 3s ma* 95/8. 4 further instances. *B. 1s ma* 97/24. *3s ma* 69/1. 97/10. 97/19. <97/26>. 100/12. 101/8. 78 note 439. *Bx. 3s ma* 74 note 370.

**magandi** *adj.* having reached the age of majority. See **\*maga**.

**\*magr** *m.* (son-)in-law; relative. *A. gp maga* 81/13. *S. dp magum* 95/14. *B. dp magum* 99/3.

**\*main** *n.* injury, harm, damage. *A. as main* 64/8.

**mair** see **miek**.

**maira**<sup>1</sup>, **mairi**, **mairu** see **\*mikil**.

**maira**<sup>2</sup> *adv.* more. *A. 67/10. 82/2. B. meira* 98/2.

**\*mak** *n.* convenience, benefit. *A. gs maks* 86/8. *ds maki* 61/22.

**mal**<sup>1</sup> *n.* matter, case before the law; language, ability to speak (73/2). *A. ns* 60/15. 60/18. 60/19. 61/5. *gs mals* 60/24. 60/25. 73/2. *ds mali* 60/23. 78/21. 90/1. *as mal* 60/14. 4 further instances. (**banz**)**mall** 65/8. *B. as maal* 97/23. (**bans**)**maal** 65 note 178. See also **\*aiga**<sup>1</sup>, **malsaigandi**.

**\*mal**<sup>2</sup> *n.* certain time, point in time. *A. ds mali* 69/4. *ap (mielk)mal* 88/17. *B. ns* 61 note 80. (**leygu**)**malit** 64 note 153.

**malap̃ing** *n.* betrothal meeting. *A. ds malap̃ingi* <86/10>. *B. ds mala(tingi)* 86 note 567.

**mali** *m.* certain time, during which a slave is to remain in slavery; condition, limitation, reservation. *A. ns* 61/7. 64/4. *as mala* 70/12. *B. ds mala* 99/19. Cf.

**\*formali**. See Commentary to 61/7.

**malsaigandi** *m.* person injured, wronged party, complainant. See **\*aiga**<sup>1</sup>.

**\*manap̃r** *m.* month. *A. gs manapa* 68/14. 88/7. *ds manapi* 66/6. 84/6. 84/7. *as manap̃* 66/7. 76/18. 88/8. [88/9]. 88/10.

**\*mangr** *adj.* many (a), a large number of. *B. npm mangir* 98/14. Cf. **\*margr**.

**mann**, **manna**, **mannum**, **manz** see **map̃r**.

**\*manndrap** *n.* killing, murder. *A. ds mandrapi* 58/15. 67/1.

**mannhelg** *f.* personal rights, individual's right to peace and security, i.e. protection from assault, enhanced by increased penalties, which were applicable at certain times and in certain places. *A. ns* 64/19. *ds mannhelg* 58/10. 64/18. *as mannhelg* 65/21. See Commentary to 64/19.

**manninerar** *adv.* nearer to the person; to the nearside, the left-hand side (in reference

to a horse; the rider mounts and dismounts to the left). A. 70/18. B. **mannerar** 70 note 297.

\***margr** *adj.* many (a). A. *npn marg* (B. **mang**) 81/29. *gp margra* (B. **manga**) 92/12. *dp margum* (B. **mangum**) 69/13. *apm marga* 74/23.

*comp.* **flairi** or **flairin** (B. occasionally **fleyri**) several (other), more. A. *npm* 83/21. 92/8. 93/4. **flairin** 68/23. 4 further instances. *npn flairin* 66/24. **flaira** (possible error) 66/23. *dp flairum* 76/20. *apm flairi* 76/20. **flairin** 72/2. *apn flairi* 72/1. 75/7. 75/8. **flairin** 71/21. 87/9. B. *npm fleirin* 83 note 528. *npn fleirin* 99/25.

*superl.* \***flestr** most. A. *nsf flestar* 81/9. Cf. \***mangr**.

**mark** *f.* mark with four distinct meanings. I weight: a) of gold, silver or other precious metal b) of other goods, *köpmansmark* (89/13); II unit of land valuation, *markland*; III unit of currency value: a) in coin, *mark penningar*, which was 288 pennies in Gotland, although 192 in Svealand and 388 in Götaland b) in valued items, grain, cloth, etc.; IV metal coin, in the later middle ages. A. *ns* 70/11. 72/10. 72/12. *gs mark* 88/5. 4 further instances. *ds mark* 69/18. 12 further instances. *as mark* 77/2. 4 further instances. *np markr* 60/21. 12 further instances. *gp marka* 70/15. 10 further instances. **marka(tali)** 93/13. *dp markum* 61/20. [72/21]. [72/22]. 44 further instances. *ap markr* 60/12. <65/8>. 89/13. 51 further instances. **markar** 66/22. 4 further instances. S. *ds mark* 95/4. *np markr* 95/20. *gp marka* 95/12. *dp markum* 95/5. *ap markr* 95/7. 95/8. 95/15. 96/2. B. *ns mark* (M.) 101/7. *gs mark* 90 note 634. *ds mark* (M.) 98/19. 98/24. *as mark* (M.) 98/17. *np mark'r* (M.) 65/7. *gp marka* (M.) 100/22. *dp markum* (M.) 72/21. 72/22. 98/12. 98/13. 98/19. 98/25. 72 note 333. 72 note 345. *ap mark'r* (M.) 60/18. 75/4. 79/12. 97/14. 99/4. 69 note 284. 73 note 355. 80 note 463. Bx. *ds mark* (M.) 98/25. *np mark'r* (M.) 74 note 370. *dp markum* (M.) 98/18. *ap mark'r* (M.) 98/13. Cf. \***ertaug**, **half mark**, \***oyrir**, \***penningr**<sup>1</sup> and see Commentary to 60/12, 68/14 and 69/16-18.

**markatal** *n.* number of marks. See **tal**.

**marklaigi** *n.* land yielding a mark in rent. See **laigi**.

\***matr** *m.* food. A. *ds mati* 62/17. (mielk)mati 63/18. *as mat* 60/22. B. *as mat* 100/16.

\***matnapr** *m.* foodstuff. A. *ds matnapi* <63/17>. B. *ds madnadi* 63 note 141.

**matt**, **mattin** see \***maga**.

**maþr** *m.* man, person; slave; generation; *pron.* someone, one (70 note 294). A. *ns*

60/14. [72/20]. 48 further instances. (**lerþr**) **maþr** 60/14. <63/13>. (**orapa**)**maþr** 87/10. 60/12. (**quindis**)**maþr** 69/3. 75/20. (**kerldis**-)[**maþr**] [69/3]. [75/21]. (**verelz**)**maþr** 64/15. **mandr** 63/10. 41 further instances. *gs* **manz** <58/43>. 61/5. 33 further instances. *ds* **manni** 58/32. 41 further instances. **manni**(**nerar**) (**B. mannerar**) 70/18. *as* **mann** 63/16. 46 further instances. *np* **menn** 61/11. 18 further instances. **men** 60/25. 61/2. 89/24. (**etar**)**menn** 85/23. (**hunderis**)**menn** 86/1. (**kirkiu**)**menn** 62/4. 5 further instances. (**quindis**)**menn** 86/7. (**quislar**)**menn** 85/23. 86/7. (**rap**)**menn** 87/20. 88/6. (**sokna**)**menn** <61/18>. 65/4. 84/3. 87/18. 91/7. (**skyldir**) **menn** 85/23. 86/11. (**utan**)**menn** 86/7. (**þings**)**menn** 66/12. 87/18. *gp* **manna** 58/11. 31 further instances. (**etar**)**manna** 77/21. (**kirkiu**)**manna** <62/5>. 62/7. 78/8. 84/3. (**sokna**)**manna** 70/12. 4 further instances. (**þings**)**manna** 85/20. *dp* **mannum** 60/16. 5 further instances. (**etar**)**mannum** 85/17. (**gerpa**)**mannum** 81/18. (**kirkiu**)**mannum** 61/16. 62/3. 65/3. 94/14. (**rap**)**mannum** 71/24. (**skyldum**) **mannum** 85/19. (**sokna**)**mannum** 85/16. 86/4. 90/21. *ap* **menn** 78/18. 78/22. 81/15. (**kirkiu**)**men**(**n**) 60/13. 61/20. 62/19. (**þings**)**menn** 60/15. 60/18. 62/21. *S. ns* **mann** 95/9. *gs* **manz** 95/17. 95/8. 95/9. 95/9. *ap* (**bya**)**menn** 96/1. *B. ns* **mad'r** 58/26. 58/49. 72/20. 75/1. 86/13. 97/8. 8 further instances. 87 note 591. 92 note 681. **madr'** 58 note 11. **man** 70 note 294. 95 note 729. (**kyrkio**) **man** 62 note 102. (**lerd'r**) **mad'r** 63 note 136. (**muslegu**)**mad'r** 100/15. *gs* **mans** 58/24. 59/1. 74/13. 87/4. 98/25. 4 further instances. 59 note 26. 89 note 611. **mans** (**helgh** or **helg**) 58 note 3. 64 note 166. *ds* **manni** 58/16. 58/26. 65/17. 66/14. 68/3. 75/1. 97/22. 98/3. 98/18. 84 note 531. **manni** (**helg**) 65 note 193. *as* **man** 64/23. 91/21. 97/6. 7 further instances. 60 note 61. 65 note 185. 73 note 360. 73 note 363. 89 note 622. (**bya**)**man** 101/6. (**muslegu**)**man** 100/17. **mand** 64 note 170. *np* (**rad**)**men** 100/25. 100/26. (**sochna**)**men** 91/7. *gp* **manna** 88/13. 99/7. 59 note 23. (**kyrkio**)**manna** 62 note 99. *dp* (**sochna**)**mannom** 98/4. *ap* (**bya**)**men** 59/40. 101/5. *Bx. ds* **manni** 98/25. See also **\*manndrap**, **mannhelg**.

**\*mela** *v.* talk, say. *A. 3s* (**gin**)**melir** 94/5. *pret. 3s* **melti** 90/21. *ptc. npn* **melt** 90/20. *sup.* **melt** 90/19.

**men** see **emen**.

**menn** see **maþr**.

**\*merki** *n.* boundary land; brand (on a beast or as a punishment). *A. ds* **merki** 92/4. *as* **merki** 91/19. *dp* **merkium** <83/16>. *B. dp* **merkiom** 83 note 524. Cf. **\*amerki**.

**merkia** *v.* mark (a beast); brand (as a punishment). *A. i* 90/12. *ptc. nsm merktr* 90/13. *nsn (o)merkt* 91/2. *dsn (o)merktu* 59/15. *nnp merkt* 91/5. *(o)merkt* 91/5. *B. ptc. nsm mercht'r* 70/19. *dsn (o)mercht* 91/1. 59 note 31. *nnp merchtir* 91 note 657. *(o)merchtir* 91 note 657. See Commentary to 90/12 and 92/5.

**messa** *f.* mass, (ecclesiastical) feast. *A. ns* 63/10. *(brup)messa* 81/14. 81/15. *(Mariu)messa* 61/14. *gs (yfru Mariu)messur* 94/13. *as (Mariu)messu* 61/12. 4 further instances. *(Simonis)messu* <91/16>. 94/7. <94/10>.

**\*messudagr** *m.* feast day. *A. as messudag* 94/19.

**\*messufall** *n.* failure to hold mass on a day of obligation. *A. ds messufalli* 59/37. 94/16. *np messufall* 94/17. 94/18. *B. ds messofallom* 59 note 36. 94 note 714.

**mest** see **\*mikil**.

**mestu** *adv.* most. *A.* 65/21.

**mep allu** *adv.* withal, indeed, even. *A.* 84/12.

**\*miek** *adv.* much, strictly. *A.* <62/14>. *B. mikit* 62 note 112.

*comp. mair* more. *A.* 81/8. Cf. **\*mikil**.

**\*miel** *n.* flour. *A. ds mieli* 63/19.

**\*mielkmal** *n.* milking-time. See **mal**.

**\*mielkmatr** *m.* milk food, produce made from milk. See **\*matr**.

**mielkstulin** *adj.* deprived of milk, lacking in milk (of cows). See **stiela**.

**mik** see **iek**.

**\*mikil** *adj.* great, much, large. *A. nsn mikit* 74/9. *dsn miklu* 66/1. 80/11. 90/6. *asn (iem)mikit* 85/9. *B. nsm* 100/11. *mikill* 100/1. *asn mikit* 99/18. 99/25. *Bx. nsn mikit* 74 note 370.

*comp. \*mairi* greater, more, larger. *A. nsf mairi* 64/9. 71/25. *nsn maira* 62/5. 63/24. 73/8. 88/6. *dsn maira* 87/14. *mairu* 61/22. *asn maira* 61/5. 7 further instances. *S. nsn maira* 95/4. 95/14. 95/14. 95/21. *asn maira* 95/21. 95/21. 96/1. *B. nsn meira* (or *meyra*) 98/24. 99/3. 99/24. 64 note 158. 71 note 323. *dsn meira* 100/12. *asn meira* 98/4. 101/6. *nnp meirin* 101/7.

*superl. \*mestr* most, largest, greatest. *A. nsf mest* 60/6. *asn mest* 82/25. *npf mestu* 72/8. *gpf mestu* 80/25. *S. dsn mestu* 95/15. *B. gpf mesta* 80 note 464. *dp mestu* 98/8. 99/4. Cf. **\*miek**.

**mikit** *adv.* much, greatly. *B.* 62 note 112.

**millan**<sup>1</sup> *prp. with gen.* between. *A.* 66/9. 7 further instances. *S.* 95/22. 95/24.

**millan**<sup>2</sup> *adv.* in between, in the interim. *A.* 74/21. 74/24.

**milli**<sup>1</sup> *prp.* with *gen.* between. (**B. millan** or **mellan**) **A.** 64/9. 77/25. 81/7. 86/21.

**milli**<sup>2</sup> *adv.* in between. **A.** 68/4. **B. at millan** (possibly an error) 68 note 245. Cf. **at millum**.

**minna** *adj. n.* or *adv. comp.* less. **A.** 71/22. 6 further instances. **B.** 98/5. 99/23.

\***minni**<sup>1</sup> *adj. comp.* shorter, lesser. **A. nsf minni** 88/9. **B. npm minni** 98/5.

*superl.* **minstr** smallest, least. **A. nsm** 73/11. Cf. **minna**.

\***minni**<sup>2</sup> *n.* remembrance bowl, toast. **A. as minni** 81/19. 81/20. *np minni* 81/19. **S. np minni** 95/14. **B. np minni** 99/3.

**mir** see **iek**.

\***misfirma** *v.* with *dat.* abuse, disregard. **S. 3s misfirmir** 95/15. **B. 3s misfirmir** 99/4.

\***misleti** *n.* deformity. **A. np misleti** 70/3.

\***mista** *v.* mistake. **B. 3s mist'r** 100/23. *pret. 3s misti* 100/1.

**mistaka** *v.* make a mistake, take (something) through an oversight. See **taka**.

**mistroa** *v.* disbelieve, suspect. See **troa**.

**mip**<sup>1</sup> *prp.* with *dat.* (**B. often with accusative**) with, together with; in accordance with, according to; by; on; of. **A.** 60/9. 111 further instances. **mep** 61/19. 17 further instances. **S. mep** 95/22. 95/23. **B. mid** 99/19. **med** 65/16. 79/18. 97/10. 6 further instances. **Bx. mid** 76/13.

**mip**<sup>2</sup> *adv.* or *prp.* without *headword*. besides, in addition, similarly. **A.** 63/21. 8 further instances. **mep** 92/2.

**mip þi** *adv.* as a result, therefore (literally, 'with this'). **A.** 73/17.

**mip þy et** *conj.* because, since; in order that. **A.** 66/8. **mip þi et** 65/2. **mep þy et** 67/24. **B. med thy at** 97/10.

**mipalgarþr** *m.* separating fence, fence between fields or meadows. See **garþr**<sup>1</sup>.

**mipan**<sup>1</sup> *conj.* while. **A.** 64/13. 77/3. 84/8. See also **emipan**, **emen**.

**mipan**<sup>2</sup> *adv.* for the time being, the while. **A.** 67/20.

\***mipr** *adj.* placed in the middle. **miprdagr** midday. \***leggr mipr** half-way up the leg. **i mipium skogi** in the middle of the wood. **i mipiu** half-way. **A. asm mipian** 81/3. 87/20. 87/21. 87/22. **dsn mipiu** 67/8.

\***mipsumar** *m.* midsummer. **A. as mipsumar** <65/24>. **B. as midsommar** 65 note 196.

\***mogi** *m.* all the people (of Gotland), the community, the common people. **A. ds moga** 66/22. 5 further instances. **as moga** 83/11. 83/17. 83/18. **B. as (following wid'r) moga** 84/24. 87/23. See Commentary to 66/22.

**morþingi** *m.* murderer. A. *ns* 90/16. 90/17.

\***mot** *n.* meeting, assembly, thing. A. *as mot* 72/10. Cf. **þing**.

\***motstukkr** *m.* assembly-site pole. See \***stukkr**.

\***moy** *f.* young woman. A. *as moy* 79/18.

**mopir** *f.* mother. A. *ns* <61/1>. 67/19. *gs mopur* 63/3. *ds mypr* <78/24>. *as mopur* 77/21. (**fapur**)**mopur** 76/1. B. *ns mod'r* 61 note 74. *ds myd'r* 78 note 445.

**mulka** *v.* milk. A. *i* 88/18.

\***mundr** *m.* a (thumb-)nail's breadth, a notional inch. A. *gs mundar* 71/21. 71/22. *as mund* 71/21.

\***mungat** *n.* feast (literally 'tasty morsel'); (home-brewed) ale, beer. A. *ds mungati* 71/12. *as mungat* 74/1. Cf. **ol**.

\***munkr** *m.* monk. A. *gp munka* 58/9. 64/6. *dp munkum* 64/7.

\***muslegumaþr** *m.* slave who is hiding himself, fugitive. B. *ns muslegumad'r* 100/15. *as musleguman* 100/17.

\***myndrikkia** *f.* small vessel (but possibly larger than a \***batr**). A. *as myndrikkju* (B. *myndryckju*). 89/14.

**myr** *f.* mire, marshland. A. *ns* 83/6. 83/7. 83/7. 83/9. *ds myri* 83/9. 83/10. 83/12. B. *dp myrom* 83 note 520.

\***mytas** *v. md.* (also *trans.*) meet. A. *3s mytis* 67/8. *3p mytas* 83/6. 83/8.

\***myprni** *n.* maternal inheritance. A. *ds myprni* 82/10. *as myprni* 76/10. 76/21. (**fapur**)**myprni** 76/10. <76/11>. B. *as (fadur) myderni* 76 note 402.

**nai** *adv.* no. A. 78/19. 79/5.

**naikka** *v.* deny, reject. A. *i* 60/2. B. *i neytha* 60 note 42.

\***nakki** *m.* (nape of the) neck. A. *gs nakka* 72/21.

\***namn** *n.* name. A. *as namn* 80/6.

\***nas** *f.* nostril; *pl.* nose. A. *as nas* 72/7. *np nasar* 72/25. B. *ap nasar* 72 note 328.

\***nast** *f.* buckle, hook, clasp. A. *as nast* 80/23.

\***nat** *f.* night; *pl.* 24 hours. A. *as nat* 74/20. *gp nata* 70/5. 70/7. 88/11. 88/11. *dp natum* 65/23. 65/24. *ap netr* 65/24. 67/4. 78/16. See also \***siaunetr**.

**naugir** see \***naup**.

\***naut** *n.* cattle. A. *dp nautum* 59/21. 91/24. *ap naut* 92/1. B. *dp nautum* 91/23. *ap naut* 98/2.

\***nautabo** *n.* cattle. S. *acc. nautabo* 95/17.

\***naup** *f.* need. B. *ds naud* <100/7>.

\***naupsyn** *f.* necessity, emergency. A. *np naupsinar* 63/13. B. *np naud synar* 63 note 135.

\***naupugr** *adj.* forced, unwilling. B. *nsm naudug'r* 97/25. 100/7.

-**napr** suffix indicating a verbal noun. See **kurtilbonapr**, **\*matnapr**, **\*piaufnapr**.

\***nefi** *m.* fist. A. *ds nefa* <64/24>. 65/15. 65/17. 66/13. 74/2. B. *ds neffua* 64 note 171.

**nemna** *v.* nominate. A. *i (til) nemna* 62/3. *subj. 3s nemni* 89/21. B. *3p (til) nempna* 97/16.

**nequar** *indefinite pron.* some, any; something. A. *nsm* 61/22. 10 further instances. *nsm nequat* 87/1. 89/23. *dsm nequarum* 83/15. *dsn nequaru* 72/4. *asm nequan* 79/17. 88/20. *asf nequara* 62/17. *asn nequat* 83/15. 87/9. **nequar** <64/8>. *npf nequarar* 94/25. **nekkrrar** 76/12. *apm nequara* 77/15. S. *asn nequar* 96/2. B. *nsm naqwar* 64/15. 100/25. *asn naqwat* 64 note 155. *apm naqwara* 100/20.

\***ner**<sup>1</sup> *adj.* close, near(by), nearly related. *comp. nerari* closer, nearer, more nearly related. A. *nsm* 83/4. *npm nerari* 86/7.

*superl. nestr* closest, nearest. A. *nsm* 67/12. 4 further instances. **nesti** 86/3. *nsm nest* 60/8. 4 further instances. **nesta** 76/24. 77/10. *npm nestu* 67/4. *gpm nestu* 82/8. *dpm nestu* (B. **nesta**) 81/19. B. *nsm nest* 82 note 493.

**ner**<sup>2</sup> *prp. with dat.* near to. A. 71/12.

**ner**<sup>3</sup> *adv.* nearby, close. A. 71/13. 71/19. 85/2. 89/15. **ner(kumnastr)** 69/12.

*comp. nerar* nearer. A. (manni)**nerar** 70/18. B. (man)**nerar** 70 note 297. **nerar** 83 note 515.

*superl. nest* nearest. A. 64/10. 73/21. 83/4.

**ner**<sup>4</sup> *interrogative* when. A. 81/1. 85/9.

\***nerkumin** *adj. (with dat.)* closely related. *superl. nerkumnastr* next of kin. A. *nsm* 69/12.

**nest** see **ner**<sup>1,3</sup>.

**nesta, nesti, nestr, nestu** see **\*ner**<sup>1</sup>.

\***nestli** *m.* eye, staple, clasp. A. *acc. nestla* 80/24.

\***netr** *f. pl.* nights. See **\*siaunetr**.

**neygat** see **\*noyþga**.

\***niauri** *m.* kidney. See **vigniauri**.

**niauta** *v. with gen.* enjoy. **at niauta** *with gen.* get the benefit of. A. *i* 73/5. (at) **niauta** 73/2. *3s niautr* (at) 80/6.

**niu** *num.* nine. **A.** *nf* 94/19. *dm* 61/23. *af* 70/5.

**\*nīpan** *n.* waning (of the moon); underside. **B.** *as* **nīdan** 99/15. Cf. **\*ny**.

**nīpi** *m.* male kinsman (either close or distant). **A.** *ns* 86/14. *np* **nīpiar** 64/16. 67/4.

76/13. 86/6. *gp* **nīpia(vitni)** 83/2. 83/4. *dp* **nīpium** 77/11. 77/17. 77/18. 77/22. *ap* **nīpia** 64/14. 68/18. **B.** *ns* **nīdi** 69/1. See Commentary to 85/22-24.

**\*nīpiavitni** *n.* proof, evidence given by a (distant) relative. **A.** *as* **nīpiavitni** 83/2. 83/4. Cf. **\*vitni**<sup>2</sup>.

**nīpr**<sup>1</sup> *adv.* down. **A.** 64/8. 71/15. 80/25. 93/18. **B.** **nīd'r** 100/23.

**\*nīpr**<sup>2</sup> *adj.* low. *comp.* **\*nīpri** under, lower. **A.** *apm* **nīpru** 73/22. **B.** *apm* **nīdri** 98/19.

**\*nīpra** *v.* degrade. **B.** *subj.* *3s* **nīdri** 97/4.

**\*noyta** *v.* consume, enjoy, use. **A.** *3p* **noyta** 86/6. *subj.* *3p* **noytin** 75/16.

**\*noyba** *v.* force, compel; *pass.* **noybas** be forced by need. **A.** *ip* **noybas** 75/15. 75/18. *ptc.* *nsf* **noyd** 80/2. **B.** *i* **noyda** 97/25. *ptc.* *nsm* **noyd'r** 97/26.

**\*noyþga** *v.* force, compel. **A.** *ptc.* *asn* **noyþgat** <70/10>. **B.** *ptc* *asn* **noygat** <70 note 290>.

**nu** *adv.* now. **A.** 60/8. 11 further instances.

*superl.* **nylast** most recently. **S.** **nylast** 95/3.

**nussi** *adv.* just now, recently. **A.** 78/13.

**\*ny** *n.* waxing moon, new moon. **B.** *as* **ny** 99/15. Cf. **\*nīpan**.

**\*nykkia** *v.* jerk, shake. **A.** *2s* **nykkir** 64/23. 73/25. Cf. **\*rykka**.

**\*nykkir** *m.* jerking, shaking. **A.** *as* **nyk** 75/9.

**nylast** see **nu**.

**\*nyr** *adj.* new. **A.** *nsf* **nya** 61/24. *gsf* **nyu** 62/1. *asf* **nya** 61/25. *asn* **nyt** 82/3. **ny** 67/13.

**S.** *asn* **nyt** 95/23. **B.** *apn* **ny** 95 note 745.

**nytia** *v.* use. **A.** *i* 92/1. *subj.* *3s* **nyti** 92/1.

**\*nytr** *adj.* useful. **A.** *asf* (o) **nyta** 73/10.

**o-** negation see **biauþa**, **biera**, **brenna**, **byta**, **frels**, **\*fresta**, **\*fyþa**<sup>1</sup>, **gielda**, **gipta**, **gutniskr**, **\*hailigr**, **\*klippa**, **kuma**, **laglika**, **lerþr**, **merkia**, **\*nytr**, **sakr**, **\*skemma**, **skipta**, **\*skir**, **\*skyldr**, **\*vigia**, **vita**<sup>2</sup> and other words listed below.

**obrend** see **brenna**.

**oburit** see **biera**.

**obupin** see **biauþa**.

**ofydum** see **\*fyþa**<sup>1</sup>.



**oformagi** *m. minor.* *ns* 69/9. 86/16. 86/19. *ds* **oformaga** 93/7. *as* **oformaga** 69/2. 75/20. *np* **oformagar** 75/14. 94/15. **B.** *as* **oformaga** 69/1. See Commentary to 69/1.

**ofrels** *f. adj.* unfree, slave (woman). See **frels** and Commentary to 80/8-11.

**ogert** see **gierpa**.

**\*ogoymsla** *f.* carelessness. **B.** *ds* **\*ogoymslu** <98/4>.

**oguldni, o guldinne** see **gielda**.

**\*ohailigr** *adj.* working (as in ‘working day’); unprotected. See **\*hailigr**.

**\*ohaipverþr** *adj.* indecent; dishonourable. **A.** *nsm* (*weak form*) **ohaipverþi** 81/9.

**ohelgan** see **\*hailigr**.

**ok** *conj. adv.* and, also, as well (as); but (used in pairs or lists as an alternative to **epa**).

**A.** 59/20. [88/8]. 490 further instances. **S.** 95/7. 21 further instances. **B. oc** 58/7. 59/41. 62/19. 74/19. 77/2. 85/2. 87/6. 91/7. 91/23. 95/21. 97/3. 63 further instances. 60 note 72. 74 note 373. 76 note 417. 95 note 743. **och** 62 note 106. 67 note 242. **Bx. oc** 76/14. Cf. **en**<sup>2</sup>.

**okliptr** see **\*klippa**.

**okumit** see **kuma**.

**ol** *n.* ale, specifically that offered at weddings, etc. **A.** *ns* 81/20. *gs* (**vaizlur**) **ols** 81/22.

**B. ns** **øol** 81 note 479. Cf. **\*mungat**.

**olaglika** see **laglika**.

**oloyfi(n)s** *adv. prp. with gen. or dat.* without permission (of) **A.** 84/23. 89/2. 93/23. **S.** 95/9. **B.** 58/46. 84/22. 84 note 542.

**omerkt** see **merkia**.

**onyta** see **\*nytr**.

**\*op** *n.* shout. **A.** *ds* **opi** 80/3. *as* **op** 80/4. 80/5. 89/15. **A.** *ds* **ropi** 80 note 454. See Commentary to 80/2-3.

**oquepinsorþ** *n.* word of abuse, slander. See **\*orþ**.

**oquepinsvitr** *f.* dumb animal. **A.** *ns* 70/23. 70/25. 71/1. *dp* **oquepinsvitum** 70/21.

**or** see **var**.

**orapamapr** *m.* unreasonable, irresponsible, thoughtless or rash person. **A.** *ns* 87/10. 87/12.

**oraplika** *adv.* thoughtlessly, ill-advisedly. **A.** <82/8>. 87/14. **B.** **oradlika** 82 note 490.

**\*orista** *f.* hostility, dispute. **B.** *ds* **oristu** 97/24.

**\*orka** *v.* have the energy to, be able to. **A.** *3s* **orkar** 68/4. 69/6. *3p* **orka** 68/19. 69/10.

**B. 3s orkar** 101/6. Cf. **\*bella**.

**ort**<sup>1</sup> see **yrkia**.

**\*ort**<sup>2</sup> *f.* work. **A. ds ort** 82/25.

**ortarvitni** *n.* evidence of completed work. **A. ns** 82/24. **as ortarvitni** 82/23. 83/2. 83/3. Cf. **\*vitni**<sup>2</sup>.

**\*ortasoypr** *m.* beast of burden, working beast, draught animal. See **soypr**.

**\*orþ** *n.* word, statement. **A. as orþ** 78/21. *np* (**oqueþins**)**orþ** 90/16. *dp* (**oqueþins**)**orþum** 59/14. 90/15. 90/18. *ap* **orþ** 61/1. 90/19. 90/21. (**oqueþins**)**orþ** 90/23. **B. ap ord** 100/26. (**oqueþins**) **ord** 59 note 30. 90 note 638. Cf. **vitorþ**.

**orþu** see **varþa**.

**os** see **vir**.

**osinum** *adv.* unfortunately, in the heat of the moment. **A. 90/20**. Cf. **\*sin**<sup>1</sup>.

**oskellika** *adv.* unlawfully. **A. 83/13**.

**oskemdr** see **\*skemma**.

**oskipt, oskiptri, oskiptu, oskiptum** see **skipta**.

**\*oskiel** *n. pl.* injustice, excess. **A. acc. oskiel** 89/21.

**oskirt** see **\*skir**.

**\*osoyþan** *n.* badly-behaved or unruly animal. **A. as osoyþan** 84/13.

**\*osoyþr** *m.* badly-behaved animal. **A. dp osoyþum** <58/20>. 70/14. **B. ns osoyder** 98/3. Cf. **soyþr**.

**ovitr** see **vita**<sup>2</sup>.

**\*oykr** *m.* pair, yoke (of draught animals). **A. ds oyk** 63/11. **as oyk** 85/2. 92/15. **B. as oykin** 92 note 676.

**oyra** *n.* ear. **A. ns** 73/18. 73/19. **ds oyra** 73/17. **as oyra** 72/8. **B. ns** 98/17.

**\*oyrir** *m. öre*; unit of weight or value in coin or other currency equal to 1/8 mark or three *örtugar*; 36 pennies in coin in Gotland, although 24 in Svealand and 48 in Götaland. **oyrar** *pl.* liquid assets. **A. ds oyri** 74/14. **as oyri** 81/6. *np* **oyrar** 63/25. 65/18. *gp* **oyra** 63/12. 64/2. 90/11. *dp* **oyrum** 63/20. 13 further instances. *ap* **oyra** 61/6. 22 further instances. **S. ap oyra** 95/9. **B. ns** <99/24>. **ds oyri** 99/23. **as oyri** 99/23. 99/26. *dp* **oyrom** 98/7. *ap* **oyra** 99/23. 5 further instances. 95 note 730. Cf. **\*ertaug, mark, \*penningr**<sup>1</sup>. See Commentary to 61/6, 93/12-13, 101/8.

**pell** *n.* canopy, which was used at weddings. **S. ns** 95/22.

**\*penningar** *m. pl.* (in) coin (referring to units of currency, as opposed to weight). **A.**

*gen. penninga* 61/6. 26 further instances. *S. gen. penninga* 95/7. 95/8. *B. gen. penninga* 78/10. 6 further instances. *Bx. gen. penninga (pen.)* 74 note 370. Cf. *\*ertaug, mark, \*oyrir*. See Commentary to 60/12.

*\*penningr*<sup>1</sup> *m.* penny; unit of weight or value in coin or other currency equal to 1/12 *örtug*, in Gotland although 1/8 in Svealand and 1/16 in Götaland. *A. ap penninga* 91/22. 92/10. 94/3. 94/3. Cf. *\*ertaug, mark, \*oyrir*. See Commentary to 91/21-22.

*\*penningr*<sup>2</sup> *m.* (payment in) currency (as opposed to other property). *A. as penning* 76/12. 92/19. *dp penningum* 85/18. *ap penninga* 85/17. (*varp*)*penninga* 93/16. Cf. *\*fe*. See Commentary to 76/12.

*\*pilagrimbr m.* pilgrim. *A. gs pilgrims* 67/16.

*prestbarn n.* child of a priest. *A. np prestbarn* 63/2. *B. dp prestbarnom* 58/7 63 note 124.

*prestgarpr m.* rectory land, glebe. *A. ds prestgarpi* 65/10. 67/6. *B. ds præstegardi* 65 note 180. *præsta gardi* 67 note 229. See *\*garpr*<sup>2</sup>.

*prestkuna f.* wife of a priest. *A. ns* 63/2. *dp prestkunum* 63/1.

*prestr m.* priest. *A. ns* 61/10. 14 further instances. *gs prest* 62/6. *ds presti* 62/10. *as prest* 61/20. *dp prestum* 58/7. 63/1. *B. ns præst'r* 97/10. *pst'r* 97/26. *prest'r* 62 note 100.

*\*prestsun m.* son of a priest. *B. ns \*prestson* <97/5>.

*proastr m.* rural dean. *A. ns* 65/8. *ds proasti* <60/19>. 94/18. 94/20. *B. ds proasti* 60 note 63. See Commentary to 60/19.

*\*pund n.* lispound (unit of weight, usually about 7-8 kg). *A. gs punz* 63/11. *ds pundi* 63/24. Cf. Commentary to 63/11.

*quam* see *kuma*.

*quer adj.* remaining. (*B. quar*, etc.). *A. nsm* 64/14. *nsf quer* 67/21. *nsn quert* 76/5. 77/11. *asm querran* <89/6>. *asf querra* 62/9. *asn quert* 62/11. *B. nsn qwart* 67 note 242. *asm qwarran* 89 note 617. *asn quart* 87/24.

*\*queþa v.* say. *A. 3s queþr* <78/19>. 79/5. Cf. *oqueþins-* (*orþ*, *vitr*).

*\*qui f.* road between two fences. *A. ap quiar* 82/16.

*\*quikr adj.* alive. *A. nsn quikt* 69/11. 71/6. 71/11.

*quindi n.* female gender. *A. ns* 76/7. 5 further instances. *B. ds quindi* 97/3. *np quindi* 76 note 398.

**quindismaþr** *m.* woman. **A. ns quindismaþr** 69/3. 75/20. *np quindismenn* 76/7.

**quinna** see **kuna**.

**\*quisl** *f.* branch of a family; generation. **A. gs quislar(menn)** 85/23. 86/7. *as quisl* 76/2. See Commentary to 85/22-24.

**quislarmenn** *m. pl.* kinsmen from a(nother) branch of the family. See also **maþr**.

**\*quistr** *m.* branch, bough. **A. ap quisti** 82/24.

**\*quiþr** *m.* womb. **A. ds quiþi** 69/11. 71/6.

**raiþ** *f.* ride. **A. ns** 81/14.

**raiþa** *v.* carry (a burden) on horseback. **A. 3s raiþir** (**B. reyd'r**) <63/22>. Cf. **fram raiþa**.

**raiþi**<sup>1</sup> *n.* (driving) equipment. **A. ns** 85/1.

**\*raiþi**<sup>2</sup> *f.* anger, angry mood. **A. ds raiþi** 64/24.

**raiþkleþi** *n.* saddle-cover, saddle-cloth. See **kleþi**.

**raiþvengi** *n.* saddle cushion. See **vengi**.

**\*ran** *n.* force; forced sexual intercourse. **A. ds rani** 79/19. Cf. **\*vald**.

**\*rang** *f.* frame, rib. **A. np rangr** 89/9. *ap rangr* 89/13.

**\*ranzsak** *n.* house search; investigation. **A. ds ranzaki** 59/12. *as ranzsak* 83/15. **B. as ransaka** 83 note 523.

**ranzsaka** *v.* investigate; conduct house search. **A. i** 89/22. *subj. 3s ranz(s)aki* 85/22. 89/19. **B. i ransaka** 100/8. 100/10.

**\*ranzsakan** *f.* house investigation. **A. ds ranzsakan** 89/18. *as ranzsakan* <89/20>. 89/22. **B. ds ransakan** 59 note 28. *as ransakan* 89 note 621. 89 note 624.

**rauferi** *m.* (highway) robber, robber who uses violence. **A. ns** 90/16.

**\*raukr** *m.* stook. **A. ds rauki** 61/13.

**raþ** *n.* advice; authority; **ir raþ** it is advisable. **A. nom.** 65/3. *dat. raþi* 67/2. *acc. raþ* 79/17. 79/19. 82/6. **B. acc. rad** 87/6. Cf. **orapamaþr**.

**\*raþa** *v.* carry authority, decide; *with dat.* rule; *with acc.* interpret. **A. i (firi)raþa** 90/5. *subj. 3s raþi* 79/16. <87/8>. *subj. 3p raþin* 68/8. 4 further instances. *ptc. nsm rapandi* 70/9. **B. i (fyrr)rada** 90 note 630. *subj. 3s radi* 87 note 583. *subj. 3p radin* 97/12. 97/21.

**\*raplika** *adv.* advisedly. See **oraplika**.

**raþmaþr** *m.* (local) magistrate, judge at the **hunderis þing**. See **\*hunderi**, **maþr**, **þing** and Commentary to 71/24.

**\*rek** *n.* wreck. See **hafrek**.

**reka** *v.* drive, force, direct; fasten, secure. *A. i* 89/10. *subj. 3p rekin* 85/16. *B. ptc nsn (lag)rekit* <100/19>. 100/21.

**rekendr** *f. pl.* chain. *A. nom.* 89/12.

**\*rekkia** *v.* reach, achieve. *A. subj. 3s \*rekki* <89/13>.

**\*rekning** *f.* calculation, drawing up of accounts; account, bill. *A. ds rekning* 87/7. 87/9.

**retr**<sup>1</sup> *m.* right(s); provision, statute, law. *A. ns* 94/17. *ds ret* 59/13. 90/9. *as ret* 78/7. 78/12. 90/10. *S. ds ret* [59/43] 95/16. *as ret* 95/17. *B. ns reth'r* 97/5. *ds ret* 58/38. 82/1. **rethi** 58 note 2. 59 note 29. 90 note 633. **riethi** 64 note 154.

**\*retr**<sup>2</sup> *adj.* proper, true, lawful, legal. *A. dsf retri* 60/5. *npsn ret* 95/1. *B. nsn ret* 97/11. *dsf rette* 60 note 46.

**retta** *v.* judge. *A. i* 87/20. Cf. **utretta**.

**\*ri** *f.* stake, post, beam. *A. as ri* 72/15.

**rif** *n.* rib; frame. *A. as rif* 73/7. 89/10. *gp rifa* 73/7. *B. ns riff* 98/12.

**\*rifa** *v.* tear., pull down. *A. 2s rifr* 85/3. 85/3. 85/4. 85/4. *S. 3s rifr* 95/8. 95/9.

**\*rimnin** *adj. (ptc.)* cracked. *A. nsf rimnin* 72/12.

**\*rinda** *v.* push. *A. 2s rindr* 64/24.

**\*rindr** *m.* pushing. *A. as rind* 75/9.

**riþa** *v.* ride. *A. i* 63/9. *2s riþr* 89/2. *3s riþr* 63/22. *subj. 3s riþi* 67/6. 89/17. 92/2. *ptc. asm ripandi* 75/2. *B. 2s rid'r* 59 note 26. 89 note 611.

**\*rofnakr**, **\*rofu akr** *m.* turnip field. See **akr**.

**royna** *v.* test. *A. i* 89/25. *imp. 2s royn* 88/15. 88/17. 88/20. *B. imp. 2s royn* 99/8.

**\*royta** *f.* rot. See **\*beþroyta**.

**\*rugr** see **\*rygr**.

**\*rum** *n.* room, place, space. *A. as rum* 92/12. *S. ds (kirckiu)rumi* 95/13.

**\*runfemni** *f.* ability to run. *A. ds \*runfemni* [72/20]. *B. ds runfempni* 72/20. See **\*gangfemni**.

**\*rus** *n.* horse, *Gotlandsruss*. *A. as rus* 63/23. 85/2. *dp russum* 59/21. 91/24. *ap rus* 92/1. *S. ap rus* 95/17. *B. dp russum* 91/23. *ap rus* 98/2. See Commentary to 98/2.

**\*rygr** *m.* rye. *A. gs rygar* 76/18. *as rug* 94/4. *B. gs rugar* 76 note 409. *as rygh* 94 note 702.

**\*rykka** *v.* jerk, shake. *B. 2s rycker* 64 note 170. See **\*nykkia**.

**\*rykta** *v.* take care of, pursue (a goal), prosecute (a case). *A. 3s ryktar* 92/17. *3p*

**rykta** 79/19. 79/21.

\***ryma** *v.* make space for, accommodate. *A. subj. 3p rymin* 92/11.

\***ryma upp** *v.* get rid of, pull down. *A. subj. 3s rymi (upp)* 93/19.

\***rypta** *v.* tear up, break, invalidate (an agreement). *A. 3p rypta* 85/19.

\***rystr** *m.* shaking. *A. as ryst* 75/9.

\***rypia** *v.* claim. See **lagrypia**.

**sa** *v.* sow, seed (a field). *A. i* 92/8. 92/9. 92/11.

\***saga** *f.* tale, account, admission. *B. as sagu* 100/5.

**sagu** see \***sia**.

**sak** *f.* case, aim; crime; fine; obligation, claim for (wergild) compensation. *A. ns* 64/11. 6 further instances. *gs sakar* 67/18. *ds sak* 65/4. 70/22. *as sak* 60/15. 5 further instances. *np sakir* 65/12. *dp sakum* 58/17. 71/15. 69/5. *ap sakir* 68/18. **sakar** 63/4. 67/22. 87/25. *B. ns* <98/4>. *as sak* 66 note 219. *dp sakom* 97/6. 5 further instances. *ap sak'r* 97/8. **sakir** 58 note 7. (**sak'r** and **sakir**) 68 note 259. **sakar** 97/6 97/9. 97/15.

\***saklaus** *adj.* without penalty. *A. asf saklausa* 60/25.

**saklaust** *adv.* unpunished. *A.* 85/1.

**sakr** *adj.* guilty, criminal, subject to punishment, liable to (a fine). *A. nsm* 62/18. 14 further instances. (**o**)**sakr** 68/9. *asm sakan* 63/22. 68/14. *npm sakir* 65/10. 87/22. (**o**)**sakir** 68/22. *B. nsm (o)sak'r* 97/13. 97/22.

**sali** *m.* vendor. *A. ns* 88/22. *B. ns* 99/15. *as sala* 99/17.

**saman** *adv.* together. *A.* 61/17. 5 further instances.

\***sami** *adj.* and *pron.* same, the same. \***slikr sami** the same. *A. dsm sama* 71/24. 74/22. 77/5. 88/2. *dsf samu* 69/13. 74/21. 85/24. *dsn sama* 67/22. 5 further instances. *asm sama* 76/4. 76/23. 78/12. *asn sama* 86/18. *gp sama* 72/2. *dp samu* 73/10. 5 further instances. **sama** (and occasionally in *B.*) 72/6. *S. dp sama* 95/11. *B. dsm sama* 101/1. *dsf samu* 67/18. *dsn sama* 101/1. *asm sama* 80 note 457. See also **samulund**.

\***samsystir** *f.* full-sister. *A. ap samsysrir* 76/21.

**samulund** *adv.* likewise, in the same way. *A.* 76/1. *S.* 95/10.

**sandr** *adj.* true, real, proven (guilty). *A. nsm* 62/16. <85/9>. 4 further instances. *nsf san* 60/12. 60/19. 60/20. *asn sant* 87/17. *B. nsm sand'r* 85 note 549. *nsf sannu* 60 note 64. 60 note 65.

**sank** see **\*sinqua**.

**\*sanna** *v.* certify, prove the truthfulness of a statement. **A.** *ptc. asn sannat* <90/24>.

**B.** *ptc. apn sannad* 90 note 650.

**sar** *n.* wound. **A.** *ns* 74/17. *ds sari* 74/20. *as sar* 74/17. *gp sara* 72/6. 73/10. 73/16.

**sara** (**bytr**) 72/11. **sara(far)** <75/10>. *dp sarum* 58/22. 71/20. 71/23. *acc. (s or p)*

**sar** 66/14. 5 further instances. **B.** *ds sari* 58/25. 74/19. *acc. sar* 98/7. *gp sara* 58 note 12. 71 note 320. 75 note 379.

**\*sarafar** *n.* wounding. **A.** *acc. sarafar* <75/10>. **B.** *dp sara farom* 58 note 12. 71 note 320. *acc. sara far* 75 note 379.

**\*sarga** *v.* wound. **A.** *2s sargar* 64/22. 65/14. 66/2. *3s sargar* 72/3. *ptc. nsm sargaþr* 72/6.

**satin** see **sitia**.

**\*sat(t)r** *adj.* reconciled, agreed. **A.** *npm satir* 61/11.

**\*sauþr** *m.* well, spring. **A.** *ds sauþi* 58/47. 85/10. 85/11. *as sauþ* <85/12>. **B.** *as saud* 85 note 553.

**\*sapul** *m.* saddle. **A.** *as sapul* 92/3.

**segia** *v.* say; state, explain; **atr segia** postpone, excuse, cancel; **segia firir** relate (to).

**A.** *i* 88/8. 88/10. **segia (firir)** 61/13. **(til) segia** 84/2. 84/14. 86/4. *3s segr* 73/10. 83/13. <89/25>. **(til) segr** 84/10. *subj. 3s segi* 80/6. 88/8. 88/10. **segi (til)** 85/16. 94/4. *3p segia* 60/1. 65/3. *subj. 3p segin (til)* 92/9. *ptc. nsn sekt (or sett)* 78/13. **(til)segt** 84/12. **B.** *3s seg'r* 100/7. 78 note 440. 79 note 447. 89 note 627. **seg** 85 note 554. *pret. 3p sagdu* 61 note 73. *ptc. indecl. segiandis* 97/23. *ptc. nsm segd'r* 78 note 437. *nsn seght* 85 note 559; cf. **setia**.

**sei, sein** see **vara**.

**\*sekia sik** *v.* incur, bring upon oneself a punishment of (**at**). **A.** *3s sekr* 61/19.

**selia** *v.* hand over, part with; sell. **A.** *i* 63/19. 7 further instances. *3s sel(l)* 77/16. 86/5. 86/7. *3p selia* 86/11. *subj. 3p selin* 85/25. 86/9. **B.** *pret. 3s seldi* 99/9. 99/14. *sup. selt* 99/19.

**\*semia sik** *v. refl.* agree, set up an agreed statute. **A.** *ptc. nsn semp(t) sik* 82/6. <93/12>. 4 further instances. **S.** *ptc. nsn semp sik* <95/17>. **B.** *ptc. nsn sem(p)t (sik)* 82 note 487. 94 note 723. 95 note 740. **semt (sick)** 93 note 689. 94 note 711. **semp(t) (sick)** 93 note 690.

**sen**<sup>1</sup> *conj.* after that, then. **A.** 61/7. 10 further instances. **seen** 63/10. Cf. **sipan**.

**sen**<sup>2</sup> see **senn**.

**senda** v. send. **A.** *i* 78/16. *subj.* 3s **sendi** 81/15.

**seng** *f.* bed. **A.** *ns* 79/2. *ds* **seng** 74/21. *as* **seng** 60/9. 4 further instances.

**sengaklepi** *n. pl.* bedclothes. See **klepi**.

\***senn** *poss. pron. refl.* (his, her, its, their) own. **A.** *gsm* **senz** 62/6. **sins** 68/1. 91/19.

93/23. *gsf* **sennir** 67/17. *dsm* **sinum** 64/15. 8 further instances. *dsf* **senni** 62/18. 9 further instances. **sinni** 67/11. 84/7. 92/21. 93/23. *dsn* **sinu** 63/4. 9 further instances. *asm* **senn** 61/23. 9 further instances. **sen** 61/13. 61/23. 62/12. 84/11. **sinn** <76/13>. 89/21. **sin** 61/13. *asf* **sina** 60/9. 11 further instances. *asn* **sett** (**B.** sometimes **sith** or **secht**) 60/13. 8 further instances. **sitt** 76/21. 91/19. *gp* **senna** 75/23. *dp* **sinum** 77/2. 4 further instances. *apm* **sina** 89/20. *apf* **sinar** 60/16. 67/15. 76/21. *apn* **sin** 83/22. 84/7. 89/25. 90/19. **S.** *dsm* **sinum** 95/13. *dsn* **sinu** 95/13. **B.** *gsf* **sinnar** 67 note 240. *dsm* **sinom** 87/5. 62 note 120. 95 note 735. *asm* **sen** 97/16. 97/18. 100/23. **sin** 99/26. 100/8. 100/9. *asf* **sina** 97/4. *asn* **sett** 100/16. **set** 99/25. **siit** 97/23.

\***seri** *n.* penetrating wound. See **hulseri**.

\***serkr** *m.* (short-sleeved) shift. **A.** *as* **serk** 74/16.

\***seti** *n.* chair, stool. **A.** *as* **seti** 71/15.

**setia** v. establish, raise, set (out), lay down; **fram setia** submit; **sol setr** the sun sets.

**A.** *i* 78/16. 86/3. (**a**) **setia** 74/7. 74/8. 3s **setr** 64/20. 84/6. 87/24. 93/18. *subj.* 3s **seti** 86/4. *ptc nsn* **sett** <85/24>; cf. **segia**. See **fram setia**.

\***set(t)ir** *m.* redeemer, mediator. **A.** *ns* **setir** <84/9>. **B.** *ns* **set'r** 84 note 533.

\***sep** *f.* seed, sowing, arable land. **A.** *as* **sep** 94/2. *ap* **sepir** 66/6. <92/14>. **B.** *gs* **seda** 62 note 105. *as* **sed** 92 note 674.

\***sepalaus** *adj.* non-sower, i.e. someone not owning arable fields. **A.** *nsn* **sepalaust** 92/15. 94/2. *dsn* **sepalaus** 59/33. **B.** *dsn* **sepalaus** 94/1. See **laus**.

**sia** v. see; **asia** witness, study, investigate. **A.** *i* 72/9. 5 further instances. (**a**)**sia** 63/14.

3sp **sis** 72/12. *pret. subj.* 3s (**a**) **sagi** 80/5. *pret.* 3p (**a**) **sagu** 80/22. **B.** *i* (**a**)**sia** 97/25.

**sia at (sakum)** v. appear as the plaintiff (in a murder case). **B.** *i* (**at**) **sia** 97/19. 97/26.

**sia viþr (sakum)** v. appear as the defendant (in a murder case); negotiate compensation. **A.** *i* (**viþr**) **sia** 68/18. *subj.* 3s **sii (viþr)** 67/11. **B.** *i* (**wid'r**) **sia** 97/10. 97/27. 3s **siir (wid'r)** 97/6. *subj.* 3s **sie (wid'r)** 97/17.

\***sial** *f.* soul. **A.** *gs* **sialar** 60/6. **B.** *gs* **siell** 60 note 50.

\***siar** *m.* lake. **A.** *ds* **sia** 89/13.

**siau** *num.* seven. **A.** *nf* 64/21. *gf* 88/11. 88/11.



**\*siauandi** *num.* seventh. **B.** *dsm* **siauanda** 99/8.

**\*siaunetr** (or **siau netr**) *f. pl.* a week. **A.** *gp* **siau nata** 88/11. 88/11. *dp* **siaunatum** 84/3. Cf. Commentary to 84/3.

**sielfr** *pron.* self; **sielfs** *sins* one's own. **A.** *nsm* <62/2>. 63/23. 21 further instances. *nsf* **sielf** 71/10. 71/13. 71/19. 81/1. *gsm* **sielfs** 68/1. 91/19. *dsm* **sielfum** 91/17. *asn* **sielft** 94/4. **B.** *nsm* **sielffuer** 99/26. **sielffuir** 100/8. **sielffir** 67/18. **sielff'r** 99/24. 100/9. **sieluir** 97/6. **sieluer** 62 note 97. *nsn* **sielfft** 98/2. *dsm* **sielffum** 100/12.

**sielfsvald** *n.* freedom, right, entitlement. See **\*vald**.

**siettungr** *m.* sixth. **A.** *ns* 87/25. *ds* **siettungi** 71/24. 74/22. **B.** *ds* **settungi** 101/1. See Commentary to 87/25, 91/2, 91/6.

**siex** *num.* six. **A.** *nm* 63/25. *nf* 65/14. *gm* 62/21. 9 further instances. *gf* 88/1. *gn* 71/10. *dm* 60/16. 4 further instances. *df* 68/14. 4 further instances. *am* 61/6. 6 further instances. *af* 66/15. 79/11.

**siextan** *num.* sixteen. **A.** *gn* 77/6.

**\*sigr** *m.* victory. **A.** *as* **sigr** 60/4.

**sik** see **\*sina**<sup>2</sup>.

**\*sikil**<sup>1</sup> *m.* mucus. **A.** *ds* **sikli** 73/1.

**\*sikil**<sup>2</sup> *m.* sickle. **A.** *ds* **sikli** 72/19.

**\*silfr** *n.* silver. **A.** *gs* **silfs** 68/14. <70/5>. [72/20]. [72/21]. 42 further instances. **S.** *gs* **silfs** 95/4. 95/5. **B.** *gs* **silffs** 72/21. *s.* 72/20. 98/17. 4 further instances. 73 note 355. **Bx.** *gs* **silffs** 98/18. **syloffs** 98/14. 98/25. 70 note 287.

**\*silfrband** *n.* band of silver thread. **S.** *np* **silfrband** 95/25.

**silkisband** *n.* satin ribbons. **S.** *np* **silkisband** 95/19.

**\*sin**<sup>1</sup> *f.* case, situation. See **\*naupsyn**, **osinum**, **\*syn**<sup>3</sup>.

**sin**<sup>2</sup>, **sina**<sup>1</sup> see **\*senn**.

**\*sina**<sup>2</sup> *pers. pron. refl. gen.* himself, herself, itself, themselves; on (his, her, its, their) own (account). **A.** *gen.* **sina** 75/20. 77/25. 84/24. *dat* **sir** 60/9. 10 further instances. **siir** 61/22. 63/16. 70/13. *acc.* **sik** 61/19. (as the object of **gyt**) 77/20. <93/12>. 20 further instances. **S.** *acc.* **sik** <95/17>. **B.** *dat.* **sir** 100/13. **siir** 100/16. *acc.* **sik** 95 note 740. **sick** 93 note 690.

**\*singua** *v.* sing. **A.** *3sp* **sings** 81/15. *subj.* *3sp* **singis** 81/14. *ptc.* *nsf* **sungin** 63/10.

**\*sinn**<sup>1</sup> *n.* time. **A.** *ds* **sinni** 68/6. 68/6.

**sinn**<sup>2</sup>, **sinnar**, **sinni** see **\*senn**.

**\*sinqua** *v.* sink, drown. **B.** *3s* **sink'r** 100/23.

**sinu(m)** see **\*senn**.

**sir** see **\*sina**<sup>2</sup>.

**sitia** *v.* sit; remain, stay; **sitia varþ** keep watch. **A.** *i* 73/21. 93/15. *3s* **sitr** <62/12>. 63/23. <77/1>. 86/14. 86/15. *3p* **sitia** 75/23. *ptc. nsm* **sitiandi** 73/6. **B.** *3s* **sit'r** 58/49. **siter** 86/13. **sithr** 77 note 419.

**sipan**<sup>1</sup> *adv.* then, afterwards, later, subsequently; after, further. **A.** 60/20. 21 further instances. **B.** **sidan** [61/25]. 67/14. 69/16. 78/16. 97/3. 7 further instances. 62 note 96. **sidhan** 61 note 80. See also **e sipan**.

**sipan**<sup>2</sup> *conj.* since, after, when. **A.** 67/6. 5 further instances. **B.** **sid(h)an** 99/13. Cf. **sen**.

**sipan en** *conj.* after, since. **A.** 61/25. 90/12.

**sipar** *adj.* later. **A.** 61/21. 62/1. 64/11.

**sipla** *adv.* late. **A.** 61/11.

**\*siþr** *m.* custom. **A.** *ds* **siþi** 62/18.

**skafli** *n.* tree-fruit. **A.** *ns* 94/13. *ds* **skafli** 59/36. 94/12.

**\*skaina** *v.* tear apart. **A.** *2s* **skainir** 74/14. *ptc. nsn* **skaint** 74/17. **B.** *2s* **scheinir** 58/24. 74/13.

**skal**<sup>1</sup> *f.* bowl; skull; *pl.* scales, balance. **A.** *ns* (**hiern**)**skal** 72/11. 72/12. *ds* **skal** 72/14. *dp* **skalum** 75/17. **S.** *ns* 95/14.

**skal**<sup>2</sup> see **\*skulu**.

**\*skam** *f.* shame, violation; infamy. **A.** *ds* **skam** 58/34. *as* **skam** 80/3. 80/14. **B.** *as* **scham** 97/25.

**\*skap** *n. pl.* genitals. **A.** *dat.* **skapum** 73/3.

**\*skapr** see **\*skepr**.

**\*skapt** *n.* stick; penis. **A.** *ds* **skapti** 73/5.

**skarlap** *n.* fine woollen cloth; (*pl*) hangings of fine woollen cloth. **A.** *nom.* **skarlap** 82/2. *ds* **skarlap** 58/39. **S.** *acc.* **skarlap** 95/22. *np* **skarlap** 95/23. See Commentary to 82/2.

**\*skaut** *n.* lap. **A.** *ds* **skauti** 75/23.

**skapi** *m.* injury. **A.** *ns* 93/2. 93/3. 93/6. *ds* **skapa** 70/9. 85/6. 93/3. *as* **skapa** 70/21. 4 further instances. **B.** *ds* **schada** 98/3. *as* **schada** 98/6.

**\*ske** *v.* happen. **B.** *3s* **scher** 93 note 686 (two occurrences). Cf. **\*skina**.

**\*skegg** *n.* beard. **A.** *as* **skieg** 74/7. **B.** *ns* **skegh** 98/25.

**\*skellika** *adv.* lawfully. See **oskellika**.

\***skemma** v. disgrace, dishonour; shame, violate. A. *ptc. nsm* (o)**skemdr** 68/5. 68/19. *nsf skiemd* 80/2. B. *ptc. nsm* (o)**schemd'r** 97/10. 68 note 250. *nsf schemd* 80/1. 58 note 16.

\***skenkia** v. fill. A. *ip skenkias* 81/19. S. *subj. 3sp skenkis* 95/14. B. *subj. 3sp schenckis* 99/3.

\***skepr** m. quality, characteristic; manner. See **\*fordeþskepr**, **\*lekisskepr**.

\***skiaut** n. beast, animal. See **faruskiut**.

**skiauta** v. push, push together, collect; refer, submit. A. *i* 93/12. 93/12. *2s skiautr* 65/15. 73/25. <81/1>. *3s (til) skiautr* 90/1. B. *2s schiauter* 65/17. **schiaut'r** 81 note 465. **skiuter** 65 note 185.

\***skiauti** n. pouch, purse, scrip. B. *ds schiauti* 75 note 384.

\***skiaupa** f. pouch, purse, scrip; scrotum. A. *ds skiaupu* 75/17.

**skiel** n. pl. just cause, proof, witness, evidence, corroboration; condition; (mip) **skielum** lawfully, with the right of law. A. *nom.* 80/4. 89/25. 90/3. *gen. skiela* 80/6. 90/3. *dat. skielum* 63/24. 90/19. **skiellum** 68/11. 78/8. 83/12. 94/4. *acc. skiel* 80/8. B. *dat. skielom* 68 note 252. **schielom** 99/11. 94 note 705. *acc. schiel* 99/11. Cf. **\*forskiel**, **\*oskiel**, **oskellika**.

\***skiella** v. ring. A. *3s skildr* 72/14.

\***skiera** v. cut. A. *subj. 3pp skierins* 82/4. *ptc. nsf (af)skurin* 73/2. *npf skurnar* (B. **aff schurnar**) 72/25.

**skilia** v. discern, decide; *impers. with acc. or dat.* dispute, be in disagreement. A. *i* 62/2. (a)**skilia** 86/19. 88/5. *ip skilias* 75/15. *3s skil* (a) 88/6. *subj. 3p skilin* 84/3. *ptc. nsm skildr* 77/16. B. *i* (at) **schilia** 86 note 572. *3s schil* 99/18.

\***skina** v. be visible, appear; become evident or known, result. A. *3s skin* 72/11. 93/2. 93/6. 93/7. Cf. **\*ske**.

**skip** n. ship. A. *ns (kaup)skip* 89/9. *gs skips* 67/16. 92/20. *ds skipi* 77/13. *gp skipa* 59/11. 89/8. 89/9. B. *ns schip* 100/21. *ds schipi* 100/23. *as schipit* 100/19. 100/21. 100/24.

\***skipa** v. *with dat.* divide [Only in A; B uses **schipta**]. A. *subj. 3p skipin* 91/3. 91/7.

**skipta** v. *with dat.* divide, partition, distribute; **skiptas** (um) exchange; **\*oskipt** undivided; shared, common. A. *i* 64/13. 87/6. *3p skipta* 85/21. *3pp skiptas* 92/10. *subj. 3p skiptin* 75/24. 77/24. 77/25. 82/10. *ptc. nsn* (o)**skipt** 86/25. 87/2. *dsm* (o)**skiptum** 83/10. *dsf* (o)**skiptri** (B. (o)**schipti**). 83/10. 83/17. *dsm skiptu* 86/24. (o)**skiptu** 75/16. 86/23. 86/24. *asf* (o)**skipta** 87/2. *asn, sup. skipt* 86/11. 87/5.

87/11. (o)skipt 87/7.

\*skipti *n.* division, partition. A. *ds skipti* 85/21.

\*skir *adj.* clean, pure; released. A. *nsf skir* 60/15. *asn skirt* 65/18. (o)skirt 65/19.

skira *v.* with *acc.* and *gen.* declare innocent. A. *i* 60/25.

\*skirskuta *v.* publish, declare (before witnesses); skirskuta *sik* declare one's case (before witnesses); skirskuta *sik firir* declare one's case before (witnesses). A. *3s skirskutar* 80/12. *subj. 3s skirskuti* 80/5. *pret. 3s skirskutapi* 80/15. skirskutapi (*sik firir*) <71/8>. 80/16. B. *pret. 3s schirschutadi* 71 note 310.

skogr *m.* wood. A. *ns* 83/6. 83/7. 83/7. 83/8. *gs skogs* <67/9>. *ds skogi* 80/2. 4 further instances. *as skog* 82/22. 83/14. *gp skoga* 58/44. 82/21. *ap skoga* 64/7. 67/8. S. *dp skogum* 95/7. *ap skoga* 95/6. B. *gs schogs* 67 note 231. *ap schoga* 59/41.

skra *f.* writing, chart. See *etarmanna skra*.

\*skrifa *v.* write, note down. A. *ip skrifas* 95/1. *ptc. nsn skrifat* 76/15. 76/16. 94/24.

\*skrifan *f.* writing, document, what is written. A. *ds skrifan* <77/21>. B. *ds schriuan* 77 note 425.

\*skript *f.* ecclesiastical punishment, penance, shrift. A. *as skript* 60/14.

\*skripta *v.* confess (to a priest), do penance, shrive oneself. A. *sup. skriptat* 60/13.

\*skriþa *v.* crawl, creep. A. *3p skriþa* 84/20.

\*skulu *v.* will; should, ought to; be obliged to, have to; be. A. *3s al* 63/18. 11 further instances. *all* 70/16. 89/20. *skal* 60/8. 51 further instances. *1p skulum* 60/2. *3p ulu* 65/21. *skulu* 60/25. 9 further instances. *subj. 3s skuli* 68/16. 94/2. S. *3s skal* 95/18. 95/21. *3p skulu* 95/17. B. *3s schal* 97/12. 14 further instances. 70 note 294. 71 note 301. *3p schulu* 97/25. 4 further instances. *pret. 2s schuldir* 99/10. 99/11.

\*skura *v.* score, mark. See *\*til skura*.

\*skurstain *m.* hearth; fireplace. A. *dp skurstainum* 93/2.

\*skut *n.* tax. A. *ds skuti* 59/29. 93/11. *acc. skut* 93/12.

\*skuþa *v.* investigate. B. *i schuda* 100/25.

\*skyldir *f. pl.* taxes, (communal) dues, expenses. A. *dat. skyldum* 93/15. B. *dat. schuldom* 93 note 693.

\*skyldr<sup>1</sup> *adj.* close-related (kin). A. *npm skyldir (menn)* 85/23. 86/11. *dp skyldum (mannum)* 85/19.

*superl. \*skyldastr* most closely related. *gp skyldasta* 85/16. See Commentary to 85/22-24.

\*skyldr<sup>2</sup> *adj.* guilty, criminal. B. *nsm schyld'r* 100/26. *schuld'r* 101/1. (o)schyld'r

100/26. 101/2.

**\*skyn** *f.* discretion, proof, test. A. *ds skyn* 85/24.

**\*skynia** *v.* test, prove; *pass.* prove to be. A. *3sp skynias* 87/10. *subj. 3sp skynis* <87/11>. *subj. 3p skynin* 85/17. Bx. *subj. 3s schyni* 87 note 589.

**\*skynian** *f.* discretion, supervision, proof. A. *ds skynian* 82/7. 85/20. *as skynian* 85/18.

**\*skyrta** *f.* (long-sleeved) shirt. A. *as skyrtu* 74/16.

**\*skyþi** *n.* footwear. A. *ap skyþi* 81/24.

**sla** *v.* strike, hit, cut down. A. *i* 65/3. 83/10. *2s slar* 64/23. 13 further instances. B. *2s slar* 98/18. *ptc. nsn slagit* 98/13. Bx. *ptc. nsn slaghit* 98/18.

**sleg** *m.* blow. A. *ns* 75/7. *ds sleg* 63/2. *as sleg* 72/6. *np slegir* 72/5. 73/11. *gp slega* 74/3. 80/23. *dp slegum* 73/14. *ap slegi* 73/10. B. *np slegir* 98/14.

**\*sleppa** *v.* release. A. *pret. 3s slepti* 91/18.

**\*slet(t)** *f.* threshing. See **\*hoyslet**.

**\*slikr** *adj.* such, so great, equal (a). A. *nsn slikt* 61/5. 93/7. *dsn sliku* 80/8. *asm slikan* 76/19. *asn slikt* 76/15. 80/16. 86/17. *nnpn slik* 63/2. *dp slikum* <90/18>. *apn slik* 90/23. S. *asn slikt* <95/20>. B. *nsm slik'r* 97/5. *asn slicht* 95 note 744. *dp slikom* 90 note 641.

**\*slingua** *v.* coil, plait, entwine. S. *ptc npn slungin* 95/19.

**\*slippa** *v.* avoid; **\*slippa laus** escape. A. *3s slippr* 91/16.

**\*slita** *v.* wear, use, wear off, wear out, rub; decide. A. *ip slitas* 95/1. *2s slitr* 80/23. <80/24>. 80/25. *subj. 3s sliti* 82/2. *ptc. nsn slitit* 82/3. B. *2s slit'r* 80 note 462.

**smafileþi** *n.* immature livestock; (more usually) sheep and goats. A. *ns* 91/2. *ds smafileþi* 59/15. <91/1>. B. *as sma filedi* 59 note 31.

**smagrisir** *m. pl.* piglets. A. *nom.* 91/5. Cf. **galtr**, **\*gris**, **\*suin**.

**\*smar** *adj.* small. *comp.* **\*smeri** smaller. A. *npf smeri* 65/12. *nnpn smeri* 82/4. B. *nsn* (or *adv.*) **smera** 82 note 486. *npf smieri* 65 note 182.

**\*smier** *n.* butter. A. *ds smieri* 63/18.

**snattanbot** *f.* fine for petty larceny. A. *as snattanbot* 90/11.

**snimst** *adv. superl.* latest. A. 61/25. B. **siinnast** 61 note 95.

**\*snor** *m.* snot. A. *ds snori* 73/1.

**\*snop** *f.* cord, string, lace. A. *ap snopir* 80/25.

**so** *adv.* so, thus, just so, as follows, the case; such, just; in such a way (that), in this way; on the understanding, to the effect (that); similarly. A. 60/1. 68 further

instances. **S.** 95/17. **B.** (occasionally **saa**) 67/19. 73/14. 95/8. 97/4. 10 further instances. 67 note 235. **so ... so** 75 note 388. **Bx.** 74 note 370. Cf. **firi þy so et.**

**sokn** *f.* parish. **A.** *ns* 60/17. 4 further instances. *gs* **sokninna(r)** <93/18>. 93/19. (**kirkiu**)**sokninna(r)** <63/16>. *ds* **sokn** 61/19. 69/13. 78/20. 90/23. (**kirkiu**)**sokn** 62/8. <63/14>. 67/18. **sokninni** 60/17. 94/18. 94/20. *as* **sokn** 92/16. 93/18. 94/22. *dp* **soknum** 93/9. 94/2. **B.** *ns* **sochnin** 60 note 62. *gs* **sochninna(r)** 93 note 694. 93 note 695. *ds* **sochn** 60 note 62. 94 note 719. (**kirckiu**) **sochn** 63 note 138. (**kyrckiu**) **sochn** 61 note 91. Cf. also **\*innansoknafulk**, **\*haimsokn**. See Commentary to 60/17.

**soknamenn** *m. pl.* parishioners. See **maþr**.

**soknar** *m. pl.* parishioners. **A.** *nom.* 91/3.

**\*sol** *f.* sun. **A.** *ns* or *as* or *ds* **sol** 64/20. 87/27.

**\*solauppgangr** *m.* sunrise. **A.** *as* **solauppgang** 65/25.

**som** see **sum**.

**soyþr** *m.* beast (often one bred for consumption). **A.** *ns* 84/12. *ds* **soyþi** 84/10. 85/13. *as* **soyþ** 84/10. 84/11. 84/14. 84/15. **soyþin** 70/24. 71/3. 84/11. 84/15. *np* **soyþir** 84/5. *dp* **soyþum** 63/18. 84/19. 84/20. (**upphaizlu**)**soyþum** <92/3>. *ap* **soyþi** <66/10>. (**orta**)**soyþi** 66/10. **B.** *ns* **soydir** 98/5. *ap* **soydi** 66 note 207. (**ortan**)**soydi** 66 note 208. Cf. **osoyþr**, **osoyþan**.

**\*sparka** *v.* kick. **A.** *2s* **sparkar** 74/1.

**\*sparkas** *v. md.* kick out. **A.** *3s* **sparkas** 88/18. 88/22.

**\*spiell** *n. pl.* damage, injury. **A.** *dat.* **spiellum** 83/23. 84/8. *acc.* **spiel** 83/20. 5 further instances.

**spiella** *v. with acc.* destroy, damage, spoil. **A.** *i* 66/3.

**\*spilla** *v. with dat.* destroy, kill; miscarry. **A.** *3s* **spillir** 83/16. *3sp* **spillis** 71/6. *sup.* **spilt** 60/12. **B.** *ptc. nsm* **spiltir** 97/27.

**\*sprangr** *m.* splitting See **\*suarþsprangr**.

**\*spur** *n.* track, trace. **A.** *as* **spur** 71/3. **B.** *as* **spur** 98/7.

**spyria** *v.* ask. **A.** *i* 89/24. *ptc. nsm* (**at**)**spyrþr** 63/14.

**\*stafgarþr** *m.* ancient site. See Commentary to 62/16 and **garþr**<sup>1</sup>.

**\*stain** *m.* stone. **A.** *ds* **staini** 72/4. *dp* (**skur**)**stainum** 93/2.

**standa** *v.* stand, continue, be valid. **A.** *i* 64/19. *3s* **standr** 67/14. 69/3. 77/11. 86/20. *subj. 3s* **standi** 85/20. **S.** *subj. 3s* **standi** 95/13. **B.** *i* 97/24. *subj. 3s* **standi** 77 note 420. See also **stapin**.

**standa a** v. last, exist. A. 3s **standr a** 65/24. 66/7.

**standa firir** v. stand in the way, defend oneself. A. *subj.* 3s **standi firir** 62/20. *ptc.* **asn firistandit** 62/24. 90/4. B. *i* 100/9.

\***stang** f. stake. A. *ds* **stangu** 64/23. 5 further instances.

\***stapul m.** belfry. S. *ds* **stapli** 95/13.

**starblindr** adj. suffering from cataracts, purblind, moonblind. A. *nsm* 88/21.

\***starkr** adj. strong, fit. See \***lipstarkr**.

\***starþufa** f. tuft of sedge. A. *gs* **starþufur** 83/8.

\***staur m.** pole, stake; boundary formed by these. A. *gs* **staurs** 77/16. 83/16. 94/8. S. *gs* **staurs** 95/7.

\***staurgulf n.** uprights in a fence, delimiting a section. A. *ds* **staurgulfi** 70/16. *as* **staurgulf** 85/4. See Commentary to 70/16.

\***stap<sup>1</sup> n.** *but gender uncertain.* beach, landing place, mooring. A. *dp* **stapum** 89/16.  
Cf. \***stapuar**.

**stap<sup>2</sup>** see \***steþr**.

**stapin** *ptc.* (of **standa**) placed. A. *nsm* 63/21.

\***stap<sup>r</sup>** see \***steþr**.

\***stapuar f. pl.** landing-place. A. *dat* **stapum** 89/16. Cf. \***stap<sup>1</sup>**.

**stefna<sup>1</sup>, stemna<sup>1</sup> v.** *with dat.* sue; summon. A. *i* 90/19. *subj.* 2s **stemni** 87/17. B. *i* **stempna** 90 note 644. See Commentary to 87/17.

\***stefna<sup>2</sup>, \*stemna<sup>2</sup> f.** meeting; summons. A. *ds* **stefnu** 90/24. *as* **stemnu** 88/7. 88/10.  
*np* **stefnur** 88/1. *ap* **stefnur** 88/11. B. *as* **stempno** 88 note 598.

**stelkr m.** stalk; link in a chain. A. *ns* <89/12>. *np* **stelkir** 89/12.

-**steþi n.** place. See **Þingsteþi** in the Index.

\***stepias v. md.** stop. A. 3s **ste(p)z** 64/13. 76/5.

\***steþr m.** location, place; (else)where. A. *as* (**annan**)**steþ** 67/19. 67/23. 80/2. 89/2. B. *ds* (**kirkiu**)**stedi** 95 note 735.

**stiela v.** steal. A. 3s **stiel** 90/10. 90/11. 90/12. 90/13. *ptc.* *nsf* (**mielk**)**stulin** 88/18. B. *i* (**fyri**)**stiela** 100/12. 3s **stiel** 99/23. 100/16. 3p **stiela** 99/25.

\***stig n.** step. A. *gp* **stiga** 82/17. *ap* **stig** 70/17.

\***stigr m.** track. See \***laupstigr**.

\***stinga v.** sting, prick, poke. A. 3s (**ut**) **stingr** 72/24.

\***stinqua v.** fly up, jump, bounce. A. 3p **stinqua** (B. **stinka**) 81/2. 81/2. 81/3. 81/4.

\***stor adj.** large. *comp.* \***storari** larger. A. *nnp* **storari** 91/5. B. *nsm* **styra** 99/3.

- \***strand** *f.* shore, beach. A. *ds strandu* 89/10. 89/14.
- \***striþ** *n.* battle, fight, contest. A. *ds striþi* 90/20.
- \***stukkr** *m.* log, post, bollard; stocks. A. *ds (liþ)stukki* 70/17. *as stukk* 78/16. 89/10.  
*ap (mot)stukka* 92/3.
- \***stumbil** *m.* stump. A. *gs stumbla* 83/8. *acc. stumbla* 82/23.
- styra** see \***stor**.
- \***suarþsprangr** *m.* splitting of the scalp. A. *as suarþsprang* 72/11.
- \***suela** *v.* loiter, delay. A. *3s suelir* 80/7.
- sueria** *v.* swear. A. *i* 95/1. *subj. 3s sueri* 71/24. 4 further instances.
- \***suerþ** *n.* sword. A. *ds suerþi* 72/19.
- sueverþari** *adv. comp.* lesser, minor. A. 75/10.
- \***sueverþr** *adj.* insignificant, small. *comp. \*suerverþari* lesser, smaller. A. *dsm sueverþari* 70/23.
- \***sufa** *v.* sleep. A. *3p sufa* 89/11.
- \***suiga** *v.* bend down, indent. A. *ptc. nsf suigin* 72/12.
- \***suin** *n.* swine, pig. A. *np suin* 91/5. *dp suinum* 59/16. 84/20. 91/4. B. *ap suin* 98/2.  
Cf. **galtr**, \***gris**, **smagrisir**.
- sum** *rel. pron.* which, who, that; *conj.* as, as if. A. 60/6. [94/14]. 271 further instances.  
*so ... sum* 62/4. 25 further instances. S. 95/3. 9 further instances. *so sum* 95/17. B.  
*som* 58/29. 58/46. 76/9. 80/14. 84/22. 97/3. [100/11]. 34 further instances. 94 note  
713. *so ... som* 98/14. 98/25. 99/18. 99/25.
- \***sumar** *m.* summer. See \***mipsumar**.
- \***sumbr** *pron.* some (of). A. *npm sumir* 92/8. 92/8.
- sun** *m.* son. A. *ns* 67/3. 4 further instances. (**bonda**)**sun** 86/15. (**py**)**sun** 77/20. **suninn**  
75/22. *ds syni* 87/8. *as sun* 75/22. *np synir* 75/14. 4 further instances. *dp synum*  
77/1. *ap syni* 77/2. 77/23. 87/10. (**py**)**syni** 78/1. B. *ns (prest)son* <97/5>. *ds syni*  
59/1. 87/4.
- \***sunadotir** *f.* granddaughter by one's son. A. *np sunadytrir* <75/25>. 75/25.
- sundr** *adv.* apart, asunder. A. 72/21. 73/8. B. **sund'r** 98/12. **sunder** 98/13. Bx.  
**sunder** 98/18.
- \***sunnudagr** *m.* Sunday. A. *as sunnudag* 63/8. 63/11. 64/1. 94/17. *ap sunnudaga*  
61/15. B. *as sonndagh* 63 note 131. *sonnodagh* 63 note 133. *sondag* 64 note 149.  
94 note 715.
- sykia** *v.* visit; travel; select; prosecute, bring an action against. A. *i* 61/17. 6 further



instances. 3s **sykir** <62/10>. 67/21. 94/14. (til) **sykir** 67/10. subj. 3s **syki** 67/20. ptc. **asn sykt** 60/17. 62/19. 62/21. B. 3s **sykir** 62 note 108. Cf. **kera**.

**sylffs** see **\*silfr**.

**\*syma** v. honour, restore someone's honour. A. subj. 3s **symi** 90/22. <90/24>. subj. 3p **symin** 60/25. B. subj. 3s **symi** 90 note 651.

**\*symd** f. honour; (oath of) rehabilitation. A. gs **symdar(aip)** 60/16.

**\*symni** n. sexual intercourse. A. gs **symnis** 80/2.

**\*syn<sup>1</sup>** f. sight. A. ds (**lanz**)**syn** 92/21. B. ds (**lands**) **syn** 100/18. Cf. **asyn**.

**\*syn<sup>2</sup>** adj. visible. A. npm **synir** 72/5. 73/11. dpm **synum** 73/14. apm **syna** 73/10.

**\*syn<sup>3</sup>** f. case, situation. See **\*naupsyn**, **osinum**, **\*sin<sup>1</sup>**.

**\*synas** v. md. show. B. 3s **synis** 72 note 335.

**\*synd** f. sin. A. ap **syndir** 67/15.

**synia** v. refuse, decline. A. i 89/20. 3s **syniar** 89/22. subj. 3s **syni** 83/15.

**syni**, **synum** see **\*sun**.

**\*synlikr** adj. visible, apparent. B. npm **synlikir** 98/14.

**syrgia** v. with dat. attend to, effect. A. i 65/18.

**\*syri** n. oath, swearing. See **ainsyri**.

**\*syskani** n. siblings. A. gp **syskana** 82/10. **syskana(barna)** 82/10.

**sysla** v. do, execute, commit (a crime). A. i 60/5.

**systir** f. sister A. ns 67/20. 77/9. 77/14. (**fapur**)**systir** 77/9. gs **systur(barn)** 77/9. (**fapur**)**systur(barn)** 77/9. ds **systr** 77/12. 82/6. np **systrir** 82/9. (**fapur**)**systrir** <76/11>. ap (**sam**)**systrir** 76/21. B. np (**fadur**) **systrir** 76 note 400.

**\*tafastr** or **\*ta fastr** adj. situated by a road, bordering a right of way. A. asf **tafasta** 82/13. 82/14. an **tafast** 83/19. 83/20. 82 note 496. See Commentary to 82/13-16.

**\*tagarþr** m. fence alongside a road. A. ds **tagarþi** 83/19. See **garþr<sup>1</sup>**.

**taka** v. with dat. or acc. take, embrace; collect, receive; seize, grasp, take out; **taka til sina** take as a ward (see Commentary to 75/20). A. i 68/6. 6 further instances. 2s **takr** 64/24. 16 further instances. 3s **takr** 62/2. <63/20>. <69/18>. 11 further instances. subj. 3s **taki** 68/5. <75/15>. 20 further instances including **taki (til sina)** 75/20. subj. 3p **takin** 61/1. 4 further instances. imp. 2s **tak** 84/5. 84/7. ptc. nsm **takin** 63/21. (inni)**takin** 78/11. 8 further instances. nsf (af)**takin** 81/14. ns comm. **takin** 63/25. 64/4. nsn (af)**takit** 94/22. dsm (inni)**taknum** <58/32>. npm **taknir** 64/22. 65/10. npf (af)**taknar** <81/17>. 81/24. sup. **takit** 62/11. <67/5>. 83/13.

87/17. (mis)takit 89/6. 89/6. S. *i* 95/17. *ptc. nsm* (af)takin 95/25. *nsf* (af)takin 95/18. 95/22. *nsn* takit 95/3. *npr* (af)takin 95/19. 95/23. B. *i* 97/10. 5 further instances. 3s tak'r 100/13. 62 note 109. 63 note 143. 69 note 279. *subj. 3s* taki 91/7. 97/4. 97/12. 97/21. 100/3. 75 note 383. 83 note 518. *subj. 3p* takin 76 note 405. 88 note 598. *ptc. nsn* takit 80/17. 100/2. 100/21. (aff) takit 95 note 747. *npf* (aff) tachnar 81 note 477. *sup. takit* 67 note 225.

taka upp receive, collect. A. *i* (upp) taka 69/4. 79/6. *ip* (upp) takas 68/29. *subj. 3s* taki (upp) 77/6. 87/7. *pret. subj. 3p* takin (upp) 76/21.

\*taka viþr with *dat.* receive, accept; adopt, undertake, take upon one; ally oneself to. A. 3s takr (viþr) 68/24. 88/22. 90/2. *subj. 3s* taki (viþr) 75/16. 78/24. (taki understood) (viþr) 78/24. *sup. (viþr)takit* 63/8.

\*taki *m.* person standing surety with whom (bail) money has been deposited, surety man. B. *gs* taka 97/16.

\*tal *n.* count, number; voting majority. A. *ds* tali 95/1. (hafþa)tali 75/24. 77/24. 77/25. (marka)tali 93/13.

\*talaut *f.* land (e.g. grazing land) situated by a road. A. *ap* talautir 82/16. B. *as* talaut 82 note 498.

\*tandr *m.* tooth. A. *gp* tanna 71/3. *dp* tannum 70/18. *ap* tendr 73/20. 73/22. B. *gp* tanna 98/7. *ap* tend'r 98/18. 98/19.

\*tappa *v.* with *dat.* lose. A. *subj. 3s* tappi 84/7.

\*tassal *gender uncertain.* buckle. S. *gp* tassala 95/18.

\*tekkelikr *adj.* fitting, proper. B. *nn* tekkelighit 60 note 50.

tekt *f.* taking. See hestatekt, \*intekt.

\*telia *v.* say. A. *ptc. nsn* telt 70/19.

telgia *f.* cut, score, notch, tally; break, split. A. *ns* <73/7>. B. *ns* 98/12. 73 note 349.

tia *f.* toe. A. *ns* [72/22]. B. *ns* 72/22.

til<sup>1</sup> *prp.* to; until; for, as much as. A. with *gen.* 60/6. 95 further instances. S. 95/17. B. 58/50. 77/6. 98/6. 5 further instances. 67 note 231. till 99/16.  
governing a preceding relative pronoun A. 87/25.  
with *undecl. head-word* A. 84/8. 4 further instances.  
with *dat.* or *acc.* B. 97/23.

See also þar til (et).

til<sup>2</sup> *adv.* thereto, to this; in existence. A. 67/3. 17 further instances. S. 95/7. B. 76/11. 97/25. 4 further instances. 81 note 471.

**til auka** v. add to, acquire new. See **auka**.

**til bieras** v. amount to. See **biera**.

**til briauta** v. break up. See **briauta**.

**til fyra** v. *with dat.* deliver, give. See **fyra**.

**til ganga** see **ganga**.

**til handa** *postp. with dat.* to. See **hand**.

\***til hoyra** v. *with dat.* belong to. See \***hoyra**.

**til lata** v. contribute; leave room for. See **lata**.

**til nemna** v. select, name. See **nemna**.

**til segia** v. *with dat.* tell, instruct; announce. See **segia**.

**til skiauta** v. refer, submit. See **skiauta**.

\***til skura** v. lay down, define, allocate. A. *ptc nsm tilskuraþr* 62/9. *nsn tilskurat* 61/10. 67/22.

**til sykia** v. visit, travel to. See **sykia**.

**til(l) þes et conj.** until. A. 64/20. 70/11. 84/10.

\***til þrengia** v. be pressing, be necessary. A. *3s til þrengir* <63/14>. <85/17>. B. *3s til trengir* 85 note 555.

\***timbr** n. timber. A. *as timbr* 85/7.

\***timi** m. (period of) time. A. *gs tima* 61/16. 91/17. *ds tima* 80/14. 88/2. B. *as tima* 80 note 457.

**tiu** num. ten. A. *df* 69/17. 70/2. *am* 65/24. *af* 65/24.

**tiugu** num. twenty. A. *gn* 93/15.

\***tiundi** num. tenth. A. *asm tiunda* 64/16.

**tiunt** f. tithe. A. *ns* 61/14. 61/16. *ds tiunt* 58/4. 61/8. 61/19. *as tiunt* 61/9. 8 further instances. (**korn**)**tiunt** 62/9. *as* [but case uncertain] **tiunt** 61/23.

**tiunta** v. pay tithe. A. *i* 61/13.

**tipir** f. *pl.* (religious) service. A. *nom.* 63/10. *acc.* **tipir** 61/9. <61/15>. 4 further instances. See Commentary to 61/9.

**tolf** num. twelve. A. *nm* 65/17. 69/13. 74/23. *nf* 69/23. *gm* 62/23. 68/12. 80/15. *gf* 70/15. 70/22. 88/1. *df* 69/9. 4 further instances. *am* 64/23. <94/20>. *af* 60/20. 10 further instances. S. *af* 95/15. 96/2.

**torfa** f. turf; scalp with hair attached. A. *ns* 74/11. Bx. *ns* 98/25.

\***torg** n. (market) square. A. *ds torgi* 63/18.

\***tro** f. belief. A. *ds tro* 60/4.

**troa** *v.* believe. **A.** *i* 60/3. (mis)troa 61/3. 83/15. 3*s* (mis)tror 85/22.

**troysta** *v.* with *dat.* trust in. **A.** *i* (um) troysta 66/17.

**\*troþur** *f. pl.* fencing wood. **A.** *acc.* troþur <82/23>.

**\*trygguar**, **\*tryggiar** *f. pl.* agreement, terms. See **\*lyktryyguar**.

**tuair** *num.* two. **A.** *nm* tuair <64/14>. <68/23>. <70/24>. <71/12>. <77/13>. <81/13>. <82/22>. <88/15>. <88/17>. **tuer** 65/21. *nf* **tuar** 74/9. 82/9. *gen.* **tyggia** 74/4. 90/11. 91/6. 91/9. *dat.* **tuem** 62/3. 5 further instances. **tuaim** <71/9>. <72/7>. <72/13>. <73/19>. <73/21>. <74/14>. <75/7>. <75/8>. <84/18>. <90/10>. <91/24>. *am* **tua** 73/20. 12 further instances. *af* **tuar** 60/10. 6 further instances. *an* **tu** 74/8. 5 further instances. **S.** *nf* **tuar** 95/20. *dat.* **tuaim** <95/5>. **B.** *nm* **tweir** 97/15. *dat.* **tweim** 98/7. *am* **twa** 98/19. 98/19. **Bx.** *dat.* **twaim** 98/17.

**\*tug** *n.* rope, line, train. **A.** *ds* **tugi** 63/23.

**\*tuibytr** *adj.* (*ptc.*) paid with double fine. **S.** *asn* **tuibyt** 95/15. **B.** *asn* **tuibyt** 99/4.

**tunga** *f.* tongue. **A.** *ns* 73/2.

**\*tuppr** *m.* female headdress. **A.** *as* **tupp** 80/20.

**tyggia** see **tuair**.

**\*tykr** *adj.* which can be taken, seized, forfeited. **A.** *nsf* **tyk** 63/24. *nsn* **tykt** 64/1. 83/12. Cf. **\*taki**.

**ufan** *prp.* with *acc.* on, against. **A.** 81/8.

**ulu** see **\*skulu**.

**um**<sup>1</sup> *prp.* with *acc.* through; around, over; in respect of. **A.** 61/14. [88/8]. 69 further instances. **S.** [59/39]. 95/3. 95/6. 95/11. 95/17. **B.** 59/41. 98/6. 99/8. 101/7. 101/8. **wm** 68 note 261. **om** 99/15. 82 note 491. 87 note 586.

governing a preceding relative pronoun **A.** 89/24.

**um**<sup>2</sup> *adv.* of, around. **A.** 60/14. 10 further instances. **B.** 99/18. See also **troysta (um)**, **utanum**, **\*venda (um)**, **\*vela (um)**.

**umbuþ** *n.* authority, order. **A.** *ns* 86/17. *as* **umbuþ** 86/22.

**umkring** see **kringum**.

**um troysta** = **troysta**.

**\*umvela** = **\*vela**.

**undan** *adv.* away, out. **A.** 78/11. 78/16. 78/17.

**undir**<sup>1</sup> *prp.* with *acc.* under, to. **A.** 64/14. 76/3. 76/4. 76/5. with *dat.* under. **B.** 100/2. 100/21.

**undir**<sup>2</sup> *adv.* underneath. A. 84/20.

**ungr** *adj.* young. A. *nsm* 69/4. **ungi** 81/14. 81/15. *asm ungan* 69/2. 75/20. *npm ungir* 75/14. B. *asm ungan* 69/1.

*superl.* **\*yngsti** youngest. *gsm yngsta* 75/19. *asm yngsta* 75/15.

**ungimaþr** *m.* bridegroom. See **ungr**.

**\*unna** *v.* grant, vouchsafe; permit, allow. A. *subj.* 3s **unni** 60/3. B. 3s **unnar** 81 note 472.

**upp** *adv.* up; forward. A. 60/13. 7 further instances. **upp (haita)** 91/21. 91/24. 91/25. **(haiti) upp** 91/9. **(rymi) upp** 93/19. **upp (taka)** 69/4. 79/6. **upp (takas)** 68/16. **(taki) upp** 77/6. 87/7. **(takin) upp** 76/21. Cf. **haita, kuma, \*ryma, taka.**

**\*uppdrykkia** *f.* drunkenness. A. *ds uppdrykkiu* 90/20.

**\*uppgangr** *m.* rise. A. *as (sola)uppgang* 65/25.

**upphaf** *n.* beginning. A. *ns* 60/2. B. *ns uphoff* 60 note 40.

**\*upphaizlusoyþr** *m.* beast taken to the assembly to determine its rightful owner by proclaiming it found. A. *dp upphaizlusoyþum* (B. *up heislu soydom*) <92/3>.

**uppheldi** *n.* board and lodging, keep. A. *gs upheldis* 82/7. *ds uppheldi* 76/17.

**uppi** *adv.* up, raised up. A. 72/19. 74/21. 74/24. 93/15. B. 98/19. See also **\*halda**.

**\*ustr** *m.* cheese. A. *dp ustum* 63/17.

**ut** *adv.* out; over. A. 60/8. 4 further instances. **ut ok ut** from the first to the last. A. 73/23. See also **ganga, giefra, kasta, \*lipa, loysa, lufa, \*stinga, \*utgift, utlendis, utlendingr, utretta.**

**utan**<sup>1</sup> *prp.* with *gen.* outside, without. A. 83/16. 85/24. 86/4.

*prp.* with *acc.* without; exempt from. A. 71/25. 9 further instances. See also **firir utan.**

(*headword in genitive omitted or understood*) S. 95/7. B. 97/7.

**utan**<sup>2</sup> *conj.* but; without, unless, apart from. A. 63/9. 25 further instances. S. 95/18. 95/22. B. 95/24. 97/20. 5 further instances. 84 note 538. See also **firir utan.**

**utanmenn** *m. pl.* unrelated persons. See **maþr**.

**utanum** *adv.* outside, round about. A. 83/4.

**utan þi (at) ains et, utan þy (at) ains et** *conj.* except in the case of. A. 60/13. <75/19>. <86/9>. <87/6>. 10 further instances. **utan þi at ains at** 80/17. B. **utan thi at eyns at** 97/4. 100/19. **utan ti at eyns at** 75 note 389. **utan ty at eins en** 69 note 271. Cf. **þi at ains et.**

**uti** *adv.* outside, past. A. 67/14. 4 further instances. B. **wti** 61 note 81.

**utlendingr** *m.* foreigner (non-Gotlander). **A.** *ns* 86/21.

**utlendis** *adv.* abroad. **A.** 67/15.

**utlipin** *adj.* (*ptc.*) past. **B.** *nsf* **utlidin** 99/13.

\***ut raiþa** *v.* extract (payment). **B.** *i* **wt reyda** 68 note 257. Cf. **framraiþa**.

**utretta** *v.* pay, discharge; claim, demand; take out, exempt. **A.** *i* 68/14. **Bx.** *ptc.* *npm* **utrettadir** 76/15.

**uxi** *m.* ox, bull. **A.** *ns* 70/15. 84/15. 84/17. *ds* **uksa** 59/7. *as* **uxa** 66/8. 88/14. 88/15. *gp* **yxna** 63/11. **B.** *gp* **yxna** 59 note 24. 88 note 604.

\***vagli** *m.* perch, roost. **A.** *ds* **vagla** 73/15.

\***vagn** *m.* wagon, cart. **A.** *ds* **vagni** 63/10. 81/13. *as* **vagn** 85/2.

\***vagnikil** *m.* wagon-traveller. The name given to those who, as passengers, took part in a bridal procession (and took with them the bride's dowry). **A.** *gp* **vagnikla** 81/13. **S.** *dp* **vagniklum** 95/14. **B.** *gp* **wagnickla** 58 note 17. **wagnikla** 81 note 474. *dp* **wagniklom** 99/3.

**vaita** *v.* do, give, cause, inflict, prepare. **A.** *i* <61/11>. <71/14>. *2s* **vaitir** <66/14>. <66/15>. <66/20>. <66/21>. *3s* **vaitir** 71/2. **B.** *i* **weyta** 61 note 83. **weita** 71 note 314. *2s* **weit'r** 66 note 211. **weitir** 66 note 211. 66 note 216. *3s* **weit** 71 note 302.

\***vaizla** *f.* feast. **A.** *gs* **vaizlur** (*ols*) 81/22.

\***vald** *n.* power, control; violence; choice. **A.** *ds* **valdi** 79/19. *as* **vald** 75/3. 75/4. (*sielfs*)**vald** 67/14. 78/5. 81/18. **val** 63/16. **B.** *as* **wald** 63 note 140. Cf. \***ran**.

\***valda** *v.* with *dat.* govern, cause, be the cause of. **A.** *subj.* *3s* **valdi** 64/12. 64/15. *ptc.* *nsm* **valdandi** 70/9. *asm* (*alz*)**valdanda** 60/3. **B.** *3s* **wald'r** 100/7. *ptc.* *asm* (*alz*)**waldugan** 60 note 45.

**van** *n.* defect. See **litvan**.

\***vandrepi** *n.* difficulty, danger. **A.** *as* **vandrepi** (**B.** **wandredana**) 67/13.

\***vani** *m.* custom, habit. **A.** *as* **vana** 91/10. 91/17.

\***vapn** *n.* weapon. **A.** *ds* **vapni** 72/19. *dp* **vapnum** 93/15. *ap* (*fulk*)**vapn** 78/3.

\***var** *poss. pron.* our. (**B.** *nsf* **war**, etc.) **A.** *nsf* **or** 60/6. *dsm* **orum** 60/4. 60/6. *dsf* **vari** 60/4. *dsn* **oru** 60/5. 60/8. *dpm* **orum** 60/2.

**vara**<sup>1</sup>, **vera** *v.* be, continue; mean. **vara til** come into being, be left intact. **A.** *i* 61/2. 4 further instances. **vera** 63/17. 7 further instances. *3s* **ir** 60/2. 122 further instances. **ier** 60/8. <70/2>. [72/20]. [72/20]. [72/22]. [78/10]. 75 further instances. *3p* **iru** 61/11. 66 further instances. **ieru** 65/12. *subj.* *3s* **sei** 60/6. 25 further instances. **vari**

69/20. 12 further instances. **veri** 68/19. *subj. 3p sein* (**B.** occasionally **siin**) 68/22. 6 further instances. **varin** 77/15. 77/17. 87/22. *pret. 2s vast* 89/4. *pret. 3s var* 61/1. 15 further instances. *pret. 3p varu* 61/3. 4 further instances. *pret. subj. 3s vari* 60/10. 10 further instances. *sup. varit* 69/5. **verit** 71/6. **S. i** 95/21. **3s ier** 95/3. 9 further instances. **3p iru** 95/19. **ieru** 95/12. 95/22. *pret. 3s var* 95/3. **B. i wara** 100/26. **3s ir** <98/4>. **ier** 72/17. 72/20. 72/20. 72/22. 78/10. 80/14. 97/5. <100/16>. 28 further instances. 62 note 111. 65 note 191. 70 note 285. 72 note 345. 74 note 367. 76 note 397. 84 note 539. 85 note 546. 85 note 548. 95 note 747. **3p ieru** 101/7. 85 note 557. 94 note 724. *subj. 3s si* 97/10. 97/13. 97/21. 62 note 100. **sy** 60 note 50. **sy<sup>r</sup>** 60 note 50. *pret. 3s war* 97/26. 99/25. 100/2. 100/21. 71 note 312. 76 note 407. 78 note 442. *subj. pret. 3s wari* 97/24. 100/2. 100/19. *subj. pret. 3p warin* 68 note 254. **Bx. 3s ier** 98/18. 98/25. 98/25. 74 note 370. **3p iru** 76/14. 74 note 370.

\***vara**<sup>2</sup> *f.* goods, wares. **A. ds varu** 63/19.

\***vara**<sup>3</sup> *v.* inform (someone), warn (someone). **B. ptc. nsm warad'r** 98/3.

\***vara firi** *v.* be subject to something. **A. 3s firi ir** 81/11. Cf. **vara**<sup>1</sup>.

\***varfripr** *m.* spring peace. See **fripr**.

\***vargr** *m.* wolf. See **kasnavargr**.

\***vari** *m.* garment. See \***likvari**.

\***varmbr** *adj.* warm. **A. asn varmt** 73/12.

\***varnapr** *m.* ward, minor; supervision. **A. ds varnap** 89/16. *as varnap* 79/17.

\***varst** *f.* land, ground. **A. as varst** 82/14. 82/14.

**varpa**<sup>1</sup> see **verpa**.

**varpa**<sup>2</sup> *v. with dat.* take care of, be responsible for, concern. **A. i** 74/20. 83/19. **2s varpar** 70/19. 85/13. **3s varpar** <70/13>. 70/17. 8 further instances. **3p varpa** 65/21. *subj. 3s varpi* 82/20. 84/8. *imp. 2s varpa* 85/6. **B. i warda** 99/15. 67 note 220. **3s wardar** 98/2. 98/6. 99/15. 99/16. *subj. 3s wardi* 70 note 292. Cf. **virpa**.

\***varpa(r)laus** *adj.* without due attention, careless; unattended. **A. asf varpalausa** 89/14. *asn varpalaust* 71/16. **varparlaust** <71/16>. **B. dsn wardalaus** 100/23. See **laus**.

\***varppenningar** *m. pl.* watch money (an annual tax, paid by all men capable of military service); fines for not keeping proper watch. **A. acc. varppenninga** 93/16.

\***varpr** *m.* guard, watch, look-out. **A. ds varpi** 59/30. 93/14. *as varp* 93/15.

\***vatubanda** *f.* testified safety-circle, provisionally drawn boundaries, confirmed by

witnesses, of an area in which a killer can safely stay pending settlement. **A. as vatubandu** 67/13.

**\*vaxtr** *m.* growth. See **\*avaxtr**.

**\*vapi** *m.* misadventure, accident; injury caused by misadventure or accident; danger. **A. ds vapa** 71/14. 80/21. **as vapa** 85/14.

**\*vega**<sup>1</sup> *v.* kill. **A. ptc. nsm vegin** <65/9>. <65/11>. **nsf vegin** 69/10. **B. i wega** 97/6. 97/11. **ptc. nsm vegin** 65 note 179. 65 note 181.

**\*vega**<sup>2</sup> *v.* lift (*with dat.*), weigh. **A. subj. 3s vegi** 89/12. **ptc. asn vegit** 72/19.

**vegg** *f.* wall. See **\*bak vegg**.

**\*vegr** *m.* route, way; side. **A. as veg** 82/20. **(annan)veg** <67/9>. **(far)veg** 82/14. 82/18. 82/19. **dp (far)vegum** 58/43. 82/12. **ap (far)vegi** 82/13. **B. ds vegum** 80/1. 58 note 16. **as wegh** 67 note 231. See also **\*vegpueri**.

**\*vegsl** *f.* flight. **A. gs vegsl** (**B. wegls**). 69/7.

**\*vegpueri** *m.* blocking the way. **A. as vegpuera** 75/2. **B. as vegpuera** 58/26. 75/1.

**vel** *adv.* well. See **iemvel**.

**\*vela** *v.* make arrangements; **\*vela um** conspire together. **A. 3p vela (um)** 68/23.

**\*venda** *v.* turn; **\*venda um** force to turn around. **A. 3s vendir (um)** 75/3.

**\*vengi** *n.* cushion, pillow. **A. as vengi** 78/3. **np (raip)vengi** 82/4.

**vensl** *f.* suspicion, unproven guilt. **A. ns venzl** 62/20. **B. ns wensl** <100/5>.

**\*ver**<sup>1</sup> *f.* lip. **A. as ver** <72/7>. **B. as wer** 72 note 329.

**ver**<sup>2</sup> *adv. comp.* worse. **B. 99/10**. Cf. **verra**.

**vera** see **vara**.

**vereldi** *n.* wergild, compensation for a man's life. **A. ns** 69/16. 69/17. 69/18. **gs vereldis** 90/12. **ds vereldi** 66/1. 16 further instances. **(bandu)vereldi** <69/22>. **as vereldi** 66/21. 9 further instances. **(krafar)vereldi** 70/25. **np vereldi** 69/16. **(bandu)vereldi** <69/23>. **dp vereldum** 58/18. 70/3. **(bandu)vereldum** <58/19> **B. ns werildi** 97/17. **gs werildis** 98/6. **ds werildi** 97/14. 58 note 8. **(bandu)werildi** 58 note 9.

**verelzmaþr** *m.* layman. **A. ns** 64/15.

**veria** *v.* *with acc.* protect, defend (especially before the court), possess; *with dat.* keep back (mucus, etc.); **verias** *with dat.* defend oneself against. **A. i** 73/1. **2sp vers** 74/3. **3sp vers** 73/11. 74/24. 80/8. 80/13. **3p veria** 87/2. *subj. 3s veri* 79/5. *subj. 3sp veris* 62/22. *ptc. nsm verþr* 90/1. *asn vert* 80/17. **B. ip verias** 73 note 346. **3sp wers** 62 note 123.



**verk** *n.* task, deed, work. A. *ns* 64/1. *ds* **verki** 63/25. 64/4. *as* **verk** 63/8. (**dags**)**verk** 93/24. *np* (**hand**)**verk** 60/11. *dp* **verkum** 87/3. Cf. \***dagsverk(i)**, \***verkhailigr**.

\***verkia** *v.* hurt. B. *3s* **werkir** 99/16.

\***verkhailigr** *adj.* (day) sacred to rest, on which work is forbidden. See \***hailigr**.

**verra** *adv. comp.* worse. B. **werra** 97/4. Cf. **ver**<sup>2</sup>.

**verri** *adj. comp.* (the) worse (for the experience). A. *nsm* 84/12.

\***verp** *n.* worth, purchase price. A. *ds* **verpi** 86/8. B. *as* **werd** 99/9. 99/14. 99/18. 77 note 563.

**verpa** *v.* become, be; happen, arise, occur. A. *i* 88/4. 94/25. *2s* **verpr** 85/9. 89/3. *3s* **verpr** (also **uerpr** and, at 64/10, **varpr**) 60/8. 46 further instances. *3p* **varpa** 69/4. 4 further instances. *subj. 3s* **verpi** 63/13. 5 further instances. *subj. 3p* **verpin** 75/22. B. *3s* **ward'r** 80/1. 97/17. 6 further instances. 58 note 16. 65 note 174. 66 note 214. *3p* **warda** 98/5. 98/14. See also \***verpa firi**.

\***verpa firi** *v. with dat.* be subjected to something (sometimes understood). A. *3s* **verpr firi** 80/10. 90/7. **firi verpr** 81/10. **firi (sarum) verpr** 71/23. **verpr firir (slikum oquepinsorþum)** 90/18. Cf. **firi[r]**<sup>1</sup>, **verpa**.

**verpari** *adv. comp.* more worthily. A. (**sue**)**verpari** 75/10.

\***verpr** *adj.* of worth. A. *nsm* (**ohaip**)**verpi** 81/9. B. *nsm* **werd'r** 98/5. *nsf* **werd** <98/5>. *nsn* **wert** 98/2.

*comp.* \***verpari** of greater worth. *dsm* (**sue**)**verpari** 70/23.

**vep** *n. pl.* pledge, surety; deposit, forfeit. A. *dat.* **veþium** 59/3. 87/16. *acc.* **vep** 84/7. 87/17.

**vepur** *m.* (yearling) ram. A. *ns* 91/13. 91/16. *ds* **vepuri** 59/18. 59/19. 91/12. 91/15.

\***vi** *n.* holy place. A. *ap* **vi** 62/16.

\***vig** *n.* battle, conflict. A. *ds* **vigi** 77/14.

\***vigia** *v.* consecrate, dedicate. A. *ptc. nsf* **vigþ** 61/24. B. *ptc. nsm* **wigd'r** 97/24.

**vigniauri** *m.* testicle. A. *ns* 73/4.

\***vigsl** *f.* consecration, dedication. A. *dp* **vigslum** 62/4. 65/18. *ap* **vigslir** 62/2. 65/18.

**vika** *f.* week. A. *ns* (**helgudaga**)**vika** 64/22. (**paska**)**vika** 64/21. *ds* (**paska**)**viku** 93/16. *np* **vikur** 64/21.

**vil, vildi** see \***vilia**<sup>2</sup>.

\***vili** *m.* will, inclination, agreement. A. *ds* **vilia** 60/6. 81/17. 87/6. *as* **vilia** 88/12. B. *as* **wilia** 97/11.

**vilia**<sup>1</sup> see \***vili**.

\***vilia**<sup>2</sup> *v.* wish to, want to; be willing to, be prepared to, mean to. *A.* 3*s* **vil(I)** 60/22. 43 further instances. 3*p* **vilia** 60/24. 11 further instances. *subj.* 3*s* **vili** 80/17. 87/6. 88/23. *pret.* 3*s* **vildi** 61/17. *B.* 2*s* **wil(tu)** 99/13. 3*s* **wil(I)** 69/1. 97/10. 13 further instances. *pret.* 1*s* **wildi** 97/24. 97/25. *pret.* 3*s* **wildi** 97/17.

\***vinna** *v.* do, be able to, be bothered to; **vinna at** suffice. *A.* 3*s* **vindr** 60/17. 62/23. <80/16>. 6 further instances. **vindr (at)** 63/5. 87/15. 3*p* **vinna** 62/19. 62/21. 85/22. *subj.* 3*s* **vinni** 69/8. 70/8. *B.* 3*s* **wind'r** 100/11. 80 note 458. **wind'r (aat)** 97/9.

**vintr** see \***vittr**.

**vir** *pers. pron.* we. *A.* *nom.* 60/2. 60/4. 60/5. *dat.* **os** 60/4.

\***virki** *n.* (fencing) timber. *A.* *as* **virki** 85/7.

**virpa** *v.* value, levy a recompense, seize in payment of debt, make a valuation, distrain. *A.* *i* 66/7. 88/6. 91/3. 91/25. *subj.* 3*p* **virpin** 66/9. 87/18. 91/7. *S.* *subj.* 3*p* *pass.* **virpins** 95/11. *B.* *i* **wirda** 101/8. *subj.* 3*s* **wirdi** 66 note 206. Cf. **varpa**<sup>2</sup>.

**visa** *v.* *with dat.* send, command; blame something (*dat.*) on (*a with acc.*). *A.* *i* **visa (a)** 83/23. 3*s* **visar** 93/7.

**vita**<sup>1</sup> *v.* know. *A.* *i* 60/9. *pret.* 3*s* **vissi** 90/2.

**vita**<sup>2</sup> *v.* prove, verify, testify, charge, blame; **a vita** charge, accuse, challenge. *A.* *i* 62/3. **vita (a)** 82/14. 82/15. 82/15. 3*s* **vittr** 60/16. *subj.* 3*s* **viti** 68/12. 8 further instances. *subj.* 3*p* **vitin** 83/14. *ptc. nsm* (**a**)**vittr** 63/15. (**o**)**vittr** 63/16. *B.* *i* 100/1. 3*s* **wit** 85 note 550.

**vitna** *v.* witness, demonstrate, prove. *A.* *i* 83/1. 83/8. *subj.* 3*p* **vitnin** 83/4. *B.* *i* 101/1. *subj.* 3*s* **witni** 69 note 275. 83 note 522.

\***vitni**<sup>1</sup> *n.* witness. *A.* *dp* **vitnum** <71/8>. 80/15. 80/22. *B.* *dp* **witnom** 71 note 308.

\***vitni**<sup>2</sup> *n.* proof, evidence (given by specified people); testimony; *pl.* evidence (from more than one person); forms of evidence. *A.* *gs* **vitnis(kunur)** 60/10. 61/3. *as* **vitni** 60/14. 62/5. 62/6. 74/22. *np* **vitni** 62/17. 83/1. *dp* **vitnum** 70/13. 14 further instances. *ap* **vitni** 71/23. 82/22. 83/2. *B.* *dp* **witnom** 78/8. 83 note 514. Cf. \***ligsvitni**, \***nīpiavitni**, **ortarvitni**.

**vitniskuna** *f.* female witness (present at a childbirth). See **kuna**.

**vitorp** *n.* right; **hafa vitorp** have the right of substantiation (of a case, accusation, denial). *A.* *ns* 78/22. *as* **vitorp** 68/10. <80/22>. 12 further instances. *B.* *as* **witord** 99/12. 99/14. 99/20. 80 note 461.

\***vitra** *v.* prove. *A.* *subj.* 3*s* **vitri** 77/21.

\***vittr** *m.* winter; year. *A.* *np* **vintr** 62/5. *gp* **vittra** (*B.* **wintra**) 70/15. *ap* **vintr** (*B.*

**wintra, wint'r, winter)** <61/7>. 64/4. 83/3. **vintra (B. wint'r)**. 70/20. 71/13.

**viþari** *adv. comp.* further, longer. A. 63/15.

**\*viþr<sup>1</sup>** *m.* timber, specifically firewood. A. *as viþ* 82/23. 85/7.

**viþr<sup>2</sup>** *prp. with acc.* to, towards; with; from; of. A. 60/20. <64/11>. 33 further instances. S. 96/1. B. **wid'r** 59/40. 61/20. 84/24. 87/23. 97/11. 101/5. 101/6. 94 note 706. **wid** (or **wed**) 64 note 156. See also **\*fallas viþr** (*with acc.*), **ganga viþr** (*with dat.*), **heta viþr** (*with dat.*), **kuma viþr**, **liggia viþr** (*with dat.*), **\*lita viþr** (*with acc.*), **sia viþr** (*with dat.*), **taka viþr** (*with dat.*), **\*þorfa viþr** (*with gen. or acc.*).

**viþr<sup>3</sup>** *adv.* to hand, present, beside, in addition, concerning, in connection. A. 71/7. 9 further instances. B. **wid'r** 61/3. **widir** 99/9.

**viþrkuma** *v.* be able to. See **kuma**.

**viþrlag** *n. pl.* deposit, compensation, recompense. The name given to a sum of six öre, which had to be offered before one could charge another person's slave simply on suspicion of theft. B. *acc.* **wid'r lagh** 100/3. **wider lagh** 100/6. Cf. **liggia viþr**.

**\*viþr taka** *v. with dat.* or *with at and infinitive* receive, take over; take upon oneself, adopt, assume. See **taka**.

**\*viþr þorfa** *v.* need (something), be in need. See **\*þorfa**.

**yfir<sup>1</sup>** *prp. with acc.* over. A. 72/9. 4 further instances. S. 95/9.

**yfir<sup>2</sup>** *adv.* over; in the matter. (80/7). A. 80/7. 4 further instances.

**yfirhor** *n.* double adultery. See **hor**.

**\*yfirkleþi** *n.* coat, cloak. A. *as yfirkleþi* 74/14.

**\*yfri** *adj. comp.* upper, later. A. *gsf yfru* 94/13. *apm yfru* 73/20.

*superl.* **\*yfirstr** uppermost, latest. A. *gsm yfirsta* (B. **yfarsta**) 84/19. *asm yfirsta* 85/3.

**\*ymil** *gender uncertain.* rumour, report, reputation. A. *as ymil* 78/21.

**\*ymis** *adj.* someone (in turn). A. *npm ymsir* 86/11.

**\*yngsti** see **ungr**.

**\*ypa** *v.* call. A. *sup. ypt* 89/15.

**\*ypin** *adj.* open. A. *nsn ypit* 72/8. 85/6. *dsn ypnu* 74/20. *asf ypna* 82/14. 82/14. 82/15. 82/16. *dpn ypnu* 85/12. B. *nsn uppit* 72 note 331. *dsf upni* 82 note 496. *dpn ypnu* 58/25. 74/19.

**yr<sup>1</sup>** *prp. with dat.* out of. A. 62/8. 10 further instances. B. 98/18. 100/18. 61 note 91.

governing a preceding relative pronoun 76/4.

**yr**<sup>2</sup> *adv.* out, from. A. 65/13. 84/24.

**yrkia** *v.* work; work through; damage. A. *i* 83/12. *subj.* 3*p* **yrkin** 64/4. *sup.* **ort** 70/12.

\***yx** *f.* axe. A. *gs* **yxar** 64/23. 4 further instances.

**yxna** see **uxi**.

**pa**<sup>1</sup> *adv.* then, at that time; now; (as an introduction to a resultant clause) so. A. 60/12.

[61/23]. <72/7>. [72/20]. <78/15>. 386 further instances. S. 95/4. 95/8. 95/11. B. **tha** 61/23. 61/24. 70/24. 97/4. 26 further instances. 61 note 94. 66 note 212. 66 note 213. 67 note 237. 72 note 329. 78 note 439. 97 note 759. **ta** 61/15. 72/20. 87/7. 98/18. 21 further instances. 67 note 237. 72 note 333. **thar** 65 note 175. **taar** 61 note 76. Bx. **tha** 74 note 370. **da** 98/13. Cf. **par**<sup>1</sup>.

**pa**<sup>2</sup> see **pann**<sup>1</sup>.

**pa en** *conj.* when; (but) if. A. <60/9>. 60/12. [60/17]. <60/22>. [72/20]. <78/20>. 158 further instances. **pa** ... **en** 67/12. **pa enn** 69/6. 69/7. B. **tha en** 58/50. 72/20. 97/5. 26 further instances. 60 note 53. 60 note 70. **ta en** 99/16. 99/24. 100/5. 78 note 441. (**tha**) **en** 60/17. **tha (en)** 61/25. **ta** ... **than** 67 note 237. Bx. **tha en** 98/13. 74 note 370.

**pa fran** see **pa(r) fran**.

\***paigin** *adv.* but not. A. 76 note 416. Cf. **poygi(n)**.

**paar**, **paim**, **pair**, **paira**, **pairi**, **pan**<sup>1</sup> see **pann**<sup>1</sup>.

**pan**<sup>1</sup> see **pann**<sup>1</sup>.

**pan**<sup>2</sup> see **pa en**.

**pan**<sup>3</sup> *f.* sinew. A. *ns* 72/21.

**pan**<sup>4</sup> *conj.* than. A. 61/6. 35 further instances. S. 95/19. B. **than** (occasionally **then** or **th'n**) 58/51. 98/2. 5 further instances. **tan** 100/12. 100/22. 88 note 601. Cf. **en**<sup>3</sup>.

**pann**<sup>1</sup> *pers. (n. and pl.), dem. or rel. pron.* it; they; that, that one, such, of this sort; the following; which. A. *nsm* **pan** 99/10. 25 further instances. **pann** 63/20. 13 further instances. *nsf* **paun** (B. also **taim**, **thaim**) 62/12. <62/15>. 5 further instances. *nsn* **bet** 60/8. 48 further instances. *gsm* **pes** 61/16. 91/17. *gsf* **pairi** 67/4. 77/22. *gsn* **pes** 60/25. 4 further instances. *dsm* **paim** 60/16. 17 further instances. *dsf* **pairi** 65/11. <71/14>. 5 further instances. *dsn* **pi** 60/8. 36 further instances (including the expression **mip pi** (et), **utan pi at ains** et). **py** 60/22. 12 further instances. (including the expressions **firi py so et**, **mep py et**, **utan py at ains et**) *asm* **pan**

63/22. 81/5. 87/23. 94/19. **pann** 63/16. *asf* **pa** 62/17. 67/10. 78/9. *asn* **pet** 60/4. 19 further instances. *npm* **pair** 60/25. [95/1]. 31 further instances. *npf* **par** (B. **taar**, **thaar**) 65/12. 8 further instances. **paar** 75/23. *npn* **paun** (B. also **taim**, **thaim**) <63/2>. 64/1. 22 further instances. *gp* **paira** 63/1. <64/8>. 21 further instances. *dp* **paim** 62/2. <84/20>. 21 further instances. *apm* **pa** 62/9. 8 further instances. **paim** 78/1. *apf* **par** 61/3. 93/4. **paim** 78/4. 78/5. *apn* **paun** 64/4. 90/21. (or *dnp*) **paim** 90/19. S. *nsn* **pet** 95/3. 95/4. 95/20. *asn* **pet** 95/23. *npf* **par** 95/11. 95/18. *dp* **paim** 95/15. B. *nsm* **than** 98/6. 100/19. 100/21. 71 note 303. **tan** 99/20. 100/1. 100/15. 100/24. 84 note 537. 93 note 698. *nsf* **than** 60 note 65. *nsn* **thet** 60/20. 63 note 129. **thet** 97/3. 98/2. 98/2. 98/24. 82 note 484. 95 note 740. **teth** 94 note 722. *gsf* **teirir** 67 note 223. *dsf* **theiri** 80/13. **teiri** 71 note 315. *dsn* **thi** 97/4. 100/2. 100/19. **thy** 97/9. 97/10. 97/26. *asm* **than** 84/3. 100/15. 80 note 457. **tan** 99/13. 70 note 299. *asn* **thet** 95/18. 98/8. **thet** 82/18. 99/11. 5 further instances. 89 note 626. 90 note 643. 92 note 684. *npm* **their** 97/21. **teir** 100/26. 101/1. 101/1. *npf* **ta** 76 note 414. 90 note 639. **tar** 95 note 732. *npn* **thaim** 63/3. 63 note 125. **taim** 77 note 430. *gp* **theira** 64 note 156. **teira** 99/3. *dp* **thaim** 64 note 152. **teim** 99/4. **theim** 84 note 541.

**pann**<sup>2</sup> see **pa en**.

**par**<sup>1</sup> *adv.* and *conj.* there, in the place (that), at the place where; then, subsequently.

A. 60/3 (considered redundant by Pipping). 60/15. 51 further instances. S. 95/12.

B. **thar** 58/29. 65/7. 76/9. 97/23. 100/10. 76 note 406. **tar** 97/3. 97/12. 97/21. 99/25. **tha** 65 note 188. 66 note 210. Cf. **pa**<sup>1</sup>.

**par**<sup>2</sup> see **pann**<sup>1</sup>.

**parf** *f. need.* A. *ns* 60/6. *gp* **parfa** 93/12.

**pa(r) fran** *adv.* from thence. A. (B. **tar fran**) 90/2.

**par til** *adv.* towards, besides, to this point, thus far. A. 67/12. 69/13. 74/22. 81/10. <90/7>. B. 90 note 632.

**par til et** *conj.* until. A. 61/23. 9 further instances.

**par ... um** *adv.* for that reason. A. 63/15.

**pau** *adv.* however, nevertheless, still; furthermore, besides, in addition. (B. most frequently **t(h)an**). A. 60/22. <79/16>. 28 further instances. B. **than** 68/13. 100/2. 101/8. 60 note 71. 87 note 582. **tan** 100/10. **thau** 67 note 241. Bx. **than** 76 note 416. Cf. **en pau**, **þoygi**.

**pau en** *conj.* even if. A. 68/5. B. **than en** 100/5.

**pau et conj.** although, even if, despite the fact that. A. 61/21. 11 further instances.

<88/23>. B. **than et** 68 note 247. **tan at** 88 note 610.

**paun** see **pann**<sup>1</sup>.

**pegar**<sup>1</sup> *adv.* immediately. A. 62/2. 5 further instances. S. 96/1. B. **thegar** 97/9. **tegar** 97/10. **tegan** 77 note 425.

**pegar**<sup>2</sup> (*sum*) *conj.* as soon as. A. 65/3. 67/16. 68/6. 76/12. **pegar sum** 60/13. <63/24>. B. **tegan** or **tegar** 68 note 248. **thegar som** 63 note 147. **tegar som** 97/19.

**pengat** *adv.* thither, there. A. 67/7. 80/3.

\***penn** *poss. pron. sing.* your. A. *dsf* **penni** 85/13. B. *asm* **thin** 99/8. 99/17.

**pet**<sup>1</sup> see **pann**<sup>1</sup>.

**pet**<sup>2</sup> *conj.* that. A. 60/2. 60/3. B. **thet** 78 note 442. **ath** 60 note 41.

**pepan** *adv.* from there, thence. A. 67/23.

**pi** see **mip pi (et)**, **utan pi at ains et**, **pann**<sup>1</sup>.

**pi at ains et conj.** only in the event that. B. **thi at eyns et** 100/2. Cf. **utan pi at ains et**.

\***pianista** *f.* (religious) service. A. *ds* **pianistu** 63/9. B. *dative or accusative singular* **tienistu** 97/23.

\***piaufgildi** *n.* penalty for theft. A. *ds* **piaufgildi** 86/10.

\***piaufnapr**<sup>1</sup> *m.* stolen goods. B. *ns* **tiauffnad'r** 100/1. *as* **tiauffnadin** 100/1.

\***piaufnapr**<sup>2</sup> *m.* theft. B. *ns* **tiauffnad'r** 100/11.

**piaufr** *m.* thief. A. *ns* 90/16. 90/17. *gp* **piaufa** 59/13. 90/9. 90/10. B. *ds* **tiaufi** 100/14. *as* **tiauff** 100/13.

\***piaup** *n.* person; *pl.* people. A. *np* **piaup** 89/11. *gp* **piaupa** 71/10. *dp* (**hus**)**piaupum** 59/31. 93/17. *ap* (**hus**)**piaup** 93/19.

**pigia** *v.* keep silent. A. *i* 80/7.

**ping** *n.* assembly, thing, place of assembly, thing-law. A. *ns* 87/24. *gs* **pings** 64/10. <92/2>. 5 further instances. *ds* **pingi** 60/18. <90/23>. 13 further instances. (**hunderis**) **pingi** 86/3. (**mala**)**pingi** 86/10. *as* **ping** 64/10. 7 further instances. *gp* **pinga** 91/6. 91/9. *dp* **pingum** 59/4. 87/19. 91/24. (**hunderis**) **pingum** 87/21. *ap* **ping** 87/20. B. *gs* **tings** 66 note 209. 91 note 655. 92 note 669. **tinghs** 58 note 5. 66 note 209. *ds* **tingi** 100/15. 90 note 649. *as* **ting** 97/12. 97/21. 97/22.

**pingfripr** *m.* thing protection. See **fripr**.

\***pingfyra** *v.* refer to the thing. A. *i* **pin[g]fyra** <90/12>. B. *i* **ting fyra** 90 note 635.

\***þing(s)laun** *f.* thing payment (for bringing a lost animal to the assembly). **A.** *as þingslaun* <91/3>. **B.** *as tings laun* 91/7. 91 note 655.

**þingsmenn** *m. pl.* thing-men. See **maþr**.

**þir** see **þu**.

**þissi** *dem. pron. and adj.* this (same). **A.** *nsn þitta* 60/2. 63/7. 82/6. 87/20. **hitta** 94/13. *dsf þissi* 78/11. *dsn þissu* (**B.** *thesso*) 94/14. *asf þissa* 85/18. *asn þitta* (**B.** often *thetta*) 61/17. 8 further instances. **S.** *nsn hitta* [59/39]. 94/13. 95/3. *dp þissum* 96/2. **B.** *nsn thitta* 60 note 51. 94 note 710.

\***þorfa** *v.* have to. (*Used with gen., with viþr and gen., with viþr and acc., or with an infinitive.*) \***þorfa viþr** need (something), be in need. **A.** *3s þarf* 61/2. 4 further instances. (*viþr*) **þarf** <61/11>. 66/10. 4 further instances. *3p þorfu* 85/25. **B.** *3s tarff* 100/9. (*wid'r*) **tarfar** 69/7. 61 notes 84 and 85.

\***þorka** *v.* dry. **A.** *ip þorkas* 82/24.

\***þorp** *n.* farm, piece of land. See \***haimþorp**.

**þoygi et conj.** even if. **A.** 87/5. **B.** **than** 87 note 582.

**þoygi(n)** *adv.* not however. **A.** <76/24>. 79/1. **B.** **toygi** 100/22. **Bx.** **thoyghin** 76 note 416. Cf. \***þaigin**.

**þrang** *n.* crush; *pl.* need; coercion. **A.** *ds þrangi* 71/18. *np þrang* 85/16.

**þranglaus** *adj.* without coercion. **S.** *dsn þranglausu* 95/12. See **laus**.

\***þraþr** *m.* thread. **A.** *as þraþ* 72/15.

**þrel** *m.* slave, thrall. **A.** *ns* 64/3. 7 further instances. **þrell** 70/13. 75/6. 75/7. *gs þrels* 69/18. 69/24. *ds þreli* 75/11. *as þrel* 64/25. **þrell** 70/10. **B.** *ns trell* 58/27. 75/5. 99/23. 100/17. **trell** 100/14. *ds treli* 100/8. *as trel* 100/9. 100/23. **trell** 99/26. 100/8. 100/24. **trelin** 100/3. 100/12. 100/20. 100/21. *np trelar* 99/26.

\***þrengia** *v.* press. See \***til þrengia**.

**þretan** *num.* thirteen. **A.** *nf* 89/9.

\***þrigildi** *n.* fines of three times the value of a stolen item. **B.** *as trigildi* 99/25. 5 further instances.

**þrir** *num.* three. **A.** *nm* 62/5. 6 further instances. *nf þriar* 60/21. 7 further instances. *nn þry* 68/7. *gen. þriggia* 72/1. 74/22. 75/11. 77/18. <90/22>. *dat. þrim* 61/20. 20 further instances. *am þria* 61/15. <87/20>. 11 further instances. *af þriar* 60/12. 23 further instances. *an þry* 67/7. 5 further instances. **S.** *nn þry* 95/14. *gen. þriggia* 95/12. *af þriar* 95/7. **B.** *nm trir* 100/25. *nn try* 99/3. *gen. triggia* 86 note 571. 87 note 596. *dat. trim* 99/15. **thrim** 65 note 189. *am tria* 64 note 151. *an try* 101/7.

101/8.

**pripi** *num.* third. **A.** *nsm* 88/22. *gsf* **pripiu** <77/22>. 88/9. 88/11. *gsn* **priþia** 91/6. 91/9. *dsm* **priþia** 81/18. *dsn* **priþia** 64/20. 5 further instances. *asm* **priþia** 65/5. 76/4. 76/5. *asn* **priþia** 85/4. 89/7. **B.** *gsf* **tridio** 77 note 427. Cf. **half pripi**.

**priþiungr**<sup>1</sup> *m.* riding (third); *treding*. **A.** *ns* 87/25. 91/10. *gs* **priþiungs** 91/6. 91/9. 91/24.

**priþiungr**<sup>2</sup> *m.* third. **A.** *ns* <64/14>. *gs* **priþiungs** 86/22. *as* **priþiung** 61/18. 9 further instances. **B.** *ns* **tridiung'r** 64 note 163.

**pri** see **prii**.

**priysuar** *adv.* three times, thrice. **A.** 68/5. 68/11. 68/20. 89/15. **B.** **trysar** 68 note 246. 68 note 253.

**pu** *pers. pron. sing.* you. **A.** *nom.* 64/22. 74 further instances. *dat.* **þir** 66/1. **B.** *nom.* **thu** 58/5. 58/24. 65/17. 74/13. 75/3. 98/18. 6 further instances. 64 note 169. 65 note 201. 66 note 212. 66 note 213. 66 note 217. 66 note 218. **tu** 99/8. 6 further instances. 59 note 26. 89 note 611. (**wil**)**tu** 99/13. *dat.* **thir** 99/9. 99/10. 99/11. 99/17. **tir** 99/18. *acc.* **tik** 99/9.

\***puer** *adj.* across; **yfir puer** (*acc.*) on the opposite side of, right across. **A.** *asf* **puera** 72/9. *asn* **puert** 72/10.

\***pueri** *m.* block. See \***veg pueri**.

\***pufa** *f.* tuft. See \***starpufa**.

**pula** *v.* tolerate, endure. **A.** *i* 73/12. 80/3. *3p* **pula** 81/9. **B.** *i* **tula** 97/25.

**pumlingr** *m.* thumb. **A.** *ns* (**B.** **tumbling'r**) 72/17. *as* **pumling** 74/8.

\***pungi** *m.* weight. **A.** *as* **punga** 63/11.

\***punki** *m.* insult, fine for an insult. **A.** *as* **punka** 74/1. 75/3. 75/11. 75/12.

**py** see **þann**<sup>1</sup>.

**pybarn** *n.* illegitimate child. **A.** *gp* **pybarna** 78/7. *ap* **pybarn** 77/23. 77/23. **B.** *ap* **thybarn** 58/31. 77/19. Cf. **barn**.

**pydotir** *f.* illegitimate daughter. See **dotir**.

\***pykkia** *v.* impersonal with *dat.* seem. **A.** *3s* **pykkir** 65/3.

\***pypt** *f.* theft, robbery. **B.** *as* **typt** 100/8.

\***pypti** *n.* stolen goods. **B.** *ns* **typti** 99/24. 99/25. *ds* **typti** 99/24. 99/26. 100/13. *as* **typti(t)** 99/24. 100/11. 100/12. 100/14.

**pysun** *m.* illegitimate son. See **sun**.

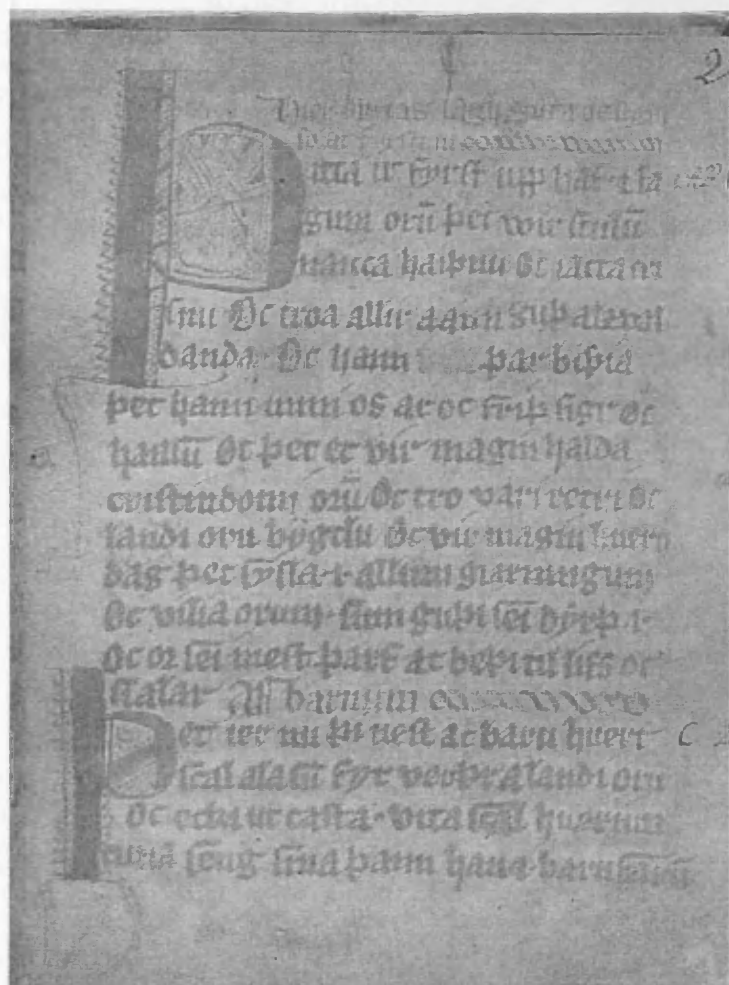


## Roman numerals

- ii num.** two. **A.** *df* 72/20. [72/20]. 72/21. [72/22]. 73/7. *af* 73/9. 80/22. 81/4. **B.** *df* 72/20. 72/22. 98/12. 98/13. 98/19. 98/24. 72 note 333. *am* 100/17. *af* 73 note 355. 80 note 463. **Bx.** *nf* 74 note 370. *af* 98/13.
- iii num.** three. **A.** *gf* 86/18. 87/25. 93/3. *dm* 92/16. 93/20. 94/5. *df* 78/11. 7 further instances. *am* 81/22. 90/22. *af* 62/22. 12 further instances. **S.** *am* 95/9. *af* 95/8. **B.** *nm* 100/26. *gf* 100/22. *df* 65 note 189. *am* 99/23. 100/18. 64 note 151. 87 note 593. 95 note 730. *af* 65 note 187.
- iiii num.** four. **A.** *df* 72/16. 78/10. *af* 85/4.
- v num.** five. **A.** *af* 81/8. **B.** *gm* 94 note 701.
- vi num.** six. **A.** *gm* 88/10. *df* 73/18. *am* 80/9. 85/7. 92/10. **B.** *nf* 65 note 184. *am* 99/8. 100/6. 100/7.
- vii num.** seven. **B.** *gf* 88 note 602.
- viii num.** eight. **A.** *af* 74/8. 75/3. <85/4>. 89/6. **B.** *df* 74 note 369. *af* 85 note 543.
- x num.** ten. **A.** *df* 79/21.
- xii num.** twelve. **A.** *gm* 80/13. *df* 73/15. *am* 94/20. *af* 79/12. 5 further instances. **B.** *nf* 65/7. *df* 72 note 345. *am* 94 note 718. *af* 99/4.
- xviii num.** eighteen. **A.** *nn* 78/6. *gm* 88/5. *gn* 78/4. *df* 73/6.
- xl num.** forty. **A.** *af* 79/18. 67 note 222. **B.** *af* 97/14.

## MANUSCRIPT PAGES

(i) B 64

Page of *Guta lag* from B 64, natural size

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(ii) AM 54 4°

41.

*þessu gættu  
12. 11. 50*  
**E**ða en gangu þess eynom tiljunda  
 frammar than androm, eða var  
 þi fjöndi andin: ta eýga allir haffna  
 e metan o sápt ier: **E**ða en þý  
 þi weia eýgu ofrípta: or dreyr an  
 teira man, ta wardar hwar inom  
 weikom. Eýan þýr som drap.

44. **Aff** Gútnisli manis Gini.

*weirule  
and þessu  
þessu aff  
þessu aff  
m.*  
**E**gin gútnisli manis son far sápt  
 aff feli sinom aff eýgu than ar  
 han deýdar, utan þý at eins e fadr  
 wili: eða giptis mæ fadrar ræða wila.  
**E**ða en han sápt wili: ta taki  
 vþ haffni lút sen aff eýgom at wæ,  
 limg, en fadr ta haffni dæ set e  
 sápt: or gætti teim lands ierigir aff  
 or haffni lút sen, or ræði sápti þýr þi  
 faru hwarat han wili so frammarla  
 som fadr eýguas eý oræða mæð.

45. **Aff** Gædom.

*þessu gættu  
12. 11. 50*  
**E**war som gættu gættu oræðlika: þý  
 fýri gættu sinom lút, or eý mæra:  
 En  
 the fain allir  
 sápt aff fadr  
 sinom eýgar  
 fæði sápt o  
 ræða mæð.

## APPENDIX A: COMPARISON OF MANUSCRIPTS

(i) *Manuscript content comparison*

<b>Manuscript</b>	<b><i>B 64</i></b>	<b><i>AM 54</i></b>	<b><i>B 65</i></b>	<b><i>AM 55</i></b>
<b>Content</b>				
<b>Oldest statutes</b>	Chapters 1-47	Chapters 1-65	Chapters 1-59	Chapters 1-67
<b>Later statutes</b>	Chapters 48-61	Chapters 66-80	Chapters 60-75	Chapters 68-80
<b>Priests' children</b>	No (Chapter 5)	Yes (Chapter 4)	No (Chapter 5)	No (Chapter 5)
<b>Rights of betrothed women</b>	-	-	-	Yes (Chapter 13)
<b>Extra clauses relating to unruly animals</b>	No (Chapter 17)	Yes (Chapter 17)	No (Chapter 17)	No (Chapter 18)
<b>Clause concerning bruising</b>	Yes (Chapter 19)	Yes (Chapter 19)	No (Chapter 19)	No (Chapter 21)
<b>Clause concerning partial disability</b>	Yes (Chapter 19)	Yes (Chapter 19)	Yes (Chapter 19)	No (Chapter 21)
<b>Clause concerning hidden disability</b>	No (Chapter 19)	No (Chapter 19)	Yes (Chapter 19)	No (Chapter 21)
<b>Clause concerning ale throwing</b>	Yes (Chapter 19)	Yes (Chapter 19)	No (Chapter 19)	Yes (Chapter 21)
<b>Clause concerning slaves fighting</b>	Yes (Chapter 19)	Yes (Chapter 24)	Yes (Chapter 20)	No (Chapter 22)
<b>Clause concerning inheritance of childless man</b>	Yes (misplaced in Chapter 19)	Yes (Chapter 25)	Yes (Chapter 21)	Yes (Chapter 23)
<b>Statutes concerning seduction</b>	Yes (misplaced in Chapter 20)	Yes (Chapter 29)	Yes (Chapter 23)	Yes (Chapter 24)
<b>Clause concerning displacing a woman's coif</b>	Yes (Chapter 23)	Yes (Chapter 29)	No (Chapter 26)	Yes (Chapter 27)
<b>Concerning travellers' pathways</b>	Yes (Chapter 64, misplaced from after 24)	Yes (Chapter 37)	Yes (Chapter 31)	-

<b>Purchase of slaves</b>	No (although in Contents)	Yes (Chapter 49)	Yes (Chapter 43)	Yes (Chapter 43)
<b>Care of ships</b>	Yes (Chapter 36)	Yes (Chapter 53)	Yes (Chapter 47)	-
<b>Statutes relating to theft by slaves</b>	No (Chapter 38)	Yes (Chapter 55)	Yes (Chapter 50)	No (Chapter 49)
<b>Gilded items</b>	Cf. Chapter 24	Cf. Chapter 35	Cf. Chapter 28	Chapters 51, 30, 81
<b>The sale of ale</b>	-	-	-	Yes (Chapter 52)
<b>Watch duty</b>	Cf. Chapter 54	Cf. Chapter 72	Cf. Chapter 63	Chapters 53, 71
<b>Cutting down specific trees</b>	-	-	-	Yes (Chapter 54)
<b>Cutting down trees in someone's enclosure</b>	-	-	-	Yes (Chapter 55)
<b>Taking timber</b>	Cf. Chapter 26	Cf. Chapter 40	Cf. Chapter 36	Chapters 56, 35
<b>Cutting down a slip rails</b>	-	-	-	Yes (Chapter 57)
<b>Cutting down doors</b>	-	-	-	Yes (Chapter 58)
<b>Cutting down posts or supports</b>	-	-	-	Yes (Chapter 59)
<b>Concerning taxes</b>	Yes (Chapter 53)	Yes (Chapter 71)	Yes (Chapter 62)	-
<b>Epilogue</b>	Yes (Chapter 61)	Yes (after Chapter 82)	Yes (after Chapter 75)	Yes (Chapter 75)
<b>Concerning hair pulling</b>	Yes (Chapter 62)	Yes (Chapter 20)	-	Yes (Chapter 82)
<b>Concerning woodland</b>	Yes (Chapter 63)	Yes (Chapter 82)	-	Yes (Chapter 83)
<b>Clause limiting toasts at weddings</b>	Yes (misplaced in Chapter 63)	Yes (Chapter 33)	No (Chapter 27)	No (Chapter 28)
<b>Concerning women's inheritance</b>	Yes (Chapter 65)	Yes (Chapter 35)	-	Yes (Chapter 81)
<b>Forbidding credit</b>	Yes (first clause ends Chapter 65)	Yes (Chapter 81)	-	Yes (first clause ends Chapter 81)

Where a clause does not appear in a certain manuscript, the chapter containing the related clauses, if any, is shown, otherwise a dash appears in the table.

## (ii) Chapter sequence comparison of the fourteen later statutes

<b>Manuscript Chapter</b>	<b><i>B 64</i></b>	<b><i>AM 54</i></b>	<b><i>B 65</i></b>	<b><i>AM 55</i></b>
<b>Af rofnakrum</b>	48	66	60	77
<b>Af hafreki</b>	49	67	74	68
<b>Af eldi</b>	50	68	72	69
<b>Af bierueldi</b>	51	69	73	70
<b>Af broagierþ</b>	52	70	61	79
<b>Af skuti</b>	53	71	53	-
<b>Af varpi</b>	54	72	63	71
<b>Af husum etc.</b>	55	73	64; 65	78
<b>Af byrslufulki</b>	56	74; 75	66; 67	76
<b>Af ikornum</b>	57	76	68	72
<b>Af herum</b>	58	77	69	73
<b>Af skafli</b>	59	78	70	74
<b>Af messufalli</b>	60	79	75	75
<b>Af dufli</b>	61	80	71	80

## APPENDIX B: CHRONOLOGY OF HISTORICAL EVENTS

## Outline of Gotland's history and related mainland Swedish events

- 1164 Swedish archbishopric, under that of Lund, founded in Uppsala  
Cistercian monastery of Beata Maria de Gutnalia founded at Roma
- 1195 Henry of Livonia leads a crusade against Kurland including Gotlanders
- 1203 Name *Wysbu* appears in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia
- 1207 Andreas Suneson, Archbishop of Lund, visits Gotland
- 1208 Battle of Lena. Sverker defeated and Erik Knutsson assumes Swedish throne
- 1213 Letter from Pope Innocent III concerning the rural deans in Gotland
- 1216 Johan Sverkersson king of Sweden
- 1217 Gotland's tithe distribution law confirmed by Pope Honorius III
- 1221 Letter from Andreas Suneson and Bishops Karl and Bengt concerning  
the relationship between Gotland and the See of Linköping
- 1222 Erik Eriksson king of Sweden
- 1225 The name Visby appears in a letter from Bengt, Bishop of Linköping  
Records relating to Riga mention *ius Gutorum* as applying there
- 1230 Gotland's tithe law again confirmed by Pope Gregory IX
- 1248 Birger Magnusson appointed Jarl  
Papal legate Vilhelm of Sabina declares priestly celibacy at Synod of  
Skänninge
- 1249 Erik Eriksson dies; Birger Jarl governs Sweden
- 1250 Valdemar Birgersson crowned; Birger Jarl regent
- 1253 Tithe arrangements again confirmed by Pope Innocent IV
- 1255 German and English merchants start to take over Gotlandic trade
- 1260 Law of inheritance makes daughters equal with sons in Sweden
- 1266 Birger Jarl dies; Valdemar Birgersson rules in his own right
- 1275 Magnus Birgersson (Ladulås) king; position of *jarl* replaced by *sveahertig*
- 1285 Annual *laipingslami* tax declared; Gotland effectively under Swedish rule
- 1288 King Magnus intervenes in civil war between Visby and the farmers  
*Visby stadslag* put in place
- 1290 Magnus Birgersson dies
- 1298 Birger Magnusson king of Sweden
- 1310 Sweden partitioned; Birger Magnusson assigned Gotland
- 1313 Taxes in Gotland increased  
Battle of Röcklingebacke; Birger defeated in his attempt to annex Gotland
- 1318 Birger flees to Gotland, then Denmark
- 1319 Magnus Eriksson king, but with a minority government
- 1320 Taxes in Gotland reduced to previous levels
- 1322 Visby's privileges confirmed
- 1332 Magnus Eriksson king in his own right
- 1335 Slavery abolished under the Statute of Skara
- 1347 *Magnus Erikssons landslag* replaces mainland provincial laws
- 1350 Black Death in Visby
- 1361 Valdemar IV Atterdag of Denmark invades and conquers Gotland
- 1398 The Teutonic Order seizes power in Gotland from the Vitalian Brotherhood
- 1408 The Teutonic Order returns Gotland to Erik of Pommern
- 1645 Gotland finally returned to Swedish rule at the peace of Brömsebro

## APPENDIX C: MONETARY SYSTEM

*Units of value*

Denomination	Standard	Equivalent	Reference
Mark (weight)	gold	8 silver marks	e.g. Chapter 15, 69/16-17
Mark (weight)	silver	4 marks in coin	e.g. Chapter 13, 68/14
Mark (counted, Gutnish <i>mark penninga</i> )	coin		e.g. Chapter 15, 69/18
Half mark	usually coin, once silver		e.g. Chapter 19, 71/21-22, 72/10
Öre (Gutnish <i>oyrir</i> )	usually coin	1/8 mark	e.g. Chapter 2, 61/6
Örtug (Gutnish <i>ertaug</i> )	usually coin	1/3 öre (i.e. 1/24 mark)	e.g. Chapter 19, 74/1
Penny (Gutnish <i>*penningr</i> )	coin	8, 10, 12 or 16 to the örtug	e.g. Chapter 45, 91/22

For the relationship between the mark of gold and that of silver, cf. Wessén (*SL IV*, 259 note 1). There is little doubt that his conclusion is correct. The exact relationship between the silver mark (a unit of weight, also divided into 24 *örtugar*) and the coined mark (a counted unit) is far from unambiguous and interpretation is not assisted by the following circumstances: (1) the definitions *silfr* and *penningr* are often omitted; (2) the manuscripts of *GL* occasionally give different fines for the same offences (cf. Wennström 1940, 74-75). Jacobsen (*GGD*, 25 note 1) suggests that the silver mark was ‘mere end det dobbelte af en Mark Penge’, whereas Wessén (*SL IV*, 245 note 4) equates a silver mark to four marks in coin and there is certainly internal evidence (73/18-19) to suggest this. It seems to be generally the case that, if a qualification is omitted, a mark in coin is intended (cf. *SL IV*, 245 note 4), but this assumption must naturally be made with circumspection and there is certainly one instance in which this is not the case (see Appendix D).

The number of pennies to the *örtug* in Gotland has been given variously as:



8	Schlyter ( <i>CIG</i> , 287), Pipping ( <i>GLGS</i> , <i>Ordbok</i> , 62), Jacobsen ( <i>GGD</i> , 25 note 1)
12	Hildebrand 1879-1953, I, 893, 941; Jansson 1936, 65; N. L. Rasmusson in <i>KL</i> s. v. <i>Penning</i>
16, later 8	Hauberg 1891, 9-10
'probably' 8	Thordeman 1936, 17
8 or 10	Wennström 1940, 15
10	Hasselberg 1953, 204 note 1, referring to the time of <i>VStL</i>

Jansson (1936, 12) states that a weighed *örtug* was 7-9 grams with an *öre* being 24-27 grams. He also holds (1936, 65) that there were twelve pennies to the *örtug* in Denmark, Gotland, and Öland and in the rest of the Baltic. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 25 note 1) states, however, that the number of pennies to the *örtug* was ten in Denmark, just as in Norway and this is confirmed in Andreas Suneson's translation of *Skånelagen* (e.g. *SkLAS* 119; *CISk* II 65). Suggestions that there were twelve pennies to the *örtug* in Jylland during the medieval period are unsubstantiated. In Svealand there were eight pennies to the *örtug*, in Götaland (particularly Västergötland) initially 16 (although later 8). It was thus possible that the *penning* coin was originally considerably smaller in size in some areas and a mark was respectively 288 (Gotland, Öland and possibly Jylland), 240 (Denmark), 192 (Svealand) and 384 (Västergötland) pennies. Rasmusson in *KL* states that there were four, not three *örtugar* of twelve *penningar* to the *öre* in Gotland, but this is not supported elsewhere. The standard of Svealand gradually took over in Sweden after 1300.

## APPENDIX D: TABLE OF PENALTIES EXTRACTED

(i) *Non-monetary penalties*

Page and line	Crime	Penalty
61/7	If a female slave commits infanticide	Six extra years of bondage (plus a fine paid by her master)
63/12	Carting more than permitted on the Sabbath	Confiscation of the load until redeemed
64/4	If work is done on the Sabbath by a slave man or woman	Three extra years of bondage (plus a fine paid by the master)
64/9	Damaging or stealing monastic property	Excommunication
65/1	Killing or wounding during Church Festivals	Withholding of church offices (excommunication), until fines are paid
68/13	Refusing to offer compensation for a killing within the specified time	Outlawry (and see below for additional fines)
70/4-5	Killing of a Gotlandic or non-Gotlandic man by a slave	Master to bring slave bound to the farm of the dead man within forty nights
75/6	A slave fighting a free man	Two blows to the slave equate to one and matters are considered even
77/16-17	Selling the family farm illegally	Loss of one's shared inheritance with one's siblings and reduction of one's wergild to that of a non-Gotlander
78/11-12	Adultery of any man with the illegitimate daughter of a Gotlandic man with a non-Gotlandic woman (or vice versa) when taken <i>in flagrante delicto</i>	Loss of a hand or foot (or payment of three marks in silver as stated below)
78/15-17	Adultery of a man with an unmarried Gotlandic woman when taken <i>in flagrante delicto</i>	Placing in the stocks for three nights, followed by loss of a hand or foot (or payment of six marks in silver by his family)
79/15-16	Adultery of a married woman	Life (or 40 marks as chosen by the wronged husband)
79/18-22	Carrying off of a woman without her family's consent	Life, literally 'neck', (or his wergild if she is Gotlandic or ten silver marks otherwise)
80/10-11	Rape of a married woman, whether Gotlandic or not	Life (or the wergild set on the woman)
80/16-18	Rape of a Gotlandic woman by a slave	Life (unless the woman would prefer to be paid her wergild by the slave's master)

83/13	Working in another man's woodland or marsh	Confiscation of the result of his work and his draught animal
90/12	Stealing more than two <i>öre</i> and up to a mark in silver	Presentation before the assembly and branding (as well as a <i>wergild</i> fine)
90/13	Recidivist theft, or theft of a mark in silver or more	Hanging [considered a shameful execution]
95/12-13	Laying waste land worth three marks in rent, without cause	Life, literally 'neck', for the man and loss of her church pew for his wife

The non-monetary punishments could be summarized as:

1. Hanging
2. Other unspecified method of execution
3. Outlawry
4. Excommunication
5. Loss of inheritance and status
6. Loss of a hand or foot
7. Branding or other disfigurement
8. Placement in the stocks
9. Temporary withdrawal of church offices
10. Increase of period of bondage
11. Confiscation of goods involved in offence

(ii) *Monetary penalties*

Page and line	Crime	To whom paid (if not clearly the victim or his heirs)	Fine (in coin unless otherwise stated)
60/12	Infanticide by a free woman	Parishioners, returnable if she is found innocent	Three marks
60/17, 18	as above	(Local or hundred) assembly members, if the case goes further, and the dean	Three marks each
60/20	as above	General assembly	Twelve marks
60/21	Sheltering a child killer	Unspecified	Three marks
61/6	If a slave commits infanticide		Six <i>öre</i> (paid by the master, and see above)
61/16	Failure to pay tithe on time, or before moving parish	Parishioners, church, priest	Three marks
62/18	Heathen practices	Parishioners	Three marks
62/22	as above	(Local) assembly	Three marks
62/23	as above	General assembly	Twelve marks
63/12	Over-burdening an animal, or transporting forbidden goods on the Sabbath	Half to the informant and half to the priest and parishioners	Six <i>öre</i> to redeem the load and six <i>öre</i> in fine
64/2	Working on the Sabbath by free men or women	Half to the informant and half to the parish, priest and church	Six <i>öre</i> in fine and the loss of the work done
64/4	Working on the Sabbath by slave men or women	Unspecified	Three <i>öre</i> in fine to be paid by the master (and see above)
64/9	Damage to or theft from monastery property		Twice the fine payable as that to a farmer (and excommunication as noted above)
64/10	Damage to or theft from monastery property	General assembly (if it comes that far)	Three marks (above the fine to the cloister)
64/22	Killing during Church festivals	Parishioners, Church, Priest	Three marks
64/23	Wounding during Church festival	Parishioners, Church, Priest	Twelve <i>öre</i> (three <i>öre</i> if done by a slave)
64/23	Striking with a blunt instrument during Church festivals	Parishioners, Church, Priest	Six <i>öre</i>

64/24	Scuffling or punching in anger during Church festivals	Parishioners, Church, Priest	Three öre
65/7	Killing in a church	General assembly	40 marks (Ten marks in silver)
65/7	Killing in a churchyard [and it might be assumed wounding in a church]	General assembly	Twelve marks (of which three go to the dean)
65/11	Killing a criminal in sanctuary in one of the three sanctuary churches, churchyards or rectory grounds	General assembly	40 marks
65/14	Bruising in church or wounding in a churchyard	Parishioners, Church, Priest	Six marks
65/16	Scuffling in a church or bruising in a churchyard	Parishioners, Church, Priest	Three marks
65/17-18	Scuffling or punching in a churchyard	Parishioners, Church, Priest	Twelve öre
65/19	Re-consecration after the above	Church	Three marks
66/1	Killing during the 'general peace'	General assembly	As much wergild as the man is worth (in addition to the normal payment to the heirs)
66/2	Wounding or attacking during the general peace	Unspecified (presumably the general assembly)	Three marks
66/4-3	Destroying property during the general peace	Unspecified (presumably the general assembly)	Three marks
66/7-9	Taking a man's horse or ox as surety during the Spring peace	Unspecified	Three marks
66/13	Taking someone by the hair, or punching them during the assembly	Unspecified	Three marks (in addition to fines for the crime)

66/14-15	Striking someone with a blunt weapon or causing a wound at the assembly	Unspecified	Three marks
66/15-16	Killing or maiming a man, except in revenge, at the assembly	Unspecified	Six marks
66/20	Killing or maiming a man at his home	General assembly and the victim or his heirs	Twelve marks each (in addition to wergild if death is involved)
66/21-22	Striking someone in their home with a blunt weapon or causing a wound	The community and the victim	Three marks each (in addition to the normal fine)
68/14-15	Refusing to offer compensation for a killing within the specified time, or not keeping to his circle of truce	General assembly and the claimant	Six marks in silver each
69/9	Killing by a minor		Twelve marks in silver (i.e. half a wergild)
69/14	Killing a pregnant woman		Twelve marks in silver for the child and full wergild for the woman
69/16-17	Killing a Gotlander	His or her heirs	Three marks in gold (i.e. 24 marks in silver, 96 marks in coin)
69/17-18	Killing a non-Gotlander	His or her heirs	Ten marks in silver (i.e. 40 marks in coin, as in Sweden)
69/18	Killing a slave	[His master, presumably]	Four and a half marks <sup>1</sup>
69/23	Killing a Gotlander in his circle of truce		Twelve marks in silver (half a wergild)
69/23-24	Killing a non-Gotlander in his circle of truce		Five marks in silver (half a wergild)
69/24	Killing a slave in his circle of truce	Presumably the victim's master	Six öre (a sixth of a slave's wergild)
70/2	Maiming a non-Gotlander's hand or foot		Ten marks in coin (¼ wergild)
70/3	Other maiming		¼ wergild, presumably

<sup>1</sup> This does not seem to be the same as the *value* of the slave, which appears to be three marks in silver.

70/5	Killing of a Gotlandic man by a slave		Nine marks in silver (plus the slave, valued at three marks in silver)
70/6	Killing of a Gotlandic man by a slave who then escapes		Twelve marks in silver (i.e. half the wergild for a Gotlander from the master of the slave)
70/6-7	Killing of a non-Gotlandic man by a slave		Two marks in silver (plus the slave)
70/8	Killing of a non-Gotlandic man by a slave who then escapes		Five marks in silver (i.e. half the wergild for a non-Gotlander)
70/9-10	In both the above cases, if the master does not get an oath to deny his own involvement		Full wergild for the dead man (24 or ten marks in silver)
70/11	Killing of one slave by another	Presumably the victim's master	Four and a half marks in lieu of the slave himself <sup>1</sup>
70/15	Killing of a man by an uncastrated ox of five years old or more		Twelve marks [in silver understood], i.e. half his wergild <sup>2</sup>
70/21-22	Killing of a Gotlander by an ox, horse, three year old or older boar or dog		Twelve marks in silver
70/23-24	Killing of a non-Gotlander in the same circumstances		One third of his wergild, i.e. 13 1/3 marks in coin (3 1/3 marks in silver) <sup>3</sup>
71/2	Wounding, etc. by animals		One third of the normal fine
71/3-4	Dog bites		Two <i>öre</i> per bite, up to four
71/6-7	Striking a woman so that she miscarries		Half a wergild
71/14-15	Killing a properly supervised child under three by accident at a gathering		Full wergild

<sup>2</sup> This is one of the few instances in which 'silver' is not stated explicitly, but is clearly intended.

<sup>3</sup> This is quite specifically at odds with the practice for a Gotlander, where *half* the wergild is offered.

71/21-22	Causing a wound one or more nail-breadths deep		Half a mark for each nail-breadth in length and depth [circa one inch] up to eight
71/22-23	Causing a wound less than a nail-breadth deep, but needing treatment		A quarter of a mark for each nail-breadth in length
72/3	Causing a body wound		One mark in silver
72/3	Stabbing with a knife		Two marks in silver
72/4-5	Throwing stones or other missiles		Three marks
72/5-6	Causing a visible wound that does not shed blood		Half a mark for each blow up to four
72/7, 9	Causing a wound through the nose or lip that heals		Two marks and then for the scar; presumably half that for an ear
72/8, 8-9	As above, when it does not heal		Maximum price for a wound (i.e. two marks in silver) or one mark for an ear
72/9-11	Causing a scar on the face between hat and beard		Half a mark in silver or a mark in silver if the scar is very noticeable
72/11-12	Splitting the scalp		One mark (in coin), or two if the skull is visible
72/12-13	Cracking the skull		One mark in silver, or two if the membrane is visible
72/14	Each sizeable fragment of bone chipped off		One mark
72/15-16	Each larger bone		Two marks each up to four bones
72/16-17	Each finger lost or badly damaged		Four marks [in coin]
72/17, 20	Loss of a thumb, or damage to the hand so that it is partially disabled		Two marks in silver (i.e. twice as much)
72/20-21	Loss of mobility or breaking the heel or neck		Two marks in silver
72/22	Each toe lost		Two marks
72/22-23	Loss of hand, foot or eye		Six marks in silver for each (of these <i>different</i> things)



72/24-25	Loss of both hands or both feet or both eyes in a survived attack		Twelve marks in silver for each (of these <i>different pairs</i> of things, disagreeing with SL4, 263, note 25)
73/1	Loss of the nose		Twelve marks in silver
73/2-3	Loss of the tongue		Twelve marks in silver
73/3-4	Loss a testicle, resulting in infertility		Six marks in silver
73/4-5	Loss both testicles		Twelve marks in silver
73/5-6	Loss of the penis		Eighteen marks in silver
73/7	Each broken rib		Two marks each up to four
73/7-8	Smaller bones in the hand or foot		One mark
73/8-9	Larger bones in hand or foot		One mark in silver, or two if disability results
73/11-12	An invisible injury resulting in minor disability		One mark
73/15-16, 18	Injury resulting in deafness		Twelve marks in silver, or six if it is partial
73/18-19	Loss of an ear		One mark in silver; two marks in coin if the ear is retained damaged <sup>4</sup>
73/20-23	Loss of teeth		Two marks for each upper front tooth, one for every other tooth in the upper jaw; lower jaw teeth at half this rate
73/24-25	Hair-pulling		Two <i>öre</i> ( $\frac{1}{4}$ mark) if done with one hand, otherwise half a mark
73/25, 74/1	Shaking, pushing kicking or punching someone		Two <i>öre</i>
74/1	Throwing ale in someone's eye		Eight <i>örtugar</i> ( $\frac{1}{3}$ mark), for the insult
74/4	Striking someone with a staff		Half a mark per blow up to two marks, unless disfigurement results
74/7-10	Creating a bald patch the size of a finger, two fingers, two fingers and a thumb, hand		Eight <i>örtugar</i> , half a mark, a mark, two marks <sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> A silver mark is thus more than two marks in coin, probably twice as much.

<sup>5</sup> Eight *örtugar* must thus be less than half a mark and greater than a quarter of a mark. This shows that there were most likely three *örtugar* to the *öre* ( $\frac{1}{3}$  mark) in Gotland as elsewhere.

74/10	Pulling out all a man's hair		One mark in silver <sup>4</sup>
74/11-12	Removing a man's scalp		One mark in silver
74/14-15	Damage to outer clothing, kirtle, undergarments		One <i>öre</i> , two <i>öre</i> , eight <i>örtugar</i> , plus repair to the clothing <sup>5</sup>
75/3	Blocking someone's way, or turning them aside		Eight <i>örtugar</i> (for the insult)
75/4	Violently forcing a man to abandon his route	The victim and the community	Three marks each
75/7-8	A slave getting more than two blows for one from a free man	The slave's master, presumably	Two <i>öre</i> per blow, up to four blows
75/8-9	A free man getting more than one blow for two from a slave		Half a mark per blow up to four blows
75/10	Any non-injuring attack on a slave		Half the free man's compensation
75/10-11	Any injury to a slave		The same as for a free man up to three marks
78/10	Seduction by any man of the illegitimate daughter of a Gotlandic man with a non-Gotlandic woman (or vice versa)		<i>Hogsl</i> of four marks
78/11-13	Any man taken in the act of seduction of the illegitimate daughter of a Gotlandic man with a non-Gotlandic woman (or vice versa)		Three marks in silver (to avert the loss of a hand or foot)
78/17; 79/2-3	Any man taken in the act of seduction of a single Gotlandic woman		Six marks in silver (to avert the loss of a hand or foot)
78/24-25	If a Gotlandic man loses a paternity case, when he was not taken <i>in flagrante delicto</i>		Maintaining the mother and child, or full <i>hogsl</i> , if she is Gotlandic

78/25; 79/8-9	Any man taken in the act of seduction of a non-Gotlandic woman in her home		Three marks
79/3-4	If a non-Gotlandic man is not taken <i>in flagrante delicto</i> with a Gotlandic woman, but has a child with her		Eight marks in <i>hogsl</i> (and brings up the child), if he acknowledges it
79/6-7	If a non-Gotlandic man loses a paternity case, when he was not taken <i>in flagrante delicto</i>		Full <i>hogsl</i> , if she is Gotlandic, with the child being maintained by her father or brother if she is unmarried
79/7-8	If a non-Gotlandic man has a child with a non-Gotlandic woman		Three marks in <i>hogsl</i> (and he is to bring up the child)
79/11	Adultery (presumably by an unmarried man)	The wronged party and the (local) assembly	Six marks and three marks respectively
79/12	Double adultery	The wronged party and the general assembly	Twelve marks each
79/13-14	Adultery by married man with an unmarried woman, but not vice-versa		<i>Hogsl</i>
79/15-16	Adultery by any man taken in <i>flagrante delicto</i> with a married woman		40 marks (or execution, as decided by the cuckolded husband)
79/17-18	Luring a woman to marriage without her family's agreement	Father or guardian and general assembly	40 marks, of which twelve went to the assembly
79/18-20	Taking a woman by force without her family's agreement	Father or guardian and the general assembly	Man's wergild (ten marks in silver if she was non-Gotlandic), of which twelve went to the assembly (or his neck)
80/8-10	Rape of a woman: Gotlandic, non-Gotlandic or slave		Twelve marks, five marks or six <i>öre</i> respectively (cf. the <i>banduvereldi</i> )
80/10-11	Rape of a married free woman		Her wergild value (in return for his life)

80/16-18	Rape by a slave of a Gotlandic woman		Her wergild (from his master) only if the woman allows this instead of the slave's life
80/21-22	(Half) uncovering a woman's head (of a free woman only)		(One) two marks
80/23-25	Striking off a clasp or buckle or both, or knocking them to the ground		Eight <i>örtugar</i> or ½ mark or one mark
80/25-81/1	Pulling off a woman's lacing		½ mark for each up to the maximum [probably two marks] and the return of them
81/1-2	Pushing a woman so that her clothes are displaced		Eight <i>örtugar</i>
81/2-4	If clothing is displaced to mid-calf, knee, loins		½ mark, mark, two marks
81/5-6; 10-11	Grasping a woman by the wrist; elbow, shoulders, breast		½ mark, eight <i>örtugar</i> , five <i>örtugar</i> , one <i>öre</i> ; half this if the woman is not Gotlandic
81/7-8; 10-11	Grasping a woman by the ankle, lower leg, thigh, higher up		½ mark, eight <i>örtugar</i> , five <i>örtugar</i> , no fine, as the woman is held responsible by this time; half this if the woman is not Gotlandic, but freeborn
81/21	Providing more than the stipulated ale at a wedding	The general assembly	Twelve marks
81/21-22	Gate-crashing a wedding or other feast		Three <i>öre</i>
83/10-11	Giving leave for another to cut wood or reeds in unallocated wood or marsh	The wronged party and the community	Three marks each
83/16-17	Damaging another person's property	The wronged party and the community	Three marks each
83/17-18	Enclosing unallocated land	The wronged party and the community	Three marks each
84/6, 7-8	Not having a stock-proof fence, resulting in them breaking through		½ mark (towards the fencing), extracted a second time if the fence is not made good in a fortnight

84/14-15	Animal breaking through a legally constructed fence		The damage caused (by the animal's owner)
84/15-16	Ox breaking through a fence of any sort		The damage caused (by the ox's owner)
84/16-17	Ox jumping over a fence, but only if it is legally constructed		The damage caused (by the ox's owner)
84/23	Cutting wood in another's farm	The wronged party and the community	Three marks each and an extra eight <i>örtugar</i> if he takes it home and full restitution
85/3-4	Breaking a man's fence at the top tie, then a second section or a third		½ mark plus eight <i>örtugar</i> plus four <i>örtugar</i> (i.e. one mark in all)
85/5-6	Breaking open a whole fence section		Two marks (and the mending of the fence)
85/7, 8	Stealing firewood, fencing or timber		Six <i>öre</i> (three marks if he has driven it to the road) plus full restitution
85/18-19	Purchasing land unlawfully	The wronged parties and the general assembly	Twelve marks each. The purchaser also lost the price of the land
86/2	Selling outside the family or parish	The general assembly	Twelve marks
86/16	Maximum ransom for a farmer's son, etc.		Three marks in silver
87/3	Brothers defending undivided property and a killing occurring		The appropriate fine (by the brother who does the killing)
87/21-22	Any <i>rapmaþr</i> not attending the assembly in time for midday	The hundred (local) assembly	Three <i>öre</i>
87/22-23	If all the <i>rapmenn</i> are absent	The first person bringing an action and the community	Three marks each
87/24-88/1	Continuing cases after sunset		The highest fine that the assembly concerned can demand: three, six or twelve marks
89/2-3, 4-5	Horse theft	The wronged party and the community	Three marks each

89/6-7	Taking the wrong horse by mistake		Eight örtugar
89/16-17	Taking a boat from its moorings and using it	The wronged party and the community	Three marks each (by implication)
90/6-7	Planting stolen goods on another	The wronged party and the (local) assembly	The person's wergild and three marks (or twelve marks to the general assembly for a Gotlander)
90/11	Theft of two öre or less		Six öre for petty theft
90/12	Theft of up to a mark in silver		Wergild (plus branding as detailed above)
90/22	Specific insults at church level		Three öre
90/23-24	Specific insults repeated at a higher level		Three marks
92/5-6	Altering a brand on an animal neither bought nor inherited		Three marks
92/16	Not planting turnips	The parish	Three öre
92/17	A parish not enforcing turnip-planting	The assembly	Three marks (from the parish)
93/3	Causing damage to other farms from your fire	The affected farms (to be divided between them)	Three marks (maximum)
93/6	Causing damage with fire carried into a man's farm (to light his fire)		Half the wergild of the perpetrator
93/9-10	A parish not maintaining roads	The (local) assembly	Three marks (from the parish)
93/18	Building a house without permission	The parish	Three marks (and demolish the house)
93/20	Employing indoor workers without parish permission (presumably during harvest)	Unspecified	Three öre
93/22-24	Harvest workers taking unauthorised leave	The farmer	One örtug per day and an extra day's work

94/7-8	Hunting squirrels or trapping hares between the Annunciation and the Feast of Simon and Jude	[Presumably the parish]	Three marks
94/14-15	Harvesting fruit too early	Parishioners, with half to the informant	Three <i>öre</i> (1½ for minors)
94/17-18, 19-20	Failure to say mass on Sunday or Feast day; on Fridays or days when the litany is said	The dean and the parish	Three marks each; twelve <i>öre</i> each
94/22	Gambling	The parish	Three <i>öre</i>
94/23	A parish not prosecuting a gambler	The (local) assembly	Three marks
95/4-5	Revised punishment for pulling out hair to the size of a palm or completely		One mark in silver and two marks in silver respectively
95/7-8	Cutting wood in another's wood and		Three marks plus restitution
95/8	Breaking down another's fence to pass through		Three marks
95/9	Trespassing or tearing a gap in another's fence		Three <i>öre</i>
95/15	Providing too many drinks at a wedding	The general assembly	A double fine and twelve marks
96/2	Buying on credit from town-dwellers	The general assembly	Twelve marks
97/8-9	Case in general		No fine is to be greater than the perpetrator can afford
97/14	If a priest inherits a defence in a murder case and the complainant does not wish to accept compensation	The complainant and the general assembly	Full wergild; 40 marks
97/17-18	If two brothers, one ordained and the other not, inherit a case and need to compensate		Each their own personal portion

98/2-3	Personal injury caused by cattle, horses or pigs		The value of the animal at the most
98/4-5	Injury caused by an animal declared at church and to the parish to be a rogue animal		Twice the normal fine for the injury, but half as much if the injury is normally fined at less than the animal's value
98/6	Dog causing damage		Up to half wergild
98/7	Dog bites		Two <i>öre</i> a bite up to four
98/8	Dog causing wounds or maiming		Half the maximum fine (not revenge)
98/12-13	Small bones broken in the foot or hand; each rib		Two marks
98/13	Disability following the above		Two marks in silver
98/13-14	If so many bones are broken that the damage is obvious		½ mark per bone
98/17	If an ear is damaged but not totally cut off		One mark in silver (this was two marks in coin in the <i>A</i> -text)
98/17-18	If the long bones of the leg or arm are broken		Two marks in silver
98/19-20	If teeth are knocked out		One mark in silver for each of the two central upper or lower teeth, otherwise two marks in coin
98/24-25	If hair is pulled out leaving a bald patch greater in size than a palm; total hair loss		One mark in silver; two marks in silver <sup>6</sup>
98/25	If the scalp is cut		One mark in silver
99/4	Providing too much ale for the wedding party	The general assembly	Twelve marks
99/23-24	Stealing by a slave: of an <i>öre</i> or less;		Three <i>öre</i> , plus the goods themselves (payable by the master)

<sup>6</sup> This series makes it seem likely that a mark in silver was worth four times a mark in coin at this period.



99/26-100/1	Stealing by more than one slave: of an <i>öre</i> or less;		Three times the value, plus the goods themselves (payable by the master)
99/25 etc.	Stealing by a slave of more than one <i>öre</i> [assumed], but only if the goods were in locked premises		Three times the value (up to the value of the slave), plus the goods themselves (payable by the master unless he allows a search)
100/6-7	For taking a slave on suspicion without proof		Six <i>öre</i>
100/15 etc.	If a thief goes on the run		No triple compensation for food stolen, but return of what remains
100/17-18	Redeeming a slave: on land; in a boat; out of sight of land		Two <i>öre</i> ; three <i>öre</i> ; ½ mark
100/19	If a slave escapes in an unlocked boat		Compensation is paid by the owner of the boat
100/22	If a slave, in escaping, has stolen goods		Three marks maximum from the slave's owner for the goods stolen

The maximum case a *siettungr* assembly could hear was for three marks, the *pripiungr* assembly six marks and the general assembly twelve marks. No limit is given for the local or hundred assembly.

## APPENDIX E: OATHS AND WITNESSES REQUIRED

(i) *Oaths*

Page and line	Circumstances of 'character' oaths	Number of oath-takers
60/16	rehabilitation oath ( <i>symdaraiþr</i> ) in respect of innocence of infanticide	Six
60/25	as above, in the case where prosecution witnesses fail to put up their deposit	not specified
62/21	in respect of a man defending himself if accused of pagan practices	Six
62/22	as above at the local assembly	Six
62/23	as above at the general assembly	Twelve
68/12	in respect of a man claiming that he has offered compensation three times, with a year between each offer in respect of a manslaughter case; this was an oath in addition to actual witness as to fact (see below)	Twelve
70/8	in respect of the master of a slave claiming that he had nothing to do with the killing perpetrated by the slave, if the latter is not present to carry the case	Six
72/1	in respect of a wound compensated at three marks or less	Three
73/16	in respect of a man injured so that he loses his hearing	Six, plus the same factual witness as for a wound
80/13	in respect of the defence of a man accused of rape, where the woman initially claims not to have recognised the assailant, but changes her mind	Twelve
80/15	in respect of a woman, who claims rape, being pregnant and giving birth at the appropriate time for it to have been the result of the rape	Twelve, plus(?) witnesses
85/9	in respect of stolen timber being remedied	Self
88/4-5	in respect of a demand for payment in money, where there is disagreement over the sum involved	Six (at the most)
88/5	in respect of a demand for payment in land, where the value involved is a gold mark or greater	Eighteen
90/21-22	in respect of the defence of a man charged with slander	Three
90/22	in respect of the remedy by a man found guilty of slander at parish level	Three
90/25	as above, but when the case is brought to the local assembly	Six

(ii) *Witnesses as to fact*

Page and line	Circumstances for the witness as to fact; those marked * also swore oaths as to the facts	Number of witnesses
60/10	in respect of a woman claiming that her child was stillborn	Two (i.e. three with herself)
60/14	in respect of a woman guilty of infanticide having confessed and done penance	One (the shriving priest)
62/3	in respect of proof that a man has lawfully taken part in the building and consecration of a new church	Three parishioners (including himself)
62/5	as above, when three or more years have passed	Two parishioners and the priest
68/10-11	in respect of a man claiming that he has offered compensation three times, with a year between each offer in respect of a manslaughter case	Three (who were present when the offers were made)
69/12	in respect of a woman killed while pregnant	Husband or closest relative with two more landowners and a further nine of equal birth
71/8, 10	in respect of a woman who has a miscarriage as a result of being struck	Two landowners and two female witnesses to the miscarriage
71/10-11*	as above, swearing that the child was alive when she was struck	Herself and five others; note that this says <i>piaupa</i> rather than <i>manna</i> , indicating, perhaps, that some of the witnesses in this case might be women
71/24-25	in respect of a wound compensated at more than three marks – to witness but not to swear an oath	Six, including the injured party
73/12-13	in respect of a hand damaged so that it cannot tolerate hot and cold	Self-witness
74/22-23	in respect of a non-open wound causing the injured person to be bedridden for a year or more	Four landowners and three judges from the same sixth and then others to make up twelve in all
78/7-8	in respect of the rights of illegitimate children	An unspecified number of parishioners
78/19-21, 79/5-6	in respect of a man denying a paternity suit, claiming that he had not been named before the child was born	Six (including two landowners from the woman's parish)
78/23-24	as above, in support of the woman, when the case is not found in favour of the man	Six (all of equal birth with her)

80/4	in respect of a woman being raped, whose shout immediately after the attack is heard	One, the witness to the 'shout'
80/6	in respect of a woman being raped, whose shout after the attack is not heard	An unspecified number of witnesses to her complaint
80/15-16	in respect of a woman, pregnant as a result of being raped, to confirm the date of her rape	An unspecified number of witnesses to the fact, as in the previous entry
80/22-23	in respect of attacks upon a woman resulting in whole or partial removal of her headdress according to witness	Unspecified number of eyewitnesses, including herself
81/1	in respect of laces being removed as to whether compensation and restitution has been made	The woman herself
82/22*	in respect of disputes about woodland; the witness had to swear on oath, or it was invalid	Two: a neighbour and a work witness
83/2	in respect of disputes about cultivated land	Two: a (distant) kin witness and a work witness owning neighbouring land
83/14-15	in respect of the taking of timber from another's wood, to carry out an inspection	The disputing parties and an eyewitness
85/9*	in respect of the taking of timber from his wood, that he has received restitution	Self, on oath
88/6	in respect of a dispute about the value of property owed, of a mark in gold or more	Unspecified number of <i>rapmenn</i> in the hundred
88/10	in respect of a dispute about the value of property owed, less than a mark in gold	Six-man jury
90/3	in respect of the receipt of stolen goods, when the knowledge of their having been stolen is denied, and responsibility laid on the supplier	Unspecified number of those who were present when the goods were handed over
100/1-2	in respect of a theft in which the stolen goods are not to hand, how much has been taken	Self-witness
100/26-101/2	in respect of a man caught without the relevant stolen goods in his possession, to witness to what is said	Three <i>rapmenn</i> from the same hundred or sixth

(iii) *Official witness for reference in the future*

Page and line	Circumstances for the official witness	Number of witnesses
70/12-13	in respect of a slave who has worked out his bondage time	an unspecified number of parishioners
71/23-24	in respect of wounds compensated at more than three marks	Two <i>rapmenn</i> and a district judge as witnesses to the valuing of the wound
84/2-4	in respect of disputes about party fences	Unspecified number of neighbours or parishioners
84/10-11, 14	in respect of animals breaking through fences being offered to the owner	Unspecified number of neighbours
85/19-22	in respect of the sale or mortgage of property	Unspecified number of (assembly members as) witnesses
91/17-19	in respect of a stray ram found before covering time and its being offered for redemption, and re-branded if unclaimed	Unspecified number of parishioners
92/1-2	in respect of a stray bullock or pony being found and its being offered for redemption, and being available for use if unclaimed	Unspecified number of parishioners

## ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used throughout for Swedish provincial laws and for the sections (*balkar*) within them. They are to a great extent those used in the series *Svenska landskapslagar* (*SL*), since these are widely used in the literature referenced. Where page numbers are given, they refer to the indicated volumes in the series *Corpus iuris sueo-gotorum* (*CIS*). Schlyter's editions of the laws of Magnus Eriksson (*CIS* X and *CIS* XI) are abbreviated to *MELL* and *MES*t*L*. The Swedish translations of these laws are referred to as *MELLNT* and *MES*t*LNT*. These two abbreviations are listed in the Bibliography, as are abbreviations the law texts in volumes in the series *Norges gamle love indtil 1387* (*NGL*) and *Danmarks gamle Landskabslove* (*DGL*).

<i>BjR</i>	The town law for Bjärkö ( <i>CIS</i> VI, 111-134)
<i>DL</i> ( <i>ÄVmL</i> )	The law of Dalarna (older law of Västmanland) ( <i>CIS</i> V, 1-66)
<i>daGL</i>	Danish translation of the law of the Gotlanders ( <i>CIS</i> VII, 169-218)
<i>GL</i>	The law of the Gotlanders ( <i>CIS</i> VII, 1-112)
<i>HL</i>	The law of Hälsingland ( <i>CIS</i> VI, 1-93)
<i>KrLL</i>	Kristoffer's national law ( <i>CIS</i> XII)
<i>MELL</i>	Magnus Eriksson's national law ( <i>CIS</i> X)
<i>MES<i>t</i>L</i>	Magnus Eriksson's town law ( <i>CIS</i> XI)
<i>SdmL</i>	The law of Södermanland ( <i>CIS</i> IV)
<i>CISk</i> I	The law of Skåne ( <i>CIS</i> IX, 1-238)
<i>CISk</i> II	Andreas Suneson's Latin text of the law of Skåne ( <i>CIS</i> IX, 239-354)
<i>CISk</i> III	The church law of Skåne ( <i>CIS</i> IX, 355-395)
<i>CISk</i> V	Miscellaneous additions to the law of Skåne ( <i>CIS</i> IX, 435-500)
<i>SmL</i>	The law of Småland ( <i>CIS</i> VI, 95-110)

<i>tyGL</i>	German translation of the law of the Gotlanders ( <i>CIS</i> VII, 113-168)
<i>UL</i>	The law of Uppland ( <i>CIS</i> III)
<i>VgL</i> III	Lydekinus' excerpts and notes on the laws of Västergötland ( <i>CIS</i> I, 255-281)
<i>VgL</i> IV	Notes by the priest of Vidhem and the monk of St John on the laws of Västergötland ( <i>CIS</i> I, 283-344)
<i>VgLL</i>	The laws of Västergötland as a group
<i>VmL</i>	The (younger) law of Västmanland ( <i>CIS</i> V, 67-239)
<i>VStL</i>	The town law of Visby ( <i>CIS</i> VIII, 1-182)
<i>YVgL</i>	The younger law of Västergötland ( <i>CIS</i> I, 77-253, <i>VgL</i> II)
<i>ÄVgL</i>	The older law of Västergötland ( <i>CIS</i> I, 2-74, <i>VgL</i> I)
<i>ÖgL</i>	The law of Östergötland ( <i>CIS</i> II)
Add	Additions (to <i>YVgL</i> , etc.)
Bb	The section concerning building (in <i>SdmL</i> , <i>MELL</i> , etc.) The section concerning community (village) law (in <i>HL</i> , <i>UL</i> )
Db	The section concerning manslaughter ( <i>YVgL</i> , <i>ÖgL</i> , <i>MELL</i> , <i>MESL</i> )
Eb	The section concerning the King's oath
fl.	<i>flock</i> , chapter of the law
Fns	The first section concerning honour ( <i>ÄVgL</i> )
Fnb	The second section concerning honour ( <i>ÄVgL</i> ) The section concerning personal injury ( <i>YVgL</i> )
Gb	The section concerning matrimony
Jb	The section concerning land
Kgb	The section concerning the monarchy

Kkb	The section concerning church or Christian law
Kmb	The section concerning trade
Mb	The section concerning personal and property rights ( <i>UL</i> , etc.)
Md	The section concerning killing ( <i>ÄVgL</i> )
pr	principium (first or principal paragraph in each chapter)
Rb	The section concerning slaves and outlaws ( <i>ÄVgL</i> , <i>YVgL</i> )
	The section concerning the legal process ( <i>UL</i> , <i>VmL</i> , <i>MELL</i> , etc.)
Sb	The section concerning wounding ( <i>ÄVgL</i> , <i>MELL</i> , <i>MESL</i> )
Tjb	The section concerning theft
Urb	The section concerning outlawry cases ( <i>ÄVgL</i> , <i>YVgL</i> )
Utb	The section concerning off-farm activities (in <i>YVgL</i> )
Vb	Concerning accidental injury ( <i>ÄVgL</i> , <i>YVgL</i> )
	The section concerning accidental injury, wounding, adultery, robbery and theft ( <i>ÖgL</i> )
Äb	The section concerning inheritance



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## INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Further details of the entries in this Index are discussed in the Commentary. In the text a single variant of each name has been selected and in the Translation the modern Swedish form has been used.

**Atlingabo** *n.* Atlingbo, a parish in the middle third of Gotland. *A.* *ns* 67/5.

**Farþaim** *n.* Fardhem, a parish in the southern third of Gotland. *A.* *ns* <67/5>.

**\*gangdagr** *m.* procession day, Rogation day. *A.* *np* gangdagar <64/21>. *B.* *np* gangdagar 64 note 168.

**\*guti** *m.* Gotlander. *A.* *gp* guta 60/1. 74/5. 95/1.

**\*Gutland** *n.* Gotland. *A.* *ds* gutlandi 68/2.

**\*Guþ** *m.* God. *A.* *gs* guz 63/9. 65/2. *ds* guþi 60/6. *as* guþ 60/3. *B.* *gs* guds 97/23.

**\*helgudagar** *m. pl.* Whitsunday, Pentecost. *A.* *gp* helgudaga(vika) 64/22.

**helgudagavika** *f.* Whitsun week. *A.* *ns* 64/22.

**\*iaul** *n. pl.* Jul, Christmas. *A.* *dp* iaulum 64/20.

**\*Maria** *f.* the Virgin Mary. *A.* *gs* Mariu 81/19. 81/20. Mariu(messu) 61/12. 61/14. 92/9. 94/7. 94/10. Mariu(messa) 61/14. Mariu(messur) 94/13.

**Mariumessa** *f.* **I.** Mariumessa i fastu Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (March 25th). **II.** \*yfra Mariumessa later mass, or feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary. (Her Birthday, September 8th, not the Assumption, August 15th, which was the 'earlier' mass.). See messa.

**\*paskar** *f. pl.* Easter. *A.* *gp* paska(vika) 64/21. paska(viku) 93/16. *ap* paskar 65/23. 67/12.

**paskavika** *f.* Easter week. *A.* *ns* 64/21.

**\*Simon** (or **\*Symon**), **\*Judas** *m.* personal names. *A.* *gs* Simonis(messu) Jude <91/16>. 94/7. <94/10>. *B.* *gs* Simonis (messo) Jude 91 note 664. Simonis

(**nessa**) **Judæ** 94 note 709.

\***Simonissessa Jude** *f.* October 28<sup>th</sup>. See **nessa**.

\***Visbyr m.** Visby. **A. gs Visbyar** 92/2.

**Pingsteþi n.** Tingstäde, a parish in the northern third of Gotland. **A. ns** 67/5.

